KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ

PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE UTTAR PRADESH GOVERNMENT

KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF KAŚMĪR

TRANSLATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, & APPENDICES,

BY

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MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
DELHI PATNA VARANASI

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THE RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ OF KALHAṆA.

EIGHTH BOOK.

REVERENCE TO THE REMOVER OF OBSTACLES.

1. May Pārvatī, the wife of the lord of what moves and of what is immovable, ward off harm,—she in whose half the adorable one, who knows the conduct observed [by all], took up his residence after leaving outside, O wonder, his whole retinue, though [otherwise] ever-trusted: the old chamberlains (or snakes), the age-worn noble bull, and the hump-backed moon.

2. For some time the new king displayed neither wrath nor kindness, just as the ocean before the churning had brought to light neither its poison nor its nectar.

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3. In the beginning his brother and the Ḍāmara host, who both showed excessive arrogance, prevented him from asserting himself, as wind and drought [prevent] the cloud [from raining].

4. As the brother was thoughtless in his actions and overbearing, owing to his youth, the little dignity shown by the tender-hearted king was a source of trouble.

5. For he (Sussala) was ever roaming about with drawn sword, seated on an elephant, and plundering the land of all that was of value, just as the sun draws up the moisture of the earth.

1. In representing S'iva in his union with Pārvatī as *[illegible]*, the left half, which corresponds to the goddess, is shown without the usual emblems and attendants of the god, such as the crescent, the snakes, etc., comp. the introductory verses of Books i., iii. This the author wishes to explain by the care which the god takes to keep away from his beloved wife all male beings, even his most trusted attendants. Old chamberlains, eunuchs and cripples are generally admitted into the seraglio. The double meaning of the word *[illegible]* permits of the snakes being represented as S'iva's chamberlains; the moon, supposed to be hump-backed, figures as the cripple. We should get a third pun if we had as the designation of S'iva's bull *jaratīpsa-vara* instead of *[illegible]* as in the text; *[illegible]* means 'eunuch.' It is evident that the author intended this *double entendre.*

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6. He said [to the king]: "Destroy those Ḍāmaras by fire when they are collected." But the king, who was wholly devoted to virtue, did not accept this advice.

7. Robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure, what difficulty did not beset this king?

8. He honoured his brother by having him crowned as a sovereign, and then sent him to rule separately the territory dependant on *Lohara*.

9. When he proceeded [there], he carried away everything, elephants, arms, foot-soldiers, horses, treasure, councillors, and the rest, while his elder brother out of tender regard did not object.

10. As he feared that the soldiers garrisoning the castle (*koṭṭabhṛtya*) would resist his entrance, he took with him a son of *Utkarṣa*, *Pratāpa* by name, and thus addressed them:

11. "I want to make this [prince] king, acting [myself] as his doorkeeper." The neighbouring chiefs stood humbly before the king, as if they were his own servants.

12. After the road had been blocked during seven days for his followers, the singer *Kanaka* got an opportunity and went abroad.

13. He gave up his life at *Vārāṇasī* in weariness of the world, [being the only one] among *Harṣa's* servants who displayed gratitude.

14. Again, the honest *Uccala* from kind-heartedness allowed robbers (*dasyu*) to rise to high [posts] in remembrance of their [past] services, just as the sandal-wood tree allows the snakes [to climb up on it].

15. *Janakacandra* at that time conducted himself with such arrogance that the king and the other Ḍāmaras seemed to lose all importance.

16-18. *Bhoja*, *Harṣa's* son, had from the Queen *Vibhavamatī*, the daughter of King *Abhaya* of *Uraśā*, a male child. As he was born after two or three other sons had died [in childhood], the Gurus, anxious [to assure him] a long life, had given him the ignominious name of *Bhikṣācara* ('beggar'). Though this boy of two years should have been treated as an enemy, as he continued the enemy's

7. By the 'robbers' (*dasyavaḥ*) the Ḍāmaras are meant here and in subsequent passages; comp. e.g. viii. 14, 39, 856, 968, 1057, 1734, etc., and the expression *ḍāmarataskarāḥ*, v. 406.

11. The want of connection in the narrative seems to indicate here a lacuna of the text.

12. See regarding *Kanaka* and his probable relationship with K., note vii. 1117.

16-18. *Abhaya*, king of *Uraśā*, has been mentioned in vii. 586.

The custom of giving opprobrious names to children born after the death of their elder predecessors, is widely spread throughout India. It takes its origin from the superstition that a disgusting name will save the child from evil influences which otherwise seem to threaten it. A full discussion of names of this kind will be found in Colonel Temple's *Proper Names of Panjābis*, pp. 22 sqq. The name *Bhikhra*, 'beggar,' which is there quoted from a list of Bihār names collected by Dr. Grierson, corresponds exactly to our *Bhikṣācara*. Compare also note vii. 1068 and viii. 1085.

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stock, yet the king at his (Janakacandra's) advice preserved him and entrusted him to his own queen.

19. While he (Janakacandra) was thinking of getting hold of that [boy] and himself ruling [in his name], *Uccala*, who perceived his intentions, showed politic shrewdness.

20-21. Calculating that either the Ḍāmaras, unable to submit to the ascendancy of an equal, would become his enemies, or that he himself owing to the great honour would become honest, he indicated his intention of giving to him charge of the 'Gate.' Thereupon there arose ill-feeling [against Janakacandra] in *Bhīmādeva* and all the other [Ḍāmaras].

22. When the jealousy between them and him had risen high their respective followers challenged each other to fight for a stake.

23. The king wished to see them fight each other on the bridge, and ascended to the four-pillared pavilion (*catuṣkikā*), though his councillors tried to hold him back.

24. When, however, the combat in pairs had commenced, the excited Ḍāmaras on both sides suddenly started a furious fight.

25. When the fight had begun by the approaches to the bridge, the soldiers of *Janakacandra* poured from the river-bank a shower of arrows towards the king.

26. The arrows hissing in their flight grazed the king's body and, after embedding themselves in the posts, were seen there shaking, as if in fury.

27. The attendants thereupon dragged the king back forcibly, as it were, by his arms, and getting [with him] into the hall bolted its door.

28. *Janakacandra* and *Bhīmādeva*, along with their men, then drew their swords in the pavilion to slay each other.

29. In this tumult *Arjuna*, *Kālapāśa's* son, a violent follower of *Bhīmādeva*, struck with his knife the body of *Janakacandra*.

30. When the latter saw himself hurt, he kicked in rage the door of the king's apartments, thinking that the king had arranged this treachery.

31. The door held fast, and when he [then] from fear got into a bathing place (*snānadroṇī*), *Bhīmādeva* ran towards him with a drawn dagger to kill him.

Murder of Janakacandra.

32. Seeing this the accountant of his (Bhīmādeva's) household, who had hidden behind a pillar, cut with his sword *Janakacandra's* body in two.

33. The same man, remaining unnoticed after killing him, wounded with his sword his younger brothers *Gagga* and *Saḍḍa* as they were fleeing.

23. For *catuṣkikā*, see note vii. 1550.

31. Compare regarding *snānadroṇī* note viii. 605.

33. Regarding *Gagga* or *Gargacandra*, see note viii. 182.

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34. The lightning after striking down the tree does not remain [in view] for long, nor a man of remarkable deeds after bringing low a very exalted enemy.

35. He (Janakacandra) was thus killed [exactly] three fortnights, not less and not more, after the day of *Harṣa's* death in that year which contained two Bhādrapada months.

36. Or perhaps he found his end so quickly on account of the enormity of his sin in betraying his lord, though he was his benefactor.

37. As the king, though rejoicing inwardly, affected to feel anger and grief *Bhīmādeva* fled, while *Gagga* trusted him.

38. The king sent *Gagga* to *Lahara* to recover from his wound, and dismissed also the other Ḍāmaras, who were frightened, to their own [respective] territories.

39. After having got his kingdom clear of the robbers (*dasyu*) by diplomacy as well as by open acts of repression, King *Uccala* gradually gained assurance.

40. As soon as he had secured his position, the ambitious [king] in a few days forced the Ḍāmaras in *Kramarājya* to dismiss their mounted and other troops.

41. Then he proceeded to *Maḍavarājya* and executed *Kāliya* and other Ḍāmaras who were fond of rebellions, by having them impaled.

42. He destroyed also in due course the powerful *Illārāja* who had amassed land, by surprising him in the City with strong forces.

43. Whether from the effect of attachment in a previous existence or from deep judgment, the king's affection for *Gagga* became as great as [if he had been] his son.

44. The king, who cared for his subjects and did not tolerate even a word of opposition, showed on no occasion anger when *Gagga* committed offences.

35. K. refers here to the fact that in the year of Harṣa's death (Lokakāla 4177, A.D. 1101-2), the luni-solar calendar had an intercalary month which fell into the month of Bhādrapada, two months of that name being thus counted for that year. The tables given by Cunningham, *Indian Eras*, p. 173, and in Messrs. Sewell and Dikshit's *Indian Calendar*, p. lii., actually show Bhādrapada as the intercalary month for that year, and thus prove K.'s statement to be correct.

Harṣa's death, according to vii. 1717, fell on *Bhādrapada śudi* 5. As K. designates there the month simply as Bhādrapada, we may assume that the day meant was the fifth day of the bright half of the proper (*nija*) Bhādrapada. This half, according to the rule of the Sūryasiddhānta still observed in Kaśmīr, follows after the intercalated month, in this case called *dvitīyabhādrapada* (comp. *Ind. Eras*, p. 91 and *Ind. Cal.*, p. 30). The date of Janakacandra's death must accordingly have been *Kārttika vadi* 5.

K.'s mention of the intercalary month of this year furnishes interesting evidence as to the general accuracy of his chronology for the later reigns.

38. Emend *Laharam* for *Loharam* of A, L. For the opposite clerical error, comp. note v. 51. From vii. 1360, 1373 sqq.; viii. 437, etc., it is evident that Janakacandra and Gargacandra were Ḍāmaras of Lahara.

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Uccala's government.

45. He remembered like magic spells two useful counsels which the wise *Bhīmādeva* had given him, when asked [for advice] at the commencement of his reign.

46. In accordance with the one he went outside [his inner apartments] in the morning and occupied himself in the outer courts [of the palace] till the evening, in order to learn what the people said.

47. In accordance with the other he, being ever ready for exertion, would, if he heard but the [mere] word 'opponent,' start [at once], even were it midnight, and suppress the revolt.

48. As this [king] possessed great firmness and wisdom among kings, his conduct was without stain, not even spoiled by avarice.

49. Now the guilt arising from the narration of a wicked ruler's [reign] will be cleared off my song by immersion in *Uccala's* virtuous conduct [which is purifying like] Gaṅgā water.

50. Though his resources (*aṅga*) were incomplete, yet he removed almost entirely the dense darkness which impedes the recognition of the right, like another Anūru.

51. As he had taken a vow that he would commit suicide if any person should die by starving himself (*prāyopaveśa*), he caused the judges to be careful.

52. If this high-minded [king] heard the plaintive cry of a person in distress, it caused him pain, and he would not spare punishment even to himself.

53. If a lament arose owing to the fault of an official, the angered king would make it stop by the lamentations of that [official's] own relatives.

54. As the king was ever anxious to help the weak, the citizens were everywhere strong and the officials weak.

55. He used to go about alone on horseback, and whenever he heard the people, ignorant that he was the king, remarking upon a fault of his, he would quickly abandon it.

56. In whatever way the king was approached his presence proved fruitful, and for applicants he was like a wishing tree.

57. Showering nectar by friendly words and gifts of kindness and being of genial disposition, he could not do without his attendants even in places of relaxation.

58. Those who worked for him exerted themselves in their respective professions, and might even at night be received by him three or four times.

46. Compare regarding the term *bāhyāli* applied to the public portion of the palace, note iv. 6[illegible].

50. *Anūru* ('the thighless'), the charioteer of the sun, is compared to the king, because his limbs (*aṅga*) are incomplete.

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59. When receiving services, he would at that very time give his reward with kindness. For whom was he not like a tree sown by jugglers [which grows and bears fruit rapidly]?

60. When he heard of any trouble of the inhabitants, he left off his other occupations and relieved their distress, just as a father [relieves that] of his sons.

61. By selling his own grain-stores at cheap prices, from tender care for the people, he stopped famines at their very rise.

62. Full of mercy he freed even robbers from the [necessity of] living by plunder, and made them lead a blameless life by giving them employ as guardians of treasuries.

63. He was ever considering who might require assistance, and in whose territory calamities had to be removed, and through spies he made certain of each instance.

64. The one great virtue of this king, his indifference to wealth, was putting forth, as it were, fresh shoots in the [form of the] various [other] virtues which accompanied it.

65. Though he fined those who deserved punishment, for the sake of moral order, yet he did not take money from them for fear of being defiled by its touch, but made them exculpate themselves by some pious work.

66. If he had promised to give to an applicant a certain thing singly, he kept his word by giving it a thousandfold.

67. Hence, as one hears supplicants cry, "Give, give to me," so this liberal king was heard saying, "Give, give to him."

68. No gift of his was seen bestowed without magnanimity, given with delay, reduced in amount, given without kindness, or half-embezzled by the officials, messengers and others [concerned with it].

69. He, unlike a tree [which is merely] painted [and hence gives no fruit], gave his rewards at festive occasions [of others], on hearing of their distress, in order to gratify them, and in order to help them in their affairs.

70. On the S'ivaratrī and other festivals he flooded his people with presents, just as Indra [floods] the earth with rain at the conjunctions of planets.

61. This passage shows clearly that the land revenue of the Valley was collected in Hindu times, as it was until quite recently, for the most part in kind. The State sold its grain stores to the non-agricultural population of the city and towns at fixed rates, and had thus, as in modern times, a preponderating influence over the grain prices. Under a provident administration the system afforded the means of meeting famines arising from occasional bad harvests. It is evident that the system referred to is far more ancient in Kaśmīr than has been assumed by some writers. Compare regarding the conditions under which the land revenue in kind has been collected in recent times, LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 409 sq.

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71. Not even King *Harṣa* showed such extravagance in offering betel [at assemblies, etc.], and such splendour at festivals as he did.

72. Though the regal seat, when he obtained it, was nothing more than a clod of earth, yet he displayed excessive liberality such as even Kubera would find difficult to practise.

73. A *Kaśmīrian* as he was, he yet did not waste again and again wealth on the soil or on robbers by erecting and pulling down buildings, or purchasing horses.

74. By employing himself in every direction and throwing his soul [into everything], he acquired a full knowledge of affairs and became, as it were, the soul of his people.

75. The Brahmans who suffered from illness received from him food fit for a king, and medicine, and those who had no livelihood, the means of subsistence.

76. At S'rāddha sacrifices and when propitiatory rites [had to be performed to avert] bad omens [connected] with eclipses, comets and the like, he bestowed upon Brahmans thousands of cows, horses, gold and other gifts.

Temples restored by *Uccala*.

77. The whole town at *Nandikṣetra* which had been burned during his reign by a sudden conflagration was built anew by him finer than it was before.

78. This pious [king], with whom the restoration of decayed [buildings] was a passion, put in order the famous sites of *Cakradhara*, *Yogeśa*, and *Svayambhū*.

79. The illustrious [image of Viṣṇu] *Parihāsakeśava* which King *Harṣa* had carried off was put up afresh by the king at *Parihāsapura*.

80. The king, who knew no greed, adorned the [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Tribhuvanasvāmin* with the previously described parrot-house (? *śukāvalī*) which *Harṣa* had carried off.

73. Comp. regarding the character given to horse-dealers, vii. 188, 293.

76. The text has probably a corruption in the form °*sambhkavaiḥ* (for °*sambhāvaiḥ* ?)

77. As viii. 110 shows, the complex of sacred and profane buildings which had gathered around the ancient temple of S'iva Bhūteśvara at *Buth'sēr*, is meant here. Comp. regarding this sacred site and its ruins, notes i. 107; v. 48-59. When I examined these ruins in August, 1891, I came across unmistakable signs of later restoration, executed with inferior materials, especially in the first or western group of the temples. These repairs may well be attributed to Uccala on the strength of our passage, no subsequent reference to a restoration of this kind being found in the Rajat. or the later Chronicles.

78. Regarding the ancient shrine of Viṣṇu *Cakradhara*, at the present Tsak"dar, see note i. 38.

Yogeśa is found as a name of Viṣṇu in the *Nīlamata*, 1138. No temple dedicated to the god under this name is referred to elsewhere. But possibly the shrine named in our passage is identical with that of Viṣṇu *Yogaśāyin*, mentioned near the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu in v. 100.

Regarding the worship of Agni *Svayambhū*, 'the Self-created Fire,' at *Suyam*, comp. note i. 34. I have not been able to trace any remains of old buildings, either at the sacred spot itself or in the neighbouring village of Nich"hōm.

79. The destruction of the silver image of *Parihāsakeśava* by Harṣa has been related in vii. 1344 sqq.; comp. also iv. 195 (Note *F*).

Our passage must refer to the construction of a new statue which could scarcely have equalled the old in size and material.

80. Regarding the *śukāvalī* here mentioned, see v. 31; for the *Tribhuvanasvāmin* temple, compare iv. 78.

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81. He renovated the throne, that emblem of the royal power which *Jayāpīḍa* had acquired, and which had been injured by fire at *Harṣa's* overthrow.

82. *Jayamati*, through the king's fond attachment, secured the rare [privilege of] occupying one half of this throne, and did not disgrace the dignity of a queen, though she was of common birth.

83. For she distinguished herself by kindness, charm of manners, liberality, regard for virtuous people, and wisdom, as well as by other good qualities, such as helpfulness for those who were without support and distressed.

84. Yet women who have secured the attachment of a king, may, though charming by their loveliness, bring through their temper ruin over the people, as [if they were] demons.

Measures against officials.

85-87. King *Uccala*, who loved his subjects and who ever kept free from greed, had another merit which stood foremost among all his virtues. He ever recited to himself the verse: "Officials in truth are eager to kill, desirous of evil, robbers of others' property, rogues and demons; he (the king) should protect his subjects from them." Faithfully believing this traditional counsel, he uprooted the Kāyasthas.

88. Because, indeed, the officials also are plagues for the people, and not only cholera, colic, and exhaustion, rapidly destroying everybody.

89. The crab kills its father, and the white ant destroys her mother, but the ungrateful Kāyastha when he has become powerful destroys everything.

90. If ever a man of mark raises up the Kāyastha and gives him distinction, the rogue, just as [if he were] a Vetāla, slays him without scruple.

91. The official, like a poison-tree, makes, O wonder, the ground upon which he grows up unapproachable.

92. These rogues were everywhere suppressed by the king through degradation, dismissal from office, and imprisonment.

93. He turned the Mahattama *Sahela* and many others out of office, and made them wear clothes of hemp in jail.

94. He made *Bhūtabhikṣa*, in order to ridicule him, act like a strolling player together with his wife, and run about like a Ḍomba soldier.

81. According to iv. 471, this throne had been brought from *Kanyakubja*.

82. Regarding *Jayamati's* antecedents, see vii. 1460-62.

86. The verse here quoted is found in *Manusmṛti*, vii. 123, with a somewhat different text. The variations are evidently due to K. having quoted from memory. For the meaningless °*dāy naśca tāḥ* we have to read, in accordance with the original text, °*dāyinaḥ śaṭhāḥ*, as already suggested by Durgāpr.

90. The words in the first half-verse may also be taken as referring to a Vetāla whom a magician (*sphuratā*) binds by spells (*guṇa*), and subjects to his will, but who ultimately devours his master, as related in many an edifying story of the Kathāsaritsāgara, etc.

93. Comp. regarding *bhṛṅga*, and the material made of it, note vii. 390.

94. Comp. vii. 1695 sqq.

95. Who was not moved to laughter by [seeing] him with his long body, with his beard bound up, wearing an extravagant headdress, with a spear in his hand, and with his knees and thighs [joined] together?

96. Another [of the officials] who was fond of courtezans, he made dance and sing in his presence with [pantomimic] movements of the head, in the company of musicians, courtezans, and parasites.

97. Another he had bound naked to a cart, with half his head shaved, and the [remaining] hair covered with lumps of vermilion.

98. The disgraced officials became known everywhere by nicknames from their [having had to] play on earthen pots and to decorate their heads [in a ludicrous fashion].

99. Some of those who had been dismissed from office could be seen running about night after night begging for anything, and veiling themselves with rags which were dripping with dirt.

100. Others who had grown old in vain, thinking that learning could be easily got like the birch bark (*bhūrja*), began to study in the house of a teacher, as [if they were] children.

101. Some again as street-beggars would chant hymns loudly and with unction, accompanied by their children, and would thus amuse the people in the morning.

102. Some in order to get employment made even their mother, sister, daughter, and wife offer their persons to men of noble rank.

103. Other rogues would worry the astrologers by asking them to examine their nativities, dreams, omens, and auspicious marks.

104. Those who were in prison, appeared to others like goblins with their parched faces, with the wild-growing hair of their beards, with their lean bodies, and with the chains tinkling on their legs.

105. When the king had taken away from the officials the marks of their arrogance (?) their eyes became capable of recognizing their relatives.

106. With tears in their eyes they devoted themselves to reciting hymns (*stotra*) such as the *Stavarājas* contained in the *Mahābhārata*, etc., and to mumbling the [spell called] *Durgottāriṇīvidyā*.

95. The interpretation of *sajānūru* is doubtful.

96. For *sāmyavuda*°, perhaps, *sāmyavadi*° has to be corrected. Connect *saśirsa* with Durgāpr

98. To make music by beating pots is an accomplishment still known to strolling players in Kaśmir, comp. viii. 891.

100. Comp. regarding the use of *bhūrja* as writing material, note vii. 508.

105. There is probably a corruption in the words °*liṅganāśe vipāṭite*, but no suitable emendation suggests itself.

106. *Stavarāja*, 'chief hymn,' is the designation of panegyrical texts in praise of particular deities such as are found in the

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107. Thus under this king the ever evil-working Kāyasthas were seen to sink into lasting misfortune.

108. Because they could not deceive that wise king, as [they had deceived] other rulers, by effecting reconciliations with the disaffected, by offering great sums and by procuring [rare] dishes, and the like.

109. The king wisely held these enemies of his subjects under continual control by [employing] various honest superintendents.

110. "As the town of *Bhūteśa*, which had been destroyed by a conflagration, has quickly recovered its [former] splendour by the power of your order, thus O King *Uccala*, may you restore to happiness and comfort this, your own City, which has been destroyed by the five fires of Kāyasthas, [royal] relatives, [obnoxious] regulations (? *kḷpti*), ministers and solemn fasts (*prāyopaveśa*)!"

111. When the learned *S'ivaratha* had recited this verse at the S'ivarātri festival, he insisted upon making him chief-superintendent.

112. Though he (Uccala) was not inured to affairs, yet he made for some time the followers of the righteous realize the conditions of the Kṛta Yuga by his virtuous procedure.

113. Wise men valued highly the quick punishments which this king of mighty glory meted out to the cruel Kāyasthas.

114. Because those who know the wise use of punishments, do not recommend delay in the punishment of low-bred horses, Kāyasthas, persons possessed by goblins and of enemies.

115. For these, if punished late, would certainly from fear of the punishment use the interval to bring destruction on their punisher.

116. The considerate king in no case harmed the sons, wives, friends, and relatives of the guilty persons whom he punished.

117. He punished with severe pains *Loṣṭadhara* and other intriguers, and thus closed even the way for calumny.

118. Former resolutions are [usually] forgotten by the persons [who formed them], when they obtain the throne, just as the desires formed in the womb [are forgotten] at the time of birth.

119. *Uccala* [however] forgot on the throne nothing of what, rightly or wrongly, he had thought before obtaining the royal dignity, resembling thus a person who knows his former birth.

Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and other collections; comp. the *Bhīṣmastavarāja*, *Mahāpuruṣastavarāja* in the Mahābh., the *Gaṇeśastavarāja* in the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, etc.

Durgottāriṇīvidyā, 'the knowledge which helps across dangers,' is perhaps the name of a Tantric text, or probably another designation of the well known Durgāmāhātmya (see *Cat. Catalog.*, s.v. *devīmāhātmya*).

117. Compare for *Loṣṭadhara*, vii. 1076.

120. If he had before noticed an enemy to be free from treachery or a follower to be perfidious, he showed that he had penetrated [them], by acting accordingly.

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121. The paramour will not remember that the faithless wife has betrayed her former husband, nor a foolish king now-a-days the perfidy which an unfaithful servant has committed against his former lord.

122. Surely this king who discerned between right and wrong, must have obtained from the body of S'eṣanāga his wisdom along with the earth.

Suit of merchant and depositor.

123. Thus it happened that he was able to remove the doubt in a law-suit between a merchant and his customer, which had surpassed the comprehension of judges and others.

124. A certain man of means deposited a lakh of money (*dīnnāra*) in the house of a merchant who disguised his true character under [apparent] friendship, with a view to its coming useful in a difficulty.

125. From time to time he took from the merchant some small sum of money (*arthamātrā*) to use it for [meeting] expenditure.

126. When twenty or thirty years had passed, he asked the holder of the deposit (*nyāsadhārin*) to give him the amount which remained after what he had drawn.

127. The wicked merchant, however, who was anxious to embezzle the deposit, deceitfully delayed [payment] under various pretexts.

123. With the anecdote related here in viii. 123-158 may be compared the digest given by JOLLY, *Recht u. Sitte*, pp. 102 sqq., of the Hindu law regarding deposits. The detailed references contained in the Smṛtis and other legal texts as to the means by which the peculation of deposits may be prevented, and as to the legal procedure in such suits, show how frequent cases similar to that related in our text must have been at all times. The law books clearly indicate two different kinds of deposits, open or closed (comp. e.g. *Manusmṛti*, viii. 185). The king's decision, viii. 150-158, is based on the evidence furnished by the new coins as to the merchant having treated the deposit as an open one. Having used the amount deposited for trade purposes, the merchant is bound to pay interest for it just as if he had taken the money on loan. In the same way the depositor is obliged to pay interest on the advances he had drawn from the merchant. Stratagems like the one employed by Uccala, are recommended to the judge already by the Smṛtis in suits of this kind where direct proofs are not available.

124. The explanations given in Note *H*, iv. 495, regarding the basis of the Kaśmir currency, will explain the apparent contrast between the large figure here mentioned for the deposit and the trifling expenses referred to in verses 136 sqq., which are supposed to have exhausted it.

125. Instead of the word *artamātrā* A (*antamātrā* L), which gives no sense and for which *āttamātrā* had been conjectured in the Ed., I propose now to read *arthamātrā*, 'sum of money'; comp. *P.W.*, s.v. *rth* and *tt* are very easily confused in S'āradā writing. The sums thus advanced to the depositor are referred to in viii. 154 as *draviṇena . . . āttena*, 'money taken up.' Durgāpr. has *dattamātrā*, evidently a correction.

126. The expression *triṁśadviṁśa* must be understood as 'twenty or thirty,' and not as 'fifty' (comp. v. 210), because we are informed in viii. 153 that the deposit was handed to the merchant under King Kalaśa. Even taking as the extreme time limits Kalaśa's nominal coronation in Lokakāla 4139, and the year of Uccala's death, Lokakāla 4187, the interval is less than fifty years. Between the accession of Kalaśa and Uccala about thirty-eight years intervened, and between the dates of their death twenty-two years.

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128. The water which has been carried down to the ocean by the streams is received [back] from the clouds; but a thing deposited in a merchant's hands is never again recovered.

129. A merchant in a law-suit relating to the embezzlement of a deposit is more to be dreaded than a tiger; because he shows a face smooth as oil, uses his voice but very little, and shows a gentle appearance.

130. A merchant does not to his life's end abandon his deceit, though in a law-suit one might think each moment that he has abandoned it, judging from his smiles and protestations of former friendship.

131. Courtezans, the official (*kāyastha*), the clerk (*divira*) and the merchant, being [all] deceitful by nature, are [in this respect] superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been trained under a teacher's advice.

132. If a person trusts to a Kirāta, because he bears on his forehead a mark of sandal-ointment, because he wears white clothes and smells of incense, his ruin is not far off.

133. The merchant who puts drops of sandal-ointment on his forehead, eye-holes, ears and heart, takes one's life in a moment, just as a dangerous scorpion would which is marked in six places.

134. The merchant draws up blood and flesh, just like a gourd, and resembles it, being white and black in colour, sweating from the smoke of the fire, having a mouth [narrow] like a needle and a very capacious belly.

135. Then when that [depositor] persisted in his demands, the merchant, having exhausted his pretexts, showed him in anger and with a frown the account book [and said]:

136. "That word *śreyase* ('to profit'?) which was put at the opening [of the account], has turned into *aśreyase* ('to loss'). Six hundred [Dīnnāras] have been taken by you for tolls in crossing the bridge."

137. "A hundred [Dīnnāras] was given to the leather-worker for the repair of a torn shoe and of a whip. For fifty [your] servant girl took ghee against a blister on the foot."

134. The gourd (Lagenaria vulgaris Ser.) is generally used in Kaśmīr and the Panjāb as a vesicatory. For this purpose a small opening is made at one end of the fruit, and the latter filled with smoke over a fire. The gourd is then applied to the suffering part of the body, where it causes blisters. The moisture which the fire draws out of the gourd is compared to the sweat-drops (or tears) which appear on the sanctimonious merchant when he attends daily to his sacrificial fire.

Any one who has visited a bazaar in Northern India will find it easy to recall to his memory figures which might have sat for the humorous, if not very complimentary, portrait drawn here by the author.

136. The interpretation of the first half-line (*yad ādau śreyasa iti nyastam aśreyase padam*) is very doubtful. In translating as above, I assume that *śreyase* and *aśreyase* were mercantile terms, corresponding to our 'profit' and 'loss,' or credit and debit. The merchant would thus say that the depositor's account had turned, owing to the several advances, from a credit account into a debit one.

138. "From pity you gave three hundreds to a potter-woman who was crying over her broken load of pots. Look again and again, here they are put down on the birch-bark."

139. "For a hundred you have brought from the market mice and fish-juice to feed tenderly the kittens of that cat."

140. "For seven hundreds were bought butter as an ointment for the feet as well as rice-flower, ghee and honey on occasion of the baths of the S'rāddha-fortnight."

141. "Your little boy took honey and ginger when suffering from an attack of cough. What can he say whose speech is still a babble? A hundred is put down for this."

142. "In order to get rid of an obstinate beggar who tore his testicles and was expert in assaults, you gave him three hundreds."

143. "For the incense (*dhūpa*), the roots of the S'aṇḍā plant and the onions [presented] to the Gurus, at an average [estimate] of the whole cost one hundred or two must be counted."

144. In this fashion that [merchant] totalled up such and other expenses which could not be kept in mind, and which were to be deducted [from the deposit], and in due course made out an account also for [his] interest.

145. On his fingers which he moved [continually in calculation], the years, months, weeks and lunar days returned again and again without end, just as [they return] in the perpetual circle of existence.

146. Then after lumping up the original sums taken (*mūlagrahaṇa*) and the interest [due for them], he spoke softly with his lips protruding and his eyes half-closed.

140. *S'rāddhapakṣa* or 'S'rāddha-fortnight' is the designation of the dark half of the month Āśvina, when special sacrifices to the Manes are prescribed. For the latter, offerings of the articles mentioned in the text are obligatory. Compare regarding the S'rāddhapakṣa, which is still religiously observed in Kaśmīr and popularly known as *Kām'ar'pach* (Skr. Kamaripakṣa), *Nīlamata*, 748 sqq. A reference to special bathing in connection with these sacrifices occurs in the *Vijayeśvaramāh.*; comp. also *Padma Pur.* i. 20, 79, where the S'rāddhapakṣa is understood under the term *aparapakṣa*.

142. Certain mendicants established at S'rinagar, but recruited from the Panjāb and known as *Sutrāṣāhi*, still practise exactions by threatening to remove their testicles, in case they are refused alms.

143. The translation of this verse is doubtful and the text scarcely quite in order. The *dhūpa* is an incense prepared from the roots of the *dup*[a] plant (Jurinea macrocephala), which grows on the Kaśmīr mountains and is largely exported to India. *S'aṇḍā*, not found in our dictionaries, is certainly the Skr. name of the plant known in Kaśmīr as *hand*. The latter is found growing wild all over the Valley, and is valued as a vegetable and for its medical properties. According to Dr. Elmslie's *Kashmiri Vocabulary*, p. 130, the botanical name of the *hand* is Cichorium intybus.

The expression *bhaṭṭapāda* rendered above by 'Guru,' has already occurred, vii. 280, as an honorific designation of Tantric teachers.

146. I understand this and the preceding verses to mean that the merchant makes out a bill not only for the cost of the articles supplied by him from time to time, but also for the interest due on these advances. The total of these sums, according to his reckoning, exceeds the amount of the original deposit.

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147. "Take this thorn [from my side]. Take the deposit, but the amount of this debt (*ujjāmadhana*) which was advanced to you on trust, you should give [back] honestly together with its interest."

148. That [customer] for a moment thought this speech to be just, and felt assured. But subsequently he felt mortified when he recognized that [the merchant's offer] was like a knife smeared over with honey.

149. He then sued that cruel-hearted and dishonest [merchant], who had cunningly embezzled the whole money. But in court he could not get the better of him, nor could the judges who considered [the case].

Judgment of Uccala.

150. When then this matter regarding which the judges had not been able to arrive at a decision, came before the king, he decided it in the following manner, saying to the merchant:

151. "If the deposited money (*dīnnāra*) is to this day still [available], then let some small portion of it be produced. Then I shall pronounce judgment."

152. When this had been done, he looked at the money and spoke to the ministers: "Do kings use [for their money] the coin type (*taṅka*) of future kings?"

153. "If not, then how come there to be on money deposited in King *Kalaśa's* time, also coin types which show my name?"

154. "From this [it follows that] the merchant here has used for his purposes the deposited lakh, just as also this [customer has used] the goods which he had taken from time to time from the merchant."

155-156. "Therefore, if the plaintiff has to pay to this merchant interest on what he has taken from him, from that time to the present day, then this [merchant] too ought to pay to him interest on the full lakh from the time of its being deposited. What need be said of the original amount?"

157. "Compassionate persons like myself can settle only this much. But for

The latter is treated by the merchant as if it were a closed one, i.e. not bearing interest. Hence it is he who claims to be paid up by his customer; compare the verses following.

147. This verse receives its proper sense if we read with L *nayojjāmadhanaṁ* for A *nayojjāsadhanaṁ*; the latter is unintelligible. The word *ujjāma* I take as the Skr. original or representative of the Kaśmīr *uzum*, 'debt.' The word is found in the *Lokapr.* i., in the expressions *dinnārojjāmacīrikā* 'acknowledgment of a debt in cash,' *dhānyojjāmacīrikā*, 'acknowledgment of a debt in rice,' *bhandojjāmacīrikā*, 'acknowledgment of a debt on pawn,' and also in a bond formulary given, *ib.* Kṣemendra, *Samayam.* viii. 96, uses in the same sense the term *ujjāmapattrikā*; comp. also *ujjāmataṇḍula* 'rice advanced on interest,' *ib.* ii. 78. I have not been able to trace the word *ujjāma* in any of our dictionaries.

148. The saying *kṣuraṁ kṣaudropaliptam* still lives in the Kaśmīrī proverb *nudᵘr śrākh*, 'a knife with honey.' It is often used of an arrangement which seems fair on the first look and is yet unjust.

152. Regarding *taṅka*, see note vii. 926.

155-156. For the general drift of the argument see note viii. 123. I am unable to construe properly these somewhat involved words, unless we read for *vaṇijo 'rthinaḥ*, with a slight correction, °*rthinā*. In S'aradā writing the short mark for ā is liable to be misread for : (Visarga) at the end of words, if followed by a Daṇḍa.

157. See vi. 41 for the punishment inflicted by Yaśaskara in a similar case.

such persons [as this merchant] a harsh treatment would be right like that [employed] by the illustrious *Yaśaskara*."

158. "In a law-suit a merciful order is appropriate in the case of a person who has been under a mistaken notion. But severity ought to be used against him who has employed fraud."

159. The king who knew to await the [right] time, showed patience in debatable matters which were as difficult to get rid of, as arrow-heads embedded in particularly vital parts of the body.

160. In this manner, the king who was ever watchful and wise like Manu, became famous for the care [which he bestowed] on his subjects, and which required no stimulation.

161. Friendship which ought not look to interested motives; strength which ought to be free from arrogance; a woman's virtue which ought to be above rumour; propriety in speech which ought to satisfy all; learning which ought to command power; youth which ought to be free from irresolution; and royalty which should be without blemish,—[all these] verily are found reversed in this last epoch.

162. Even such a moon among great kings lost his self-control owing to jealousy, and caused terror by sinful acts which resembled a fall of meteors.

163. In his jealousy of noble bearing, valour, intelligence, firmness, and youth he destroyed the honour and life of numberless men.

164. And again [on the other hand] men of high honour, who were angered by his harsh speeches, caused humiliation also to the king by their retorts.

165. For one must know that living men, like sleeping snakes, do not display their vigour without their anger having been aroused.

166. In this manifold creation of beings not one is found, whose body, descent, conduct, and the like, is not blemished by faults.

167. The Creator of the Universe (Brahman) is born from [the lotus] which grows in the mud; his body is covered with a reddish-brown colour; his dignity is destroyed by imperfections [such as are implied] by the loss of his immaculate character [consequent] upon the cutting of his head, and by other [defects]. Where such serious faults are first [of all] in him who pervades the great spheres, who could there boast of faultlessness?

168. The king did not reflect upon this and every day discussed openly the defects of his servants' descent, conduct, personal appearance, and the like.

169. He took an excessive pleasure in fights, and caused numberless men of valour to fall in duels by raising mutual enmity between them.

167. The fifth head of Brahman has been burned off by the fire of S'iva's eye.

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170. On the monthly reception-days, at Indra-festivals and on other occasions he presented riches to those soldiers who joined in single combats.

171. There was not at that time any festival when the ground in the court of the palace was not drenched with blood, and lamentation not heard.

172. Soldiers of noble race who had left their homes, as if in exultation, were carried away mutilated from the palace court by their relatives.

173. When the king saw soldiers killed who had glistening black hair, fine beards and splendid apparel, he felt delight instead of pain.

174. The women, when their husbands returned [alive] after going to the royal palace, thought that they had gained a day, but otherwise never felt safe.

Ministers of *Uccala*.

175. Proudly he used to say: "Let that be done which I want," and not allowing any contradiction he forced various servants to act as ministers.

176. Spoiled in his character by spite, he deprived the very persons who had been exalted of their offices, and often also put them in disgrace.

177. The commander-in-chief *Dañchaka*, when he (Uccala) showed anger at his powerful position, fled to *Viṣalāṭā* where the *Khaśas* fell upon him and killed him.

178. *Rakkaka*, whom he had himself raised to the dignity of lord of the Gate, he deprived of his office, when he saw his great strength.

179. The general *Māṇikya* on being suddenly dismissed from the charge of the 'Gate,' devoted himself in his affliction to austerities at *Vijayakṣetra*.

180. *Tilaka* and other excellent men from *Kāka's* family, who held chief-command of the army (*kampana*) and other high offices, escaped his displeasure by their pliant nature.

181. Being pleased by his devoted services, he gave to *Bhogasena*, though he had no attendants and but mean clothes, the office of chief-justice (*rājasthānadhikāra*).

170. Compare for the expression *māsārghadina*, vii. 196.

177. In note i. 317, it has already been indicated that *Viṣalaṭā* must be identified with the valleys drained by the *Bichlāri* river, a tributary of the Cināb. This hill district, situated immediately to the S. of the Div'sar and Shāhābād Parganas, is now called generally Bān'hāl, after the pass of that name to which it forms the approach. The name *Viṣalāṭā* is probably preserved in that of the river *Bicalāri* (for *t* > *r*, comp. notes iii. 11; vi. 202; viii. 250).

In viii. 684 *Viṣalāṭā* is mentioned as the route by which the pretender Bhikṣācara intends to invade Devasarasa, i.e. Div'sar. In viii. 1074 we read of some Kaśmir nobles who, after being pursued to Vitastātra (below the Bān'hāl pass), take refuge with the Khaśas in Viṣalāṭā after crossing the mountain range. In viii. 1729 Deṅgapāla, a Khaśa chief, who according to viii. 554 resides on the banks of the Candrabhāgā, is spoken of as threatening to advance against Kaśmir from Viṣalāṭā. For other passages, comp. viii. 697, 1131, 1662.

Regarding the *Khaśas*, see note i. 317.

180. From viii. 1385 it is seen that *Kāka* was the father of *Tilaka* '*Kākaraṇīya*,' who with his relatives is so frequently mentioned in the succeeding narrative. The same family may have been meant in vii. 1311.

181. Compare note vii. 601 regarding the term *rājasthāna*.

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182. Even *Gaggacandra*, when he had seen his (Bhogasena's) terrible prowess in a fight at a festival of *Indradvādaśī*, had ignominiously fled, though he had strong soldiers.

183. *Raḍḍa*, *Chuḍḍa* and *Vyaḍḍa*, the sons of a common soldier of the name of *Saḍḍa*, were also made ministers by that [king].

184. *Tilaka* and *Janaka*, the sons of *Vijayasiṁha*, escaped from misery by serving him, and were received amongst his councillors.

185. Who could name [all] those, *Yama*, *Aila*, *Abhaya*, *Bāṇa*, and the rest, who held charge of the 'Gate' and other offices, and whose fortunes proved as transitory as the lightning?

186. Two or three old [officers], like *Praśastakalaśa*, who were amongst them, appeared like decayed trees in the midst of young ones.

187. *Kandarpa* whom the king had recalled by messengers, did not accept office, notwithstanding his requests, as he recognized the king's intolerant nature

188. Under the new king everything in the land was quite new, the conduct in the [royal] assembly, discussion, procedure and the rest.

189. The goddess of fortune, as if she were a courtezan covered with a magic powder, subdues even the strong-minded and makes them trespass.

190. The regal dignity causes [those who own it], just as if they were spirits of the dead, to see manifest enemies even in relatives and to lose regard for relationship.

Sussala's invasion.

191. [Thus it came about] that King *Sussala*, though in possession of all that gives happiness, planned a sudden attack on his brother in the hope of wresting the kingdom [from him].

192. Suddenly the elder brother heard that [Sussala], who moved as fast as a falcon, had arrived [in Kaśmīr] and had got beyond the place called *Varāhavārta*.

182. The name of *Indradvādaśī* is still known in Kaśmīr as the designation of the 12th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, which is the day of the pilgrimage to the sacred sites of the Varāhakṣetra. The *Nīlamata*, 792 sq. knows a festival on this day, but calls it *mahādvādaśī*. The 'Indra festival' mentioned above viii. 170 was, perhaps, celebrated on this day

Gaggacandra is the same person as *Gagga*, mentioned above, viii. 33, 37, 13, as the brother of the Ḍāmara Janakacandra. The full Skr. form of the name is *Gargacandra*, found viii. 354, 390, 598. Most frequently, however, this personage is referred to by the abbreviated name *Garga*, viii. 348, 352, 424 sqq., etc.

184. *Vijayasiṁha* is, perhaps, identical with the person of this name mentioned vii. 580, 583, 827 sqq.

Tilaka and Janaka are often referred to in the subsequent narrative by their full names *Tilakasiṁha* and *Janakasiṁha*: comp. viii. 578, 592, 682, 791, etc.

186. For *Praśastakalaśa*, see vii. 572.

187. Regarding *Kandarpa's* exile, see vii. 1000 sqq.

192. In Note *E* on Lohara (iv. 177), § 7, it has been shown that this invasion of Sussala was made in all probability by the Tosmaidān route. *Varāhavārta* might therefore be placed at or near the present village of *Varāhgām*, situated in the Bīru Pargaṇa 74° 39' long. 33° 58' lat., and about three miles to the E. of Drang. (The place is marked on the map as *Waragam*.)

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193. He (Uccala) thereupon set out with rapidity and attacking him with a strong force, before he had secured a firm position, inflicted a defeat upon him.

194. The means [at his disposal] could be judged from the various stores and masses of betel left at the place from which he had fled.

195. On the following day, before the king had started to return after accomplishing this deed, he heard that [Sussala], whose valour was formidable, had returned.

196. Thereupon *Gaggacandra* started by his order with a strong force and routed the troops of King *Sussala*.

197. Numerous soldiers of *Sussala* who could not stand the brunt of the battle, found relief from their fatigues on the garden-like cars of the celestial maids (Apsaras).

198. The two Rājaputras *Sahadeva* and *Yudhiṣṭhira* there paid back in battle with their lives the debt [they owed] for their lord's favour.

199. *Gagga* captured excellent horses which had run away from *Sussala's* army, such as excited the wonder even of the king, though he owned many horses.

200. When the king heard that he (Sussala) was encamped on the route of *Selyapura* and on the way towards *Kramarājya*, he quickly followed him.

201. Closely pursued by his elder brother he (Sussala) proceeded with a small number of followers to the *Darad* land.

202. The king executed the Ḍāmara *Loṣṭaka*, a native of *Selyapura*, who had opened the way for him, and then proceeded to the City.

203. Though guilty of hostile acts, yet from tender regard for his brother he made no effort during the latter's absence to seize the *Lohara* mountains.

204-205. The illustrious King *Sussala* had married the spotless *Meghamañjarī*, the daughter of King *Vijayapāla*. [She was] the daughter's daughter of *Kalha*, lord of *Kāliñjara*, who being himself without a son had brought her up, when she had lost her father, with tender love in place of a son and in his own palace.

206. On account of the greatness of this [king's] power the disaffected and enemies had not the strength to harm even a child at *Lohara*.

195. The text in the first half of this verse is scarcely correct.

200. For *Selyapura*, the modern *S'il'pōr*, situated on the route from the Toṣ̄maidān to S'rinagar, see note vii. 494.

204-5. Regarding *Kāliñjara* (here wrongly written *Kālindara*) and its rulers, see note vii. 1256.

206. The text of this verse permits of different interpretations. It seems to me to contain a reference to the authority of *Kalha*, who protected Sussala's dominion. Without such a reference, the mention of the latter's marriage with Kalha's granddaughter in the preceding verses would be meaningless.

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207. Brave King *Sussala*, too, left [the Darad land] by routes hard to pass, and after many months reached his own territory by a difficult mountain-track.

208. After this danger had been averted, other apparent troubles too passed away from the resolute King *Uccala* as [soon as] they arose.

Rise of other pretenders.

209. *Bhīmādeva* having got hold of *Bhoja*, a son of King *Kalaśa*, called to his assistance *Jagaddala*, king of the *Darads*.

210. *Salha*, the son of one of King *Harṣa's* concubines, and *Sañjapāla*, the brother of *Darśanapāla*, were his supporters.

211. Thereupon the shrewd king caused by diplomatic means the lord of the *Darads* to refrain from aggression; he turned back and proceeded to his own country.

212. *Salha* followed him; *Bhoja* went secretly to his own land, and *Sañjapāla* took service with King *Sussala*.

213. In a short time *Bhoja* was betrayed by his own servant, who had taken a bribe, and executed by the king like a robber.

214. *Pitthaka*, too, *Deveśvara's* son, who aspired to the crown, had to flee into distant lands when the king supported by the Ḍāmaras went forth [to meet him].

215. Foolish persons who rely on notoriety, and move about everywhere without reflection just like animals, deserve to be laughed at.

216-217. A certain bazaar-cook who was a clever intriguer, passed himself off abroad as a son of *Malla*, *Rāmala* by name, and was made much of with grants of presents, honours and the like, by neighbouring chiefs who were eager to cause disturbance, and were deceived [by him].

218. In the summer when the heat troubled him he came alone to *Kaśmīr*, and on being recognized had his nose cut off by the king's servants.

219. This very person was then seen again to the people's amusement running about in the royal camp, engaged, as befitted [a person of] his caste, in selling articles of food, etc.

220. In vain do people use cunning and deceptions to raise their position; the will of fate cannot be altered.

221. Man's effort resembles a fire in the grass, which by the wind of fate is made to flame up in one place even when subdued, and to go out in another even if kindled.

222. Man cannot get away by running from his fixed destiny, as [little as] the bird [by flying] from the fire bound to its tail.

223. The life of a person, whose breath is destined [to last] until he has

207. For a route possibly taken by Sussala, comp. note viii. 2704 sqq.

209. Regarding *Bhīmādeva* comp. viii. 21 sqq.

210. Regarding *Darśanapāla*, see vii. 1253.

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enjoyed what he is to enjoy, cannot be destroyed by adversaries, neither by the employment of continuous fire, poison, the sword and arrows, nor by a violent throw over a precipice, nor by sorcery.

Escape of Prince Bhikṣācara.

224. By the king's order *Bhikṣācara*, being condemned to die, was taken at night by the executioners from *Jayamatī's* apartments to the place of execution.

225-227. Bound to a stone he was thrown into the *Vitastā;* the winds drove him immediately to the river-bank where a compassionate Brahman found him with his breast still palpitating. After some time he recovered consciousness and was given [by that Brahman] to *Āsamati*, who being a relative, was called by the *S'āhi* princesses out of respect by the name of *Diddā*. This clever woman took the boy secretly abroad, and he grew up in the *Dekhan*.

228. *Naravarman*, the ruler of *Mālava*, kept that [boy] who was aware of his story, like a son, and had him trained in arms and taught sciences.

229. Others have said that *Jayamatī* herself had preserved him by having another child of the same age killed in his place.

230. When the king heard this account from an envoy who had returned from abroad, he ceased thereafter to show affection for this [queen].

231. He prudently did not openly betray this [fact], and made a treaty with the princes whose [lands] lay on the route, to prevent his (Bhikṣācara's) entry [into Kaśmīr].

232. A foolish person by showing openly suspicion as to his wife's [faithfulness], and by displaying apprehension of an enemy, himself invites others [to injure him].

233. Others have related that *Diddā*, when *Bhikṣācara* had been killed, had taken some child which resembled him, and had passed it off under his name.

234. Whether this be true or false, he (Bhikṣācara) obtained thus such importance that even fate could not reduce him to insignificance.

235. The wonderful diversity of [the results of] former actions produces astonishing phenomena, such as are unknown to dreams, magic or imagination.

236. This prince grew up secretly for the ruin of the people, as the fire [rises] in a thicket to burn down towns, villages and other [habitations]

225-227. Comp. regarding *Āsamati*, viii. 541, 552. It is still customary in Kaśmīr Brahman families to call the eldest woman of the household by the honorific name of *Didd* (Diddā), given in recollection of the great queen. The '*S'āhi* princesses' are Harṣa's queens, comp. vii. 1470, 1550, etc.

228. The *Naravarman* here referred to is mentioned in the genealogical lists of the later Paramāra rulers of Mālava as contained in their copper-plate grants; see Prof. KIELHORN's paper, *Ind. Ant.*, xix. 346 sq. From the Nagpur stone inscription published by Prof. KIELHORN, *Epigr. Ind.*, ii. 180 sqq., it appears that Naravarman was on the throne in the Vikrama year 1161, i.e. A.D. 1104-5, having succeeded his brother Lakṣmadeva, son of Udayāditya.

UCCALA (A.D. 1101-11).

237. Close to the poison-tree grows the plant Prativiṣā ('antidote'), and at the time when the pure waters are spoilt by the rainy season, the rise of Agastya (Canopus) makes itself felt. The far-sighted Creator sees indeed the dangers which threaten to destroy creation when they [first] arise, and arranges to counteract them.

Birth of *Jayasiṁha* (A.D. 1105-6).

238. Thus at that very time there was born to King *Sussala* a son who was capable of upholding the world which was sinking in misfortunes.

239. Appropriately the king gave to this son the name of *Jayasiṁha* ('lion of victory'), since from the time of this son's birth he was everywhere victorious.

240. Just as *Sarvārthasiddha*, the name of *Buddha*, is appropriate [in its literal meaning] on account of his possessing supernatural powers in all matters (*sarvārthasiddhi*) [and yet in conventional use applies only to Buddha], so also his name *Jayasiṁha* while [in its literal meaning] appropriate, yet has not ceased to have a conventional use (*rūḍhi*) [restricted to this particular king].

241. When King *Uccala* saw the mark which showed itself on the saffron-[coloured] foot of this [son], he gave up his anger against his brother.

242. This mark on the boy's foot removed the enmity between his father and uncle, and gave peace to both kingdoms.

Uccala's pious foundations.

243. King *Uccala* thereupon to increase the merits of his father, who had gone to heaven, built a Maṭha under his name on the site of the paternal [house].

244. The liberal king gave away at the great festival [when that Maṭha was consecrated,] cows, land, gold and clothes, and was like a wondrous wishing-tree for all suppliants.

245. Even great kings were astonished in distant lands by the presents of great value sent to them by that [ruler] whose wealth deserved to be praised.

246. Also Queen *Jayamatī* built a Vihāra with a Maṭha in order to put to a noble use the riches which she had gained by her husband's favour.

247. Owing to certain demerits of the king from a former [birth], this Maṭha lost its desired designation [and became known] by the name of *Navamaṭha* ('the new Maṭha').

237. See regarding the star of *Agastya*, note ii. 140.

238. From K.'s statement, viii. 3404, it must be concluded that Jayasiṁha's birth fell in the Laukika year 4181, or A.D. 1105-6.

240. K. wants to say that the name *Jayasiṁha*, as that of Buddha *Sarvārthasiddha*, has both an etymological and conventional meaning, equally applicable to the king. Such words are designated as *yogarūḍha*.

241. Reddish colour of the feet is an auspicious sign; comp. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, lxviii. 87, 97.

244. No reference is made subsequently to a *Mallamaṭha*.

247. The *Navamaṭha* is mentioned subsequently viii. 374, 1052, 2309. It seems from K.'s words that Jayamatī intended it to be called after her husband. For a suggestion as to its site, see note viii. 1052.

UCCALA (A.D. 1101-11).

248. Also the Vihāra which he built in honour of his sister *Sullā* on the site of the other paternal [house], did not acquire proper renown.

249. Indeed, as he did not think of death which was hanging over his head, endowments had not been settled on his foundations [when he died].

Uccala's adventure near *Svayambhū*.

250. Once this king, while stopping in *Kramarājya*, proceeded to the hill-village of *Varhaṭacakra* to see the *Svayambhū* fire.

251. As he was marching by way of the village of *Kambaleśvara*, there came suddenly armed Caṇḍālas, robbers of that locality, and surrounded him.

252. They wished to strike him down quickly, as he had only a very small force with him, yet his . . . . courage arrested their weapons, and they did not strike.

253. The path being blocked, he passed one night in the deep mountain-gorge moving about with a few followers.

254. At that time there spread everywhere in the camps the evil rumour, difficult to stop and causing commotion, that the king was no more.

255. This bad report which was a small affair when it started from the camp, became important in the City, like the wind from a hill-gorge when it reaches the forest.

248. The *Sullāvihāra* was completed by Jayasiṁha, see viii. 3318. Comp. for Malla's second residence on the right bank of the river, vii. 1491.

250-251. The localities connected with this adventure of Uccala can be fixed without difficulty. The still existing Tīrtha of Agni *Svayambhū*, now known as Suyam, has been discussed in note i. 34. About a mile to the S. of this site lies the hamlet of *Tsakᵘvaḍar* (marked 'Sheikhwadda' on the map), which, I think, can safely be identified with *Varhaṭacakra*.

The modern name is the exact phonetic derivative of a form **Cakra-Varhaṭa*, in which the two words of the compound name have been transposed. Kś. *tsakᵘ*, 'wheel,' is the representative of Skr. *cakra*. For *Vaḍar* < *Varhaṭa*, it should be noted that in rustic Kś. *r* at the end or in the middle of words is almost invariably pronounced as *ḍ*, and that final *ṭ* is regularly changed into *r*: comp. *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* > *Kaṣṭᵘvār*, *ghoṭaka* > *gurᵘ*, 'horse,' etc. Alternative forms of village names in which the words composing them can be transposed, are not unknown in Kaśmīr. Thus, e.g. a village of the Phāk Pargaṇa is known both as *Dārā-Sādᵘpōr* and *Sādᵘpōr-Dārā*, and another in the Vular Pargaṇa, both as *Kai-Chaᵘhkōṭh* and *Chaᵘhkōṭh-Kai*.

The name *Kambaleśvara* can be recognized without difficulty in the present *Krambhar*, the name of a village situated at the foot of a low hill range in the Machᵢpōr Pargaṇa, about 74° 15′ long. 34° 26′ lat. (marked *Krombhur* on map). For the phonetic relation between Kś. *-har* < Skr. *-eśvara*, comp. the remarks made in note v. 46 on *Triphar* < *Tripureśvara* and other Kś. local names derived from Skr. names ending in *-īśvara*.

Past this range of fir-covered hills leads the route from the northern parts of Kramarājya towards *Svayambhū*. Near the village of *Dachᵘldōr* it enters the valley of the stream shown as *Panjtar* on the map, and hence follows it to the W. This valley contracts above the village of *Rājpōr* into a narrow wooded gorge. This for a distance of about one mile would offer excellent opportunities for a sudden attack, such as that described in the text. The path runs along the bottom of the gorge and follows the tortuous course of the stream between steep cliffs. A visit I paid to this neighbourhood in September, 1892, showed me that this path could easily be blocked by a small number. Higher up near Svayambhu itself the country is comparatively open and formed by a series of grassy spurs with broad shallow valleys between them.

252. The reading of A *udrojovaṣṭambha*° is certainly corrupt in its first part, and satisfactory emendation difficult.

256. Prefect of the City was at that time *Chuḍḍa*, a descendant of the soldier *Kāmadeva* and brother of *Raḍḍa* and the rest.

257. After allaying the agitation in the City, he went with his brothers into the armoury in the palace and held council as to the further course of action.

258. While they were considering whom they should make king, there addressed them also the Kāyastha *Saḍḍa*, who was an intriguer among the householders.

259. "Having got hold of the kingdom thus without rivals, you should yourself rule it, since the number of your friends, relatives and servants makes you invincible."

260. When he had thus spoken to them, these villains felt the desire to become rulers, and were quickly preparing to seat themselves on the throne.

261. The report that they were of the race of the illustrious King *Yaśaskara* put into all of their family the aspiration to the throne.

262. Dishonest as their course of life was, this deep-rooted ambition turned by the sayings of wicked friends into disaffection.

263. How should not this wicked procedure have recommended itself to *Saḍḍa*, [considering] that the wretch was born in the family of the load-carrier *Lavaṭa*?

264. Though he was only the son of a small official called *Kṣemadeva*, yet he had a ferocious character, as befitted a person given to desperate actions.

265. When he had stolen a golden pitcher from the royal palace he was suspected owing to [certain] indications, but yet not recognized [as the thief] on account of [his] cunning.

266. Carrying a dagger, bareheaded and insulting everybody with his laughs, he [behaved himself] like a Rājaputra, and thought the three worlds a very small thing [compared with himself].

267. While he was swinging his fingers to and fro he was [ever] occupied by a thought of the throne, which was seen to bear an evil fruit.

268. They (Chuḍḍa, etc.) were eager to grasp the royal power both owing to his advice and by their own desire, but when they heard that the king was alive they lost their hopes.

269. From that time onwards that ambition was ever [present] in their mind.

256. Comp. above viii. 183. Regarding *Kāmadeva*, the grandfather of Yaśaskara, see v. 469

261. *Chuḍḍa* and his brothers, as descendants of *Kāmadeva*, Yaśaskara's grandfather, could claim relationship with a former dynasty.

263. Regarding *Lavaṭa*, see v 177.

266. Compare vii. 922, where the going bareheaded is referred to as the former habit of Kaśmirians.

UCCALA (A.D. 1101-11).

Without [openly] displaying itself it seemed neither to close the eyes nor to sleep.

270. Then in the course of time the king, whose attachment did not last long, reduced them to an inferior position, and removed them from [their posts in] the royal court (? *rājasthāna*).

271. The king who by nature used at all times harsh words against everyone, said to them too, in the meantime, things which cut to the quick.

272. They had lost their father in the time of King *Harṣa*, and were then living in the house of their widowed mother who was [yet] young and hot-blooded.

273. At that time they had killed a soldier called *Mayyāmattaka*, who was their neighbour and intimate friend, because they suspected him of being the paramour of their mother.

274. The king asked himself why they had not punished her too, as she had been unchaste, and angerly ordered their mother's nose to be cut off.

275. This story the king mentioned in their presence, and used to inquire after them with the words: "Where are the sons of the woman with the cut nose?"

276. The king who was like death to the Kāyasthas, had removed *Sadda* too from his official position after having [previously] employed him as the superintendent of the 'Chief Treasury' (*bṛhadgañja*) and other [treasuries].

277. His (Sadda's) own accountant whom he had violently maltreated, then denounced him to the king as having embezzled revenue of the treasury.

Conspiracy against *Uccala*.

278. When the king thereupon in indignation took [from him] the post of *praveśabhāgika* (cashier ?), this ferocious man urged *Radda*, *Chudda*, and the rest to [follow up] their former plan.

279. They then decided to kill the king, and waiting for an opportunity put themselves into communication with other evil-minded persons, *Haṁsaratha*, and the like.

280. Those who wished to take the king's life met and took an oath by sacred libation (*pītakośa*), but for four or five years they never found an opportunity.

281. It is curious and due to the people's sins that this secret design was not

270. This reference to the *rājasthāna* is curious. Neither of Chudda nor of any of his brothers has it been previously stated that they held the high post of Rājasthāniya, which is last mentioned in viii. 181 as filled by Bhogasena. It is therefore probable that the word has not to be taken here in the technical meaning explained in note vii. 601, but in the wider sense indicated by the translation; compare also viii. 576, where an accounts-office (*śeḍa*) is designated as a 'Rājasthāna.'

278. The exact character of the post of *praveśabhāgika* is uncertain. It might have been a subordinate official of the treasury who received the actual tax-payments (*praveśa*), corresponding to the modern *Khazānchi* (*Pēṭirōl* in Kaśmir).

betrayed, though it was planned for a long time and by many persons who were much divided [amongst themselves].

282. They told each one: "It is to you that the king ever uses words which cut to the quick," and thus fomented disaffection towards the ruler.

283. The conspirators protecting their breasts, sides and back with hidden armour, continually followed the king.

284-285. The king, who before had been unable to support separation from *Jayamatī*, and who though [king] would do anything to please her, just as [if he were] an ordinary lover, now showed for two years a permanent dislike for her [which was due] to a change in his character foreboding his end.

286. Some attributed this to her having protected *Bhikṣācara*, others again to the inconstancy of love passions which resembles that of the lightning.

287. Then *Bijjalā*, the daughter of the lord of *Vartula*, whom the king had married, gained his affections.

288. King *Saṁgrāmapāla* died at that time, and his son, *Somapāla* by name, ascended the paternal throne.

289. When the king heard that intriguers had crowned him after having, from hatred, imprisoned his elder brother, who was fit for the throne, he became enraged against *Rājapurī*.

290. He gave the hand of his daughter, who was a surety of lasting good fortune . . . .

291. This great feast was the last celebrated with splendour and great expense by that lover of all his subjects, who was a magical thought-gem to supplicants.

292. When his son-in-law had departed, the king turned out of employ (?) all the *Tantrins* for some slight displeasure, but let the conspirators go free.

293. *Bhogasena*, too, whom the king at that time removed in anger from the charge of the 'Gate,' became his enemy.

287. I am unable to identify the territory of *Vartula* of whose king Sahajapāla is named, viii. 539. The only other mention of it I can trace is in *Vikram.* xviii. 38, where 'a lord of *Khartula*' is mentioned among the hill chiefs defeated by King Anantadeva. As ब and व are easily confused in S'āradā writing (which also Bilhaṇa used), it is scarcely doubtful that both names refer to the same tract. Can *Vartula* be the hill-district of *Bātal* shown on the map as situated on the N. bank of the Cināb and to the S.W of Bānᵃhāl or Viṣalāṭa?

288. For *Saṁgrāmapāla* of Rājapuri, see vii. 533.

290. The text has here a lacuna which extends probably over more than one half-verse. It appears that K. referred in the missing text to the marriage of Uccala's daughter *Saubhāgyalekhā* to *Somapāla*. This daughter is subsequently mentioned viii. 1464 sq

292. The meaning of this verse is doubtful. Instead of A *nirvṛttiḥ*, corrected in the Ed. into *nirvṛttin*, L has *nivṛttiḥ*, which, however, is also not clear.

UCCALA (A.D. 1101-11).

294. Now this man of valour had previously, while in office, after suppressing all Ḍāmaras, set out towards *Lohara* to vanquish King *Sussala*.

295. The king, whose hostility [against his brother] was mixed with tenderness, had ordered him back, whereupon he (Bhogasena) had spoken in a derogatory way of the king; on hearing this the latter felt anger.

Bhogasena joins the conspirators.

296. The king having insulted this brave man who was his best friend, *Raḍḍa, Chuḍḍa,* and the others then took him into the secret.

297. The king [as if he were] anxious to gain Yama's land (i.e. death) did not exile those who had been insulted, who were full of aspirations, who had formed a league and had lost their subsistence.

298. The crooked-minded *Saḍḍa* reproached them for having trusted themselves to *Bhogasena,* because he judged from the latter's bravery that his character was straightforward.

299. And he said: "The king must be killed to-day, even if it costs our lives. Otherwise *Bhogasena* with his shallow mind will betray [the conspiracy]."

300. *Saḍḍa's* words were not untrue, because *Bhogasena,* anxious to disclose [the conspiracy], told the king that he wished to say something in secret.

301. The king replied: "What are you going to tell? I shall not give you [back] the charge of the 'Gate.'" By this insult he led him to join the conspirators.

302. He who abandons himself to fate, hates those who stir him up, just like a person who forgets himself in deep sleep on a day at the end of the hot season.

Attack of conspirators.

303. The *Tantrins* who came on guard in their own turn, proceeded then to the palace together with their armed companions who were ready.

304. They let certain Caṇḍālas come into the hall who had been given a sign, and told them: "Strike at him at whom we strike to-night"

305. When the king had taken his meal they, standing in the outer hall, turned out the servants by saying that the king was in an angry mood.

306. The king was preparing to go to *Bijjalā's* apartments, and dulled by amorous sensations came out from the inner hall, with lamps lit to guide him.

307. When he had got into the central hall with a few followers, *Saḍḍa* blocked the hall he had left, and held back the other people [from following him].

308. When the opposite door had also been blocked by others, all the conspirators rose up and surrounded the king.

296. The text of the first half-verse is defective, but the general purport of the verse is evidently the one indicated above.

309. While one [of them] stopped him by kneeling down before him, pretending to address a communication [to him], the Brahman *Teja*, the son of *Dinna*, laid hold of his hair and struck him with a dagger.

310. The many daggers which then penetrated into his limbs, yellow-coloured by his golden ornaments, appeared like great snakes [moving] into the cliffs of Mount Sumeru.

311. Crying "Treason, treason," he freed his hair which they had seized, and tore off with his teeth the leather-string which held back the hilt of his toy-dagger.

312. Because the attendant who carried his Kaṭār (*kaṭṭāraka*), *Sujanākara* by name, had fled from his side when the assailants were striking at him.

313. He (Uccala) then drew out that small knife, fit for a boy. With difficulty it came out from the sheath, secured as it was at the hilt.

314. While his entrails were protruding, he then bound up his braided hair which the assailants had let go, holding [meanwhile] the dagger between his knees.

315. With a roar he struck *Teja*, and showed even such strength that the latter fell to the ground, as if struck in all vulnerable places [at once].

316. Then he struck *Raḍḍa*, who was attacking him from behind, and with a lion-like roar turned round and tore open *Vyaḍḍa*.

317. He cut down also another armed man, who though wearing armour, soon breathed his last, writhing in [agony].

318. Having got an opportunity he was running to get out, but the hall door was kept closed by the guards who did not knew it was the king.

319. As he was going towards the other door, *Chuḍḍa* stepped in his way and saying: "Where are you going?" struck at him with his sword.

320. Then he saw *Bhogasena*, who was standing at the end of the doorway with his face turned away, and was making a drawing on the wall with a wooden paint brush.

321. The king as he ran past, said: "*Bhogasena*, why do you look on?" In his shame he replied something indistinct.

322. *Rayyāvaṭṭa*, a lamp-bearer, who was unarmed, had taken up the fight with a brass lamp, and fell under their strokes.

323. *Somapāla*, a Rājaputra from *Campā*, did not fall into disgrace when after slaying his assailants he succumbed to their strokes.

312. The Kaṭār is a large double-edged dagger fitted with a peculiar hilt. It was much used once in Northern India; for representations see e.g. EGERTON, *Handbook of Indian Arms*, p. 102, fig. 340.

UCCALA (A.D. 1101-11).

324. *Ajjaka*, the grandson of the illustrious *S'ūrapāla* and a son of *Rājaka*, ran away like a dog, hiding his dagger just as [if it were his] tail.

325. Then as the king in his flight was endeavouring to scale the railing, the Caṇḍālas cut his knees, and he fell to the ground.

326. A faithful Kāyastha, *S'ṛṅgāra* by name, threw his own body over him, but was removed by the enemies after their strokes had lacerated his body.

Death of *Uccala* (A.D. 1111).

327. As the king endeavoured to rise again, all his assailants let fall upon him their numerous weapons, which seemed like a garland of dark-blue lotuses [bestowed upon him] by Kālī [as a mark] of her choice.

328. The depraved *Saḍḍa* himself cut his throat, saying: "This rogue may perhaps simulate death though yet not dead."

329. He also cut off his fingers, and drew off the jewelled rings, exclaiming: "It is I who was turned out of office [by him]."

330. The long-armed [king] was seen on the ground as if asleep, with his face covered by the locks from which the garlands had fallen, and with one foot yet shod.

331. The want of pity which this mighty [king] had shown towards people was to some extent atoned for by the great heroism [he displayed] at his end.

332. A servant, *S'ūraṭa* by name, who had gone out and was loudly bewailing the treachery, was cut down by the enraged *Bhogasena*.

333. The king who had started for the apartments of his beloved wife, seemed by a mistake in the direction to have taken his way to the residence of Kālī.

334. Kings who in their kingdom go eagerly after enjoyments, and please their mind with a multitude of various dresses, resemble bees which in the garden seek eagerly the stamina [of the flowers] and please themselves with a multitude of various blossoms. Alas, they [both] somehow disappear as soon as they are seen; those [kings] are thrown down by their destiny set in motion by fate, and these [bees] by the creeper [set in motion] by the wind.

335. The lord of Laṅkā (Rāvaṇa) who had vanquished the three worlds, was defeated by animals, and the Kuru lord, the foremost of numberless kings, received on his head a kick from a foot. Thus every [great person finds] in the end humiliating defeat, just as [if he were] of the ordinary kind. Who then would keep up his pride and think: "I am great"?

336. The king whom his enemies had abandoned, when he was dead, was carried naked like a pauper by his parasol-holders to be cremated.

335. Rāvaṇa's defeat by Hanumat's monkeys is alluded to. 'The Kuru lord' is Duryodhana, who was kicked on the head by Bhīma at the end of their combat.

UCCALA (A.D. 1101-11).

337-338. One attached [the king's] arms to his neck, the other took the feet under his arms. Thus they dragged the king whose neck hung down, whose hair was waving, whose body was drenched with blood, and whose wounds emitted a faint whistling sound, out of the palace, and carried him naked like a pauper to the burning-ground.

339. Frightened, they cremated him at once on the ground of the island which is at the confluence of the *Mahāsarit* and *Vitastā*.

340. Nobody looked on when he was slain nor when he was burned. Quickly he disappeared from sight, as if he had flown away.

341. He had passed his forty first year when he lost his life in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] eighty-seven (A.D. 1111) on the sixth day of the bright half of Pauṣa.

RAḌḌA-S'AṄKHARĀJA (8-9th December, 1111 A.D.).

342. Then *Raḍḍa* blood-stained [as he was], with sword and armour, placed himself on the throne, [where he appeared] like a Vetāla on a stone of the burning-ground.

† 343. . . . .

344. After he (Raḍḍa) had descended from the throne to fight, his relatives and followers fought bravely in his presence and [dying] adorned the battle field.

345. Two Tantrins, *Vaṭṭa* and *Paṭṭa*, who were his relatives, and *Kaṭṭasūrya* and other soldiers fell, after fighting for a long time, and died at the main gate of the palace (*siṁhadvāra*).

346. *Raḍḍa*, armed with sword and shield was seen in the palace court-yard dancing, as it were, like an actor on the stage of the combat and striking his opponents.

347. After he had cut down many by his strokes, and had again and again rendered the victory of his enemies doubtful, he fell at last in the combat.

339. In the note iii. 339-349 it has been shown that the Mahāsarit is the present *Mār* stream which flows from the Dal lake, and with its branch called Tsūnṭh Kul ('the apple-tree canal') reaches the Vitastā opposite to the Shēr Gaḍ' palace and a little below the first bridge. Between the Mahāsarit and the Vitastā lies the great island of *Māyᵉsum* (Makṣikasvāmin, see note iv. 88). At the western end of this island, and a short distance above the first bridge, the river bank was used as a burning-ground for Hindus until some forty years ago. Close to it the Christian cemetery of the Shaikh Bāgh has been established. If K.'s reference, iii. 339, could be accepted as historical, we should have to assume that the site was used as a S'maśāna already before the foundation of Pravarasena's city.

343. The text has here a lacuna which must extend over more than the half-verse shown in the Ed. as missing. The lines now missing probably contained an account of the arrival of Gargacandra and his attack on the conspirators. From viii. 356 it is seen that Raḍḍa, who took the name of *S'aṅkharāja*, occupied the throne during the night which followed Uccala's murder, and during the next morning.

L supplies with *sakakṣa* the three Akṣaras missing in A at the commencement of the second half of verse 343, but the preceding lacuna makes it impossible to ascertain the meaning of this half-verse even when thus completed.

345. Regarding *siṁhadvāra*, see vi. 244.

Raḍḍa-S'aṅkharāja (8-9th December, 1111 A.D.).

348. Garga, whom the cruel struggle made exceed the [proper] limits, ordered in his fury that the punishment due for high treason be executed upon the dead [Raḍḍa].

Conspirators defeated by *Gargacandra*.

349. *Vyaḍḍa* was killed near the *Diddāmaṭha* by the citizens, who poured ashes and stones [upon him], and his head was thrust into a privy-drain.

350. They who had betrayed their lord were dragged about by ropes [bound] to their ankles, and at once received everywhere from the people the honour of being spat upon, which they had deserved by their deed.

351. *Haṁsaratha* and others fled and joined *Saḍḍa* somewhere, to suffer for some time yet pangs of misery worse than death.

352. *Bhogasena*, who had arrogantly thought that *Garga* had been defeated after his younger brother's death, then heard of these events which were [to him] like annihilation.

353. He turned back with the desire of offering resistance, but seeing the fleeing soldiers he retired in fear somewhere, followed by some of his own people.

354. Thus had *Gargacandra*, helped only by his arm, killed and scattered the leaders of the league of conspirators.

355. Of such bravery and skill in a desperate enterprise, as this illustrious [man] displayed, I have not heard anywhere, even in stories.

356. That traitor [Raḍḍa], who had taken the name of *S'aṅkharāja*, went the way of the evil-doers, after having reigned for one night and one watch of a day.

357. These traitors had boastfully claimed to be descended from *Yaśaskara's* family, and, therefore, they held like King *Varṇaṭa* the royal power only for a moment.

358. The Kirātas in the forest, who destroy the lion and other [wild beasts] by raising jungle-fires and by constructing traps, find their end by the accidental fall of rocks. All people, indeed, rush forward by the one path of death. "I am the slayer and he the slain,"—this means a difference but for a brief time.

359. Those who hear with joy the auspicious acclamations of the women folk at their own wedding, listen with misery, as their end comes, to the lamentations of their wives. He who rejoiced but yesterday at slaying his enemy, he, too, beholds his slayer excited with joy. Fie over this delusion which produces blindness!

349. For *Diddāmaṭha*, now Did^amar, see note vi. 300.

352 Events are here alluded to which must have been related in the verses now missing before viii. 343. A younger brother of *Garga*, called *Saḍḍa*, is named viii. 33.

357. See for *Varṇaṭa*, who was selected for a short time as Yaśaskara's successor, vi. 91 sqq. For A °*bhajad* read with L °*bhajan*.

BAḌḌA-S'AṄKHARĀJA (8-9th December, 1111 A.D.).

360. The traitors' desperate act resembled a tree which was only thought of in the evening, which bore fruit at night, and on which the evil fruit had ripened by the next day.

361. *Garga*, when he had accomplished his task and appeased his wrath, threw himself down on the throne and lamented long over his lord.

362. As he was shedding tears, all the citizens too, freed from fear, found occasion to bewail the king who was dear to everybody.

Burning of *Uccala's* queens.

363. The cunning *Jayamatī* who was eager to live, then gave her treasure to *Garga* in order to raise compassion in him and spoke to him:

364. "Brother, make an arrangement with me." He, however, in his honest nature, took these words to be purely conventional, and prepared her funeral pyre.

365. Nobody can understand these women of unscrutable mind, in whose heart there is found, as it were, combined the waviness of their ample locks, the excessive unsteadiness of their eyes and the firmness of their round breasts.

366. Though given to unfaithfulness and killing their husbands, yet they step with ease into the fire. In no manner can one be sure of women.

367. While she, proceeding in a litter, was delaying on the road, *Bijjalā* got in front of her and entered the pyre.

368. Then as she (Jayamatī) was ascending the pyre her limbs were hurt by the pilferers who robbed her in eager desire of her ornaments.

369. When the people saw the two queens being consumed by the flames together with their Chowries and parasols, they, too, all raised lamentations, and their eyes were as if burning with pain.

370. He (Garga) then displayed his noble character in full purity, when, though requested by all, he did not seat himself on the throne.

371. He looked out eagerly for certain persons in whose arms he wished to place King *Uccala's* infant son, in order to have him consecrated as king.

372. Having seen the real character of some among these, the people, I know, nowadays laugh and do not think them fit even to go about as beggars.

360. Perhaps we ought to correct *phullito* for A *phalito*, 'which bore blossoms at night.'

371. It was customary, in case the heir to the throne was a young child, to place him in the arms of an elder relative, and to perform the Abhiṣeka ceremony for both jointly. This was to assure the safety of the heir during his infancy, and his subsequent accession to the actual power. Compare e.g. the story of Bhoja's Abhiṣeka along with his uncle Muñja, as told at the commencement of the Bhojaprabandha.

The person in whose arms Gargacandra wished in particular to have Uccala's infant son consecrated is *Sahasramaṅgala*: see viii. 500. The latter has been mentioned already, vii. 1018, but his origin is nowhere indicated. The name of Uccala's son is not given; comp. regarding him also, viii. 502. 516

RAḌḌA-S'AṄKHARĀJA (8-9th December, 1111 A.D.).

373-374. Of the three sons, *Salhaṇa* and the other [two] who had been born to *Mallarāja* from the princess called *S'vetā*, the middle one had died. The eldest and youngest who remained, *Salhaṇa* and *Loṭhana*, had from fear, when *S'aṅkharāja* searched for them in order to kill them, betaken themselves into the *Navamaṭha*.

SALHAṆA (A.D. 1111-12).

375-376. The shameless intriguing *Tantrins*, mounted soldiers, and councillors collected again after abandoning the defeated conspirators, and brought up the elder of the two, *Salhaṇa*. When *Garga*, who had not found anyone fit for the throne, saw this, he had him quickly consecrated as king.

377. O shame, there were in a [single] day and night within four watches, three kings who ought to have been seen within a generation.

378. There were seen royal attendants who served in the evening King *Uccala*, in the morning *Raḍḍa*, and at midday *Salhaṇa*.

379. When King *Sussala*, who was at *Loharakoṭṭa*, heard of his brother's death after one-and-a-half days had passed, he fell into great emotion.

380. The messenger sent by *Garga* threw himself crying to the ground, which made him (Sussala) abandon all doubts [as to his brother's death], and break out in lamentation.

381. From the first messenger of *Garga* he did not hear the events up to *Salhaṇa's* [coronation], but only his brother's death, and that he himself was requested to come.

382. For *Garga* had despatched that [messenger] when he left his house, to call him (Sussala), as he did not believe [that he could accomplish] quickly the suppression of the enemies, [which seemed] very difficult.

Sussala's march to Kaśmīr.

383. After passing the night in loud lamentations [Sussala] started at daybreak on the march towards *Kaśmīr*, without even having collected his troops.

384. Then another messenger of *Garga*, whom he met on the march, reported all that had happened, and spoke to him: "Assuredly, do not come."

385. "The conspiracy has been quickly crushed, and in your absence, your younger brother, *Salhaṇa*, has been made king. What is the use of your coming?"

386. When the king had heard this message of *Garga*, he, impatient in his anger, spoke thus laughing to his followers, who did not wish to proceed.

387. "The crown does not come to us from the father. If [even it were so]

374. Regarding the *Navamaṭha*, see note viii. 247.

379. It has been shown in Note *E*, iv. 177, § 5, that the distance between *Lohara* and S'rinagar permits of news reaching within the time indicated by our passage.

the next born is the heir. But [in truth] my elder brother and I have conquered it with our arms."

SALHAṆA (A.D. 1111-12).

388. "We two took the kingdom, and nobody gave it to us. Are the means now gone by which we gained it before?"

389. After saying this he pushed on in unbroken marches, and sent many messengers to *Garga* to win him over.

390. He reached *Kāṣṭhavāṭa*, while *Gargacandra*, who was on *Salhaṇa's* side, marched forth and took up a position at *Huṣkapura*.

391. When the evening came, his messengers who had gone and returned, declared that *Garga*, though he had displayed a conciliatory disposition, had evil intentions.

392. Notwithstanding this, King [Sussala] having once entered into the enterprise, sent to *Garga* his own foster-brother *Hitahita*.

393. At this time *Bhogasena*, whom fate had deluded, came into the presence of the king, having employed some *Khāśakas* from *Bilvavana* as intercessors.

394. He sent the cavalier *Karṇabhūti* to the king, and endeavoured to entice him by informing him that he (Bhogasena) would defeat *Garga*.

395. The people thought it wrong [of Sussala] that he was waiting for an opportunity to slay the betrayer of his brother, who deserved [to be put to death] without temporizing.

396. *Garga*, too, reproached him by messengers saying: "How can I join you by whose side are the betrayers of your brother?"

Bhogasena killed by *Sussala*.

397. He (Sussala), however, delayed [merely because he feared] that he (Bhogasena) would leave the road in the darkness [and escape]; he attacked and killed him together with his brother as soon as the night had passed.

398. *Karṇabhūti* rushed into the fight and distinguished himself by his bravery, and not less [did] his step-brother *Tejaḥsena*.

399. *Tejaḥsena* by the king's order was impaled and also *Marica*, the son of the commander of horse, *Lavarāja*.

400. [As far as] his courage went, the king had the power to punish and to reward. His force, however, was so [small] that he could not hope even to maintain his position with it.

390. The position of *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* has been fully discussed in note vi. 202. The route taken on this occasion by Sussala lay, on account of the advanced season, probably not over the Toṣmaidān Pass, but over one of the lower passes to the W.; see Note *E* on Lohara (iv. 177) § 7.

For *Huṣkapura* (Uṣkür), comp. note i. 168

393. The *Khāśaka* are the same as the Khaśas; see note i. 317.

Bilvavana, otherwise unknown, was probably a locality in the Valley of the Vitastā, below Varāhamūla, where Khaśas are settled to the present day; comp. also note v. 214.

400. °*nigrahāvagraha*° of A L is evidently a clerical error for °*nigrahānugraha*°, as read by Durgāpr.

SALHAṆA (A.D. 1111-12).

401. *Sañjapāla*, too, whom King [Sussala] had sent ahead, joined him later when the day was spent, bringing horses.

402. When these had arrived, and his force had been somewhat strengthened, there came up *Sūrya*, a commander of *Garga*, with numerous troops.

Sussala's fight with Sūrya.

403. When [Sussala's] trusted advisers saw these bent on doing harm, with difficulty they got [the king], who was obstinate in his self-confidence, to mount his horse and to put on his armour.

404. Then there came from the opponents' force a shower of arrows which was everywhere of unbroken density, and which made the sky appear as if covered by a flight of locusts.

405. The enemies acknowledging [as it were] their treachery by the hissing of their arrows, struck down irresistibly all in the king's camp with all kinds of weapons.

Escape of Sussala.

406. The reckless king, when his soldiers were slain, wounded or dispersed, made his way singly out of the enemies' midst and fled in haste.

407. Then with his horse he crossed a bridge below which the river roared, which was ever swinging up and down, and which was difficult to pass, even for birds.

408. Two or three, among them *Sañjapāla*, managed to follow him, and keeping at his back held off the enemies at every step.

409. When the brave [king] had reached with twenty or thirty followers the *Khaśa* seat called *Vīrānaka*, the enemies left him.

410. While staying there with a few men who were destitute of clothes and food, he, O wonder, fearlessly attacked and punished the *Khaśas*.

401. Regarding *Sañjapāla*, see viii. 212.

403. I have translated according to the conjectural reading of the Calc. Ed. *dudhrukṣūn* for *dudhrukṣur*.

407. K. refers here clearly to one of the rope bridges, or *Jhūlas*, which until a few years ago formed the only communication across the Vitastā in the Valley below Varāhamūla. These rope bridges are suspension bridges of the simplest construction, and generally formed of three cables made of twisted twigs. Owing to the swaying of these cables to and fro in the wind, and to the steep gradients on either side, the passage of a Jhūla of any great span is nervous work for those unused to it. Occasionally when there is a high wind, the crossing of such a Jhūla is dangerous even for those accustomed to the work from childhood. These bridges are quite impassable for four-footed beasts, unless carried on a man's back. As the latter operation is impossible in the case even of a pony, we must assume that Sussala's horse in reality swam across the river. In cases where the condition of the river bed and the current permits of this expedient, ponies are generally aided in swimming by a rope which a man holds while crossing the rope bridge. Those who have had the doubtful pleasure of crossing some of the Jhūlas in the hills neighbouring on Kaśmīr, will readily pardon K. for having slightly exaggerated the difficulties of such a crossing. Compare regarding Jhūlas, DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 122.

408. *Vīrānaka* has been identified with the present *Vīran* in the Vitastā Valley opposite to Buliasa-Bolyāsaka; comp. note v. 214.

410. Correct with Durgāpr. *nirbhayo 'daṇḍayat Khaśān*.

411. And in time, after having escaped death by the will of fate, he reached *Lohara* again, though a heavy fall of snow had made the crossing of the pass (*saṁkaṭa*) difficult.

SALHANA (A.D. 1111-12).

412. Though he had faced death at every step and had been preserved [only because he was destined] to live longer, yet he planned [nothing else] but the conquest of *Kaśmīr*.

413. *Garga*, filled with enmity, had the poor *Hitahita*, bound hands and feet, thrown into the *Vitastā* from the head of the bridge at the 'Gate' (*dvārasetu*).

414. When he was being thrown into the water, *Kṣema*, a servant of his, threw himself down before him, and rose higher by his very fall.

415. When *Garga* then joined King *Salhaṇa*, he obtained exceptional power [over him], having given him the crown and defeated his opponent.

416. This king who had secured the crown without possessing advisers or resolution, saw in his mental confusion everything revolving as it were [around him].

417. Neither political wisdom nor valour, neither cunning nor straightforwardness, neither liberality nor greed,—nothing was prominent in this king's [character].

418. During his reign robbers plundered the people in his very palace even at midday. What need to speak more, of the traffic on the roads?

419. On that [throne] on which even a lame woman (Diddā) had maintained herself for a long time in a spirited manner, he, though a man, had his mind distracted by fears.

420. The woman which *Salhaṇa* enjoyed to-day, *Loṣṭhana* enjoyed the next day. Thus they shared in common the pleasures of the throne.

421. As this [king] had no knowledge of the character of men, and showed no concern [for his duties], all his actions were laughed at by thoughtful persons.

422. He put *Ūjasūka*, *Loṭhana's* brother-in-law, who was fitted for assemblies of ascetics, into the office [of lord] of the Gate which required rude valour.

413. It is clear that the bridge near the 'Gate' of Varahamūla is meant here. Regarding this watch-station, which was the best known of all the 'Gates' of Kaśmīr, see note i. 122, and my remarks, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 382. It has been noticed as the 'western gate' by Hiuen-tsiang and Ou-k'ong; see my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, p. 23. Albērūnī too, *India*, i. p. 207. tells us of "the watch-station *Dvār* on both sides of the river Jailam." The position of the watch-station on the right river bank is marked in all probability by the old ruined gateway still known as *Drang*, which was guarded until some twenty years ago; comp. MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. p. 280.

420. The name of Salhaṇa's brother is given here by A and L as *Loṣṭhana*, which is probably a legitimate Sanskrit variant for the usual *Loṭhana*, a Prakrit form; comp. the forms *Garga* and *Gargacandra* for *Gagga* and *Gaggacandra*, note viii. 182.

SAṆLHAṆA (A.D. 1111-12).

423. He (Ūjasūha), at the time of holding counsel, declared that he would ward off the dangers from *Sussala* by muttering his own magic spell a hundred thousand [times] at his approach.

424. The deceitful king at *Garga's* order had *Bimba*, the Ḍāmara of *Nīlāśva*, who was hateful before the latter, thrown into the *Vitastā* with a stone bound [to him].

Gargacandra's predominance.

425. *Garga*, the king-maker, while destroying his various enemies, killed many Ḍāmaras of *Hālāha* by the poisoned food he gave them.

426. As the king was a mere shadow, [all] whether of the outer or inner [court], whether small or great, were dependent on *Garga* for life and death.

427. Once then when *Garga* had come from *Lahara* into the king's presence all the people in the City were agitated and distressed by fear.

428. Because at that time the report spread that *Garga* had arrived in anger to kill all in the king's employment by impaling them on boats.

429. For two or three days all the people appeared as if shaken by fever, in consequence of such a terrifying rumour which made pregnant women miscarry.

430. Thereupon *Tilakasiṁha* and others boldly attacked *Garga's* residence on a sudden, without asking for the king's orders.

431. The whole people in great excitement rushed on with raised weapons, but *Gargacandra* received them all without dismay.

432. *Dilhabhaṭṭāraka*, *Lakkaka* and others were seen riding about without shame in the streets near *Garga's* residence.

433. The king did not restrain them, but on the contrary sent *Loṭhana* to encourage the assailants, when their energy was failing.

434. As *Garga's* soldiers barred the road, he (Loṭhana), too, neither surrounded [Garga's] house nor could he burn it down, though he [attempted to] set it on fire.

435. Only one *Keśava* who was superintendent (*maṭheśa*) of the *Loṭhikāmaṭha* and skilled in the use of the bow, harassed his (Garga's) soldiers by shooting them with arrows.

436. In the evening when the king's men had become scarce with the [waning] light, *Garga* started on horseback together with his followers.

424. For *Bimba* and *Nīlāśva* compare vii. 1631.

425. The locality meant by *Hālāha* is unknown. The only other reference to it is contained in viii. 514, if our emendation there of *Hālāh* for *Phalāha* is justified.

426. The distinction between *bāhya* ('outer') and *ābhyantara* ('inner') among the royal servants is repeatedly alluded to; comp. viii. 880, 1542, 1546, 2962, 3150. From the use made of the expression *bāhyabhṛtya* in viii. 2068, it would appear that by Ābhyantara are meant the officials who, owing to high position and direct connection with the court, could claim admittance into the royal presence on occasions when the 'Bāhya' were excluded; comp. also viii. 744. For a similar distinction observed at the Moghul court (Diwān-i 'Am, Diwān-i Khās), see BERNIER, *Travels*, p. 265. The term *bāhyāli*, discussed in note iv. 62, is probably connected with this use of the word *bāhya*.

435. Regarding the *Loṭhikāmaṭha*, see vii. 120.

SALHAṆA (A.D. 1111-12).

437. Unopposed in encounters he marched to *Lahara*, and carried off as his prisoner *Ūjasūha* who was staying in ill-health at *Tripureśvara*.

438. On the following day he set him free saying: "What is the use of this mendicant?" The king he did not dethrone, as *Sussala* was also [his] enemy.

439. Thereafter the townfolk everywhere in the land were again and again dreading the return of *Garga* and barricading their houses.

440. The king felt troubled and was anxious to conciliate *Garga*, and the Mahattama *Sahela* was acting as his envoy in *Lahara*.

441. He somehow persuaded *Garga* to agree to give his daughter [in marriage to the king], but [Garga's] followers did not wish that he should ally himself with a king who was like a [mere] ghost.

442. Thereupon he formed a league with King *Sussala*, and did not enter into that alliance [with Salhaṇa], though he was pressed [for it] also subsequently.

443. While the kingdom was thus falling to pieces, the king killed *Saḍḍa*, *Haṁsaratha* and *Nonaratha*, whom he had secured by spies.

444. By torturing them with sparks of fire, needles, and other [means] he . . . . made them undergo terrible sufferings, before life fled from them.

445. The king was doing right when he permitted *Mallā*, *Bhogasena's* wife, who was living in hiding, to follow her husband to death.

446. The king who felt alarmed although he had seen such weakness [on his part], destroyed in the meanwhile *Dilhabhaṭṭāra* by having him poisoned.

447. He (Dilhabhaṭṭāra) was neither of royal blood nor of such fierce prowess that the wicked [king] should have had to put him out of the way thus by a secret execution.

448. His sister thereupon who had reviled him (Dilhabhaṭṭāra) for his want of manliness, followed the fitting course for a proud woman by entering the fire.

449. Short as his reign was, it was rendered unbearable by terrors, [so that it appeared] like a long evil dream, dreamt during a long night.

Sussala enters Kaśmīr.

450. *Sussala* who knew the times, and who distrusted *Garga* notwithstanding their league, was then casting his eyes on *Kaśmīr* and sent *Sañjapāla* ahead

451. *Lakkaka* to whom King *Salha*[*ṇa*] had given charge of the 'Gate' together with [ample] means, had set out on the march with some difficulty and had reached *Varāhamūla*.

437. For *Tripureśvara*, situated to the N.E. of the Dal lake, see note v. 46.

443. Compare regarding the flight of these conspirators, viii. 351.

444. The text has here a lacuna of three syllables.

445. Read with L *anumartum* and *vasantim*.

451. For *Salha*, an abbreviation of *Salhaṇa*, see viii. 472.

SALHAṆA (A.D. 1111-12).

452. *Garga* who remembered his (Lakkaka's) assault, marched behind him, routed his troops and plundered them as well as [the town of] *Varāhamūla*.

453. He fled, while his soldiers embraced with their mortal bodies the earth, and with their heavenly bodies the band of the *Apsaras*.

454. When the leader (*nāyaka*) had disappeared, the earth was covered by *Uppa*, *Chuḍḍa* and other brave men of noble lineage, who had fallen, just as pearls [fall from a string, when the central pearl (*nāyaka*) is gone].

455. *Lakkaka* who had no support, joined the side of King *Sussala*, after having been relieved of his fear by the approach of *Sañjapāla*.

456. King (Sussala) then, when *Sañjapāla* had gone far [ahead] attacking the enemy, came closer, being urged on by the citizens and Ḍāmaras who had joined him.

457. *Sahelaka* came over to his side, after having told *Salhaṇa* that he would make peace for him with King *Sussala*.

458. All except the king (Salhaṇa) joined the younger brother of *Uccala*, whose advent the citizens longed for, as the Cātaka [birds long] for the cloud.

459. *Chuḍḍā*, *Garga's* wife, then came before him, bringing two daughters to give them in marriage.

460. One of the two, called *Rājalakṣmī*, the king chose for his own bride, and the younger, *Guṇalekhā* by name, he accepted as his daughter-in-law.

Salhaṇa besieged in the palace.

461. When *Sañjapāla*, who had marched on, had surrounded *Salhaṇa* and his younger brother, King [Sussala] too arrived at the main gate of the royal palace.

462. One of his opponent's followers let a gate fall before his very eyes, but it did not hit him, and proved as useless as his enemies' wishes.

463. While his opponent remained with his soldiers in the barricaded palace, *Sussala's* troops were trembling from fear of an attack from *Garga*.

464. King [Sussala's] soldiers did not trust *Garga*, though he had given his two daughters [in marriage], and stayed just because they had to stay, trembling whenever a leaf shook.

465-466. While the day was passing away, the soldiers thus struck with fear and the king prevented by family affection from setting fire to the strong building occupied by his enemies,—*Sañjapāla* effected an entrance by breaking the shutters of a window with a stone, opened the door and attacked those in the courtyard

452. L rightly *varāhamūlena*.

460. *Guṇalekhā* is mentioned as King *Jayasiṁha's* wife, viii. 1607.

462. A kind of portcullis seems to be referred to.

SALHAṆA (A.D. 1111-12).

467. The foot-soldier *Lakkaka* followed him, feeling assured that [by rushing] into the great mass of the enemy he (Sañjapāla) was acting like a moth [which flies into the fire].

468-469. This soldier who like him had been at the invasion of the *Darads*, and in the desperate contest of *Kāṣṭhavāṭa*, and who was as his very image,—he and the Maṭha-superintendent *Keśava*, followed him, just as the son of S'ini (Sātyaki) and the son of the wind (Bhīmasena) [followed] the son of Pṛthā (Arjuna) when he demanded the horse from the Indus region.

470. When they had got out of the hall, and had with difficulty opened the gate of the courtyard by their blows, the brave King [Sussala] entered in person.

471. While the fight of the two forces continued undecided in the courtyard, many soldiers found their death there.

472. The Brahman *Ajjaka*, a native of *Pataṁgagrāma*, who was King *Salha's* minister, won in the fight the embraces of the celestial maidens

473. Also the Kāyastha *Rudra* who had been raised to the post of superintendent of the treasury, rewarded his lord's favour by sacrificing his body in the fight.

474-475. Just as a tree in the evening, resounding with the noise of the birds which have settled upon it, becomes [suddenly] silent when the birds fly up at a stone-throw,—thus the fighting ground which was filled with tumult became [silent], as [if merely] painted, when threatened by King *Sussala* on horseback.

476 Before he had ascended the throne, and while he was yet in the courtyard, there was heard the shout, "Victorious is [King] *Sussala*," and the sound of large drums.

477. Upon no one else in *Mallarāja's* house has fallen such humiliation as *Salhaṇa* and *Loṭhana* suffered there.

478. *Sussala* embraced the two who were in armour and on horseback, and saying: "You are boys," cunningly made them give up their swords.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

479. After ordering that the two should be kept under guard in another hall, the king who had now gained his throne proceeded to the assembly-hall.

480. After having reigned for four months less three days, he (Salhaṇa) fell into captivity on the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] eighty-eight (A.D. 1112).

481. When he (Sussala) ascended the throne, the agitation of all the

468-469. See regarding Sañjapāla's exploits here referred to, viii. 210 sqq., 401-408.

For the story alluded to in the simile, comp. *Mahābh.* VII., cxii.; see also below viii. 2789.

472. The position of *Pataṁgagrāma* is unknown.

people ceased at once, as that of the ocean [ceases] when the sun [mounts] the sky.

Sussala's character.

482. As he kept ever his sword unsheathed from an apprehensive expectation of treason, he resembled the king of the animals who keeps his mouth open in face of the hunters.

483. Firm in his policy he exterminated the families of those who had betrayed his brother, by searching them out one by one, not sparing even the children.

484. As he had seen the wickedness of the people he never showed himself lenient, though he displayed outward moderation when his objects demanded it.

485. But he was by nature gentle and assumed [merely] that appearance of cruelty, just as [if he had been] a snake [painted] on the wall, in order to restrain the people.

486. No one else was like him in knowing the [suitable] times, liberal on the [right] occasion, resolute, brilliant in his conceptions, a judge of signs and far sighted.

487. Though his character was the same as that of his elder brother, yet some features were stronger, some less marked in him and some quite equal [in both].

488. Though their wrath was alike [in appearance], yet that of the elder brother resembled the poison of a mad dog and his own that of a bee.

489. He did not bear grudges on account of dress and such [matters], but would not tolerate improper arrogance on the part of his servants from fear of their exceeding their [proper] sphere.

490. He did not desire to kill proud men by inducing them to fight duels and the like, but [on the contrary] felt pity if such a thing happened through recklessness.

491. The roughness of speech in the former king caused unbearable anxieties, his (*Sussala's*) rather resembled familiarity and was not attended by death and other inflictions.

492. As he was eager after wealth, he collected greater treasures, whereas his liberality owing to the exigencies of concerns, circumstances and the rest was more limited.

493. Being fond of new works, and of possessing many horses, the artisans and foreign horse-dealers grew rich under him.

494. When great calamities arose he would leave nothing untouched in his anxiety to overcome and to allay them, and would pour forth his riches.

485. Correct with Durgāpr. *bhīmatvaṁ*.

493. For the interpretation of the term *daiśika*, 'foreign,' see note vi. 303 sq.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

495. The *Indradvādaśī* festival was celebrated by no other king so brilliantly as by him who gave away plenty of dresses and other [presents].

496. He was generally just as difficult to see for his servants, as King *Uccala* before had been easy to approach and affable to his attendants.

497. No other [king] was so passionately fond of riding as *Uccala*, and no one was more renowned for his skill in this respect than *Sussala*.

498. *Uccala* relieved the famine as soon as it appeared, but in King *Sussala's* reign it was not seen even in dreams.

499. What [need be said] more? He surpassed his elder brother in all qualities, excepting only liberality, disregard of wealth and easy accessibility.

500. He exiled in anger *Sahasramaṅgala*, whom *Garga*, as the guardian of *Uccala's* son, had wished to elevate to the throne.

501. While he (Sahasramaṅgala) stopped at *Bhadrāvakāśa*, his son *Prāsa* intrigued with the Ḍāmaras and bribed them with gold.

Rising of *Gargacandra*.

502. On that occasion *Garga*, too, showed disaffection, because he did not give up the young son of *Uccala* though his uncle demanded him.

503. Numberless soldiers sent by the king were destroyed by *Garga*, as [if they had been] blades of grass burned down by the jungle-fire.

504. Also *Vijaya*, *Garga's* brother-in-law, a native of *Devasarasa*, rebelled and slaughtered the king's troops.

505. The resolute king's mind was not disturbed by this rebellion, [though it arose] when only a month and some days had passed since his accession to the throne.

506. *Garga* made *Sureśvarī*, the site of *Amareśa* and the confluence of the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu* witness the defeat of the royal troops.

507. In the tumultuous fight the councillors *S'ṛṅgāra* and *Kapila* were killed, as well as the brothers *Karṇa* and *S'ūdraka*, the Tantrins.

508. Nobody had the skill to draw forth [the bodies of] even such [important] men, as they could not be distinguished among the great multitude of good soldiers who were slain.

495. For this festival, see note viii. 182.

498. The emended reading *svapne 'py°* is actually found in L.

500. Compare viii. 371.

501. In *Bhadrāvakāśa* we have undoubtedly the old name of the hill district now known as *Bhadravāh* which is situated to the south of the Cināb and adjoins Kaṣṭvār; comp. DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 103 sqq. The Skr. form of the name is not found elsewhere.

For *Prāsa*, Sahasramaṅgala's son, see viii. 556.

504. *Devasarasa* is the modern Pargaṇa of *Dīvsar*, situated in the south-east of the Valley on the upper course of the Viśokā (Vešau). The district is very frequently mentioned in the subsequent narrative; see Index. The name occurs already in the *Nīlamata*. 1172, 1286 sq.

506. Compare regarding *Sureśvarī*, note v. 37; *Amareśa* (Amburhēr), note vii. 183.

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509. *Harṣamitra*, the son of the king's maternal uncle, who was commander-in-chief, was defeated by *Vijaya* at *Vijayeśvara*

510. There fell *Tilha*, *Maṅgalarāja's* son, who was from a noble family, and *Tribbākara* and other Tantrins.

511. In the king's army *Sañjapāla* proved the foremost of brave men, because, though his force was small, he was not defeated by *Garga* with his numerous troops.

512. The king after he had rallied at *Vijayakṣetra* the defeated army by sending [there] *Lakkaka* and others, himself resolutely marched against *Garga*.

513. He collected the [bodies of the] many soldiers who were lying in rows slain by *Garga*, and had them burned the next day on numberless pyres.

[illegible]candra defeated.

514. *Garga*, then pressed by the energetic king, gradually retired to *Halāha* (?) after burning his own mansions.

515. There he threw himself into a hill fort called *Ratnavarṣa* and, having been deprived of his horses and deserted by his followers, was invested from a distance by the king.

516. *Sañjapāla* having followed him up there too and besieged him, he surrendered to the king, and gave up the son of *Uccala*.

517. As the king restrained *Mallakoṣṭhaka*, *Karṇakoṣṭha's* son, who was [Garga's] enemy, and who was near at hand, *Garga* soon took confidence.

518. When *Vijaya* and the others had been worsted and the rebellion suppressed, the king proceeded slowly to the City, after accepting his (Garga's) submission.

519. He then marched to *Lohara*, and after imprisoning there *Salhaṇa* and *Loṭhana* gave himself up to rejoicings, while receiving the attentions of *Kalha*, *Somapāla* and the other [neighbouring] chiefs.

520. After he had returned to *Kaśmīr*, he elevated *Garga* by exceptional and ever increasing favours, in order to secure his services.

521. While he was like the summer sun [in his fierce splendour], his chief queen and his prince (Jayasiṁha) resembled by their refreshing [kindness] the shade of trees and the forest breeze.

509. The maternal uncle is probably Ana[illegible]; see vi. 1317.

510. Correct with L [illegible].

514. *[illegible]* in the text is a doubtful emendation [illegible] *Chalaha* of A L, made with reference to the local name found in viii. 425. [illegible] and [illegible] closely resemble each other in Śāradā. The name *Phalaha* is found nowhere else. From the mention of the hill fort in the following verse, it may be concluded that the district meant lay on the outskirts of the Kaśmīr Valley.

519. For *Kalha* of Kāliñjara, see note vii. 1256; for *Somapāla* of Rājapurī, viii. 288.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

Troubles in *Devasarasa*.

522. *Bṛhaṭṭikka* ('the great Ṭikka') and *Sūkṣmaṭikka* ('the little Ṭikka'), Ḍāmaras of *Devasarasa*, and *Vijaya's* relatives, were watching for their opportunity.

523. When the king came to *Lokapuṇya*, they went before him to ask his support, accompanied by shouting followers.

524. The king, while showing kindness to *Vijaya*, on account of his relationship to *Garga*, had the two beaten by his staff-bearers without regard for propriety.

525. They and their proud followers thereupon drew their swords and made a reckless attack upon the strong force of the king.

526. A S'vapāka of the name of *Abhogadeva* struck at the king with his dagger, and [so did] the resolute *Gajjaka* with his sword from behind.

527. As a longer life was destined to the king, the assailant's strokes did [him] no harm, but his charger was killed.

528. *S'ṛṅgārasiṁha*, from the family of *Bāṇa*, an excellent officer of horse, warded off from the king the assailants' strokes, and was [himself] killed there.

529. The 'Great' *Ṭikka*, *Abhogadeva* and others were slain by the soldiers, while the 'Little' *Ṭikka* escaped to become the cause of a future rebellion.

530. *Gajjaka* and others concerned in the treachery were impaled. Thus the king's life was imperilled since he showed partiality for *Garga*.

531. A man will not be killed even by a stroke of lightning without his time [having come]. But when he has reached the [allotted] period, even a flower may cause his death.

532. Those very pearls which do not fade even in the midst of the ocean, though ever [in contact] with the flames of the submarine fire, are destroyed on the breasts of young women by the warmth of their youth.

533. The king, who was unable to bear with pride in others, exiled *Sañjapāla* and others, forgetting even their former services.

Intrigues of *Sahasramaṅgala*.

534. *Yaśorāja*, a relative of *Kalaśa's* family, on being exiled by the king, then joined *Sahasramaṅgala*.

535. The latter, who possessed ample means, received him and other refugees, and having thus secured a position, thought of opposing the king.

522. The 'Great' *Tikka's* death is mentioned below, viii. 529. The 'Little' *Tikka* figures frequently in the subsequent narrative under the simple name of *Tikka*. comp. viii. 663, 1136, 1255 sqq., 1319, etc.

523. For *Lokapuṇya*, now Lōkᵃbavan, which is close to the Devasarasa Pargaṇa, see note iv. 193.

524. These staff-bearers (*vetrin*) are referred to as *yaṣṭīka* in vi. 203, 215, etc.

528. For the rare word *aśyaka*, 'excellent, comp. Pāṇini, v. 2, 58.

529. *Tikka* had the chief share in Sussala's murder, see viii. 1255 sqq., and in Bhikṣācara's subsequent invasion, viii. 1455, etc.

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536. His son *Prāsa* endeavoured to enter [Kaśmīr] by the route of *Kāṇḍa*, but turned back in fright when *Yaśorāja* had been wounded by the king's soldiers.

537-541. As also other servants whom the king had exiled, joined him, he (Sahasramaṅgala) obtained considerable renown. While this new trouble was preparing, three hill-chiefs, viz. *Jāsaṭa* of *Campā*, *Vajradhara*, the lord of *Babbāpura* (?), and Rājā *Sahajapāla*, the lord of *Vartula*, as well as the Yuvarājas of the chiefs of *Trigarta* and *Vallāpura*, [called] *Balha* and *Ānandarāja*, five in all, met in some place, and after making a compact for the journey visited *Kurukṣetra*. [There] they fell in with *Bhikṣācara* whom *Āsamatī* had brought away from *Naravarman*, and who had come provided by the former with gold for the journey.

Bhikṣācara arrives in Vallāpura.

542. Hospitably received by *Jāsaṭa* from a feeling of family attachment, and honoured by the other kings, he (Bhikṣācara) then proceeded to *Vallāpura*.

543. When he arrived, his fame was increased by *Bimba* and other exiles [joining him], and *Sahasra*[*maṅgala*] was reduced to insignificance.

544. The people then said: "He is King *Harṣa's* grandson. What [right have] those to the throne?" and leaving *Sahasra's* party joined him.

545. Also prince *Daryaka* joined him on being exiled by the king. Led away by family attachment he forgot gratitude.

546. For he, the son of *Kumārapāla*, who was the maternal uncle of his (Bhikṣācara's) father, had previously been brought up by King *Sussala* like a son.

547. *Padmaka*, the lord of *Vallāpura*, then gave a daughter in marriage to *Bhikṣu*, at the instigation of the Yuvarāja (Balha) and of *Jāsaṭa*.

548. *Gayapāla*, a Ṭhakkura of that territory, thereupon collected a large number of chiefs and endeavoured to replace him on his grandfather's seat.

536. Regarding *Kāṇḍa*, comp. note vii. 590.

537-541. Compare regarding Bhikṣācara's removal to the court of *Naravarman* of Mālava, viii. [illegible] sqq. For *Campā* (Cambā), see note vii. 218; *Babbāpura* (a doubtful name), note vii. 588; *Vartula*, viii. 287; *Trigarta* (Kāṅgra), iii. 100; *Vallāpura* (Ballāvar), vii. 220.

Kurukṣetra, the traditional scene of the battle of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas, is the plain stretching south of Thāneśvar towards Pānīpat. Owing to its very numerous Tīrthas it has remained a favourite goal for pilgrimages to the present day. Though the point is not clearly mentioned in the text, it seems probable that the five hill-chiefs had proceeded to Kurukṣetra on a joint tour of pilgrimage.

The compact to which K. refers, may either have been intended to guarantee mutually the safety of their respective territories during their absence, or to insure greater security for the chiefs on the journey. Kurukṣetra had then been for about a century in Muhammadan hands. For another reference to the Kurukṣetra pilgrimage, see viii. 2220.

542. *Jāsaṭa* was the son of Harṣa's maternal uncle; comp. vii. 1512.

546. *Kumārapāla* must have been the brother of the unnamed wife of Harṣa who was the mother of Bhoja, Bhikṣācara's father. Names ending in *-pāla* were common in the Sāhi family to which Harṣa's chief queens belonged; comp. notes vii. 144, 1470.

547. *Bhikṣu*, being the synonym of the name *Bhikṣācara*, is used indifferently with the latter in the subsequent narrative; comp. 791, 799 sqq., etc.

549. While the king felt troubled on hearing these reports, the powerful *Gayapāla* was treacherously murdered by his relatives.

550. When *Padmaka* advanced to fight them, *Daryaka*, too, who was foremost in *Bhikṣācara's* force, fell in the battle.

551. In consequence of the loss of these chief [adherents] *Bhikṣācara* was reduced to a helpless condition, as the cloud [when] restrained by the drought.

552. When *Āsamatī* had died, and the gold given for the expedition had been exhausted, his father-in-law too became in time slack in his attentions.

553. He then stayed for four or five years in the house of *Jāsaṭa*, securing with difficulty mere food and clothing.

554. Thereupon *Deṅgapāla*, a Ṭhakkura resident on the bank of the *Candrabhāgā*, gave him his daughter *Bappikā* [in marriage] and took him to himself.

555. While the prince stopped there for some time in comfort and without fear, he left behind misery and boyhood.

556. In the meanwhile the wild *Prāsa*, *Sahasra[maṅgala]'s* son, was boldly moving to and fro and exciting the king's wrath.

557. He was preparing to march [into Kaśmīr] by the *Siddhapatha* route, with a view to [raising] a rebellion, when his wretched followers put him in fetters and delivered him to the king.

558. In these troubles *Sañjapāla's* high honesty displayed itself brilliantly, inasmuch as he, though injured, proceeded abroad and abstained from treason.

559. What [more] need be said of this brave and noble man? A wonder, however, it is that *Yaśorāja* became known abroad for his courage.

Gauraka made prime minister.

560. The king then removed the Mahattama *Sahela* and other [chief officers], and made the Kāyastha *Gauraka* prime minister.

561. The latter was the relative of an ascetic at *Vijayeśvara*, and had obtained the [king's] favour by the services he had rendered him while he was at *Lohara*.

562. Dismissing the former band of officials, the king had then raised him gradually to the prime ministership, and [in this position] he changed the administration.

563. He deprived royal servants of the living [they had found] in very numerous offices, and always kept the king's treasure filled.

557. By *Siddhapatha* is meant undoubtedly the present village of *Sidau*, situated on the upper course of the *Viśokā* (Vesau), 74° 51′ long. 33° 41′ lat. From there two well-known routes lead to the Budil and Kōnsar Nāg Passes on the Pīr Pantsāl range. The former pass is often designated also as the *Sidau* Pass. P. Sāhibrām, in his *Tīrthas.*, calls the place *Siddhacchāya* (?).

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

564. The cruelty of this wicked man escaped notice by the people on account of his soft manners, as the deadly power of the poison [is not noticed] on account of its sweetness.

565. The sordid gains he put into the treasury of the king, [which was before] quite pure, destroyed the previously accumulated [treasures], just as the [fresh] snow which the cloud [sends down] upon the snow [destroys the former snow].

566. Because the treasury of kings, if infected by sordid gains, becomes the spoil of robbers or of enemies.

567. The king in his avaricious greed was daily accumulating fresh treasures, and sent all his riches to the hill[-castle] of *Lohara*.

568. *Vaṭṭa*, *Pañjaka* and other officials under *Gauraka* sapped the strength of the land, and were like terrible portents.

569. Since the death of King *Uccala*, who was like a stone on their head, the officials were again harassing the people, as hunters [harass game].

570-571. Only the Kāyastha *Kanaka*, a nephew of *Praśastakalaśa*, made a praiseworthy use of his wealth, by [establishing] after the latter's death, a permanent endowment for food distributions (*avicchinnasattra*) by which famine-stricken people coming from various foreign lands were rescued from their sufferings.

572. The deluded king gave offices to those very persons whose honesty had been tested at the death of *Uccala*.

Sussala's new ministers.

573. Such a person, *Tilakasiṁha*, was put by him in charge of the 'Gate,' and his one-eyed brother *Janaka* in the post of chief justice (*rājasthāna*).

574. Even he (Tilakasiṁha) as lord of the Gate, levied tribute from the ruler of *Urasā*, who was subdued by the king's fierce lustre, after invading his land.

575. *Tilaka* again, of *Kāka's* family, was given by the king the chief command of the army (*kampana*), and made the enemy shake, as the wind (*prakampana*) [shakes] the trees.

576. Thanks to the king's lustre, the enemy was defeated also by *Sajjaka* who, being a soldier of rustic origin, [had become] superintendent of the *S'eḍa* office (*rājasthāna*).

577. Also the wise *Aṭṭamelaka*, a valued servant of *Kāka's* family, obtained the post of minister after having gained access to the king by their support.

565. Comp. for the meaning of this verse, note v. [illegible], and the Kaśmīrī proverb quoted there.

570-571. Regarding the significance of the term *avicchinnasattra*, see note on *akṣayiṇī*, i. 347.

For *Praśastakalaśa*, see vii. 572; viii. 186.

573. See note viii. 184 regarding *Tilakasiṁha*, son of Vijayasiṁha, who must be distinguished from Tilaka, the son of Kāka (viii. 575). The full name of his brother was *Janakasiṁha*; see *ib.*

576. Compare regarding the use of the term *rājasthāna* here, note viii. 270.

578. Thus he (Sussala) went on for some time appointing various ministers with due regard to their merits and without self-conceit.

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579. Then he began to build on the bank of the *Vitastā* three high temples under his own name and the names of his mother-in-law and wife.

580. Unbounded in his liberality he renovated also the *Diddāvihāra* which had been burned down by a sudden conflagration.

Gargacandra falls in disfavour.

581. When the king had once gone to the small town (*purī*) of *Aṭṭilikā*, he was urged by *Kalha* and other trusted friends who were with him, to oust *Garga*.

582. For *Kalyāṇacandra*, *Garga's* son, had shown himself disrespectful to them on hunting and other occasions, and had by his self-assertion excited their jealousy.

583. They denounced *Garga* as one who on account of his all-surpassing power required to be suppressed, and by their continual whisperings they rendered the king hostile [to him].

584. *Garga* being warned by a servant and one of the Rājās that the king wished to imprison him in *Lohara*, then became alarmed.

585. He therefore fled from there together with his son to his own place. After some days the king too started and reached his own country (Kaśmīr).

586. When a rupture between the king and *Garga* had been effected by their mutual distrust, the intriguers increased their enmity by going about [from one to the other].

587. The king giving way to a remnant of affection allowed *Vijaya*, the brother-in-law of *Garga*, to depart from his side, but felt regret [at having done so].

588. At that time he set free *Mallakoṣṭhaka*, *Garga's* enemy, whom he had before put in prison.

589. The enraged king made him (Mallakoṣṭhaka) form a matrimonial alliance with other Ḍāmaras, and raised him to a powerful position.

Gargacandra's victory at *Amareśvara*.

590. When then at last the king's troops marched out to fight, *Garga* as before caused a slaughter of soldiers at *Amareśvara*.

579. *Chaḍḍā* and *Rājalakṣmī* are evidently referred to; comp. viii. 460.

The completion of these three temples is mentioned in Jayasiṁha's reign, viii. 3318.

581. The place variously designated as *Aṭṭālikā*, *Aṭṭalikā* and *Aṭṭilikā* in viii. 831, 1819, 1842, 1845, 1991, 1994, has been identified in para. 9 of Note *E* on Lohara (iv 177) with the present *Aṭōli*, some eight miles below Loharin or Lohara. Close to Aṭōli lies the large village of *Maṇḍi*. This is now the commercial centre of the district and could fitly be called a market town. The market of Aṭṭilikā is specially mentioned in viii 1991.

The correct form of the name is probably *Aṭṭālikā*.

Kalha is the lord of Kāliñjara; see vii. 1256

588. Compare viii. 517.

590. For *Amareśvara* (Ambur[illegible]), compare viii. 506.

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591. On the king's side only *Pṛthvihara*, a Ḍāmara from *S'amālā*, distinguished himself there by his unequalled heroism.

592. The valour which the lord of the Gate, *Tilakasiṁha*, showed in running away after having been defeated in the fight by *Garga*, made everybody laugh.

593. The few of his soldiers who survived with wounds, when the rest had been killed, were spared by *Gargacandra* from pity, after they had given up their arms, clothes and other [possessions].

594. When the bodies of the [fallen] soldiers were being burned on all sides, there was no counting of the pyres in the royal camp.

[Si]ege of *Dhuḍāvana*.

595. When the king brought up his army, *Garga*, whose mansion had been burned down, left *Lahara* and proceeded to the mountain called *Dhuḍāvana*.

596. He had continual encounters on the various mountain paths with the troops of the king who was encamped at the foot of the mountain.

597. Night after night he worried the king's force by surprise attacks, and in a fight killed *Trailokyarāja* and other prominent Tantrins.

598. The resolute [Garga] did not lose his courage though having to oppose with his few followers the king himself, [and this] in Phālguna, which was a terrible [month] owing to the heavy snowfall.

599. Only the brave commander-in-chief, *Tilaka* of *Kāka's* family, was able to put him to flight on his mountain heights.

600. When the latter pressed him hard, he (Garga) sent his wife and daughter before [Sussala] and conciliated the king, who hid his wrath under marks of favour.

601. The king who was secretly filled with rage marched away from there after peace had been concluded, and, instead of restraining *Mallakoṣṭha*, raised him to greater power.

602. For two or three months then he (Garga) bore with the intolerable rivalry of *Mallakoṣṭhaka* in *Lahara*, which [to him] was humiliation by an inferior, while the king remained unfriendly.

591. For *S'amālā* (Hamal), see note vii. 159. *Pṛthvihara* plays a great part in the subsequent narrative: see viii. 672, 712, 878, etc.

595. The name *Dhuḍāvana* is probably preserved in that of the *Dūrūn Nār*, a mountain spur abutting into the upper Sind Valley from the south, close to *Sunᵘmarg* ('Sonamarg'). The foot of this mountain spur (which on the map is marked as 'Darnar') reaches the village of *Thājᵘvās*, 75° 29' long. 34° 18' lat. For Garga, who is driven from his seats in Lahara (Lar), the Sind Valley forms the natural route of retreat.

Nār, the Kś. form of Skr. *nāḍa* (nāla), is the general designation of a valley, Anglo-indicè '*Nallah*.' Local names formed by the addition of *nār* are often used in Kaśmīr as designations of hill-ranges, high spurs, etc.; comp. e.g. *Tsaᵘnār* (map 'Soornar') E. of Mount Haramukh, *Baibnar* in the same direction, etc. [Regarding Kś. *nār* < Skr. *nāḍa*, comp. note viii. 959.]

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603. In the meantime the king secretly roused disaffection in his force and gained *Karṇa* and others of his servants over to his own side.

604. Exasperated by being put on the same footing with inferior relatives, he then came to the king by the advice of those [servants], together with his wife and sons.

Gargacandra imprisoned.

605. On one occasion when the king was standing over the bathing place (*snānadroṇī*), and was about to take his bath, he reproached [Garga], who was standing by his side, and made him give up his sword.

606. Who else could feel sure of showing courage, when even [Garga], who was proud of his valour, displayed faint-heartedness at the time of insult, like a coward?

607. How [great is the difference] between that pride [of his] which ousted and raised kings, and [this] poor-spirited conduct which was like that of low people? Manifestly it is the will of fate which makes a person in this [world] move about without free will, just like a puppet pulled by a row of strings.

608. Some wretched favourites of the king who could not have even looked at him in battle, thus bound his arms with fetters.

609. *Kalyāṇa* and others, who stayed in a house near the illustrious *Saṁgrāmamaṭha*, gave up fighting, when the king in person entered the courtyard.

610. *Videha*, a son of *Garga*, gave up his sword reluctantly on receiving kind assurances from the king himself and on hearing that his father was alive.

611. The king courteously supplied *Garga*, who with his wife and sons was held captive in the royal palace, with food such as was fit for his own [relatives].

612. *Catuṣka*, *Garga's* son, though he had fled from his own residence, was seen and delivered to the king by the contemptible *Karṇa*.

613. There is no certainty about the favour of a king whose hatred is firmly rooted yet hidden, as [there is none] about a wound which has not healed inwardly.

614. When the king went out of [the City] to meet *Maṇidhara*, the

605. By *snānadroṇī* is meant here not the 'bath-tub' which was only brought to India by Europeans, but the place which is usually prepared in a native house for bathing purposes by separating a corner or part of a room from the rest by a low wall of plaster. Such a place is known in the lower hills and the Panjāb by the name of *sondri*, which is probably a derivative of *snānadroṇī*. Compare the use of the word for the water-conduit on the base of a sacred image, note v 46.

It is customary for Indian princes to hold a sort of small levée at their bath for selected courtiers.

609. *Kalyāṇacandra*, Garga's son, viii. 582. is meant. For the Maṭha named after Saṁgrāmadeva. see vii. 142.

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ruler of the *Darads*, who had come on a visit, he had *Garga* put to death by his servants.

Gargacandra executed (A.D. 1118).

615. After having been imprisoned for two or three months, he and his three sons were strangled at night by ropes put round their necks.

616. He was thrown into the water by the king's people with a stone bound to his neck along with his sons, just in the same way as he had disposed of *Bimba* and others.

617. When the king had put him to death in the [month] Bhādrapada of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred and] ninety-four (A.D. 1118), he hoped for rest, but rising troubles brought him sufferings.

618. He then underwent much grief on account of the death of *Kalha*, the lord of *Kāliñjara*, and of *Mallā*, the mother of his chief queen.

619-620. In the meantime *Nāgapāla, Somapāla's* brother, had come to King *Sussala* for protection after leaving his own country. When his elder step-brother *Pratāpapāla* had been put to death by [Somapāla], he had slain the minister who was the murderer, and had fled in fear.

Expedition to *Rājapurī*.

621. Enraged at this he (Sussala) did not accept the friendly overtures of *Somapāla*, who was ready to do his will, but decided to wage war [against him].

622. When that [ruler] had become convinced that the king's enmity could not be appeased by any measures, he called *Bhikṣācara*, his enemy, from *Vallāpura*.

623. When the king heard that he had called his rival, he was filled with rage, and set out with terrible vigour towards *Rājapurī* to attack [him].

624. *Somapāla* having fled, he put *Nāgapāla* on the throne, and stayed there for seven months, causing terror to his various enemies.

625. When the king, who resembled Vajradhara (Indra), gave an opportunity to *Vajradhara* and other princes to do homage, he showed them a favour against his will.

626. His troops were roaming about everywhere on the banks of the *Candrabhāgā* and other rivers, and the enemy was not even able to look on their faces.

627. Before him marched *Tilaka*, the commander-in-chief, and the Ḍāmara *Pṛthvīhara* was entrusted with the guarding of the routes.

628. The king piously preserved in the enemy's land the Brahmapurī and the temples, and thus earned the original merit [of these foundations].

616. Compare viii. 424.

618. *Meghamañjarī* is probably the chief queen meant here; see viii. 1219.

625. *Vajradhara*, the ruler of Babbāpura, is meant; see viii. 538.

628. The term *Brahmapurī*, used here and viii. 2421, 2423, for the designation of some pious foundation, corresponds, perhaps, to the modern Dharmaśālā. *Brahmapurī* may be understood as 'residence of Brahmans,' and is also the name of Brahman's city where the wise and pious assemble; comp. *Vikram.* xvii. 29.

Correct with Durgāpr. *maṇḍale* for A *maṇḍalaṁ*.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

629. What need is there of describing further the arrangements of this [king], whose power was like that of Indra? Even the fodder for the horses of his army came from his own land.

630. In the course of these events *Sujanavardhana*, who enjoyed his confidence, roused in him anger against the absent *Gauraka*.

631. The king, who had himself left him in his own country to protect the state, was misled in his mind by calumnies, and believed that he stole all the revenue.

632. When he reproached *Janaka*, the city prefect, for this he roused the feelings of *Tilakasiṁha*, his brother.

633. Thereupon in anger he removed the latter from his charge and made *Ānanda*, *Ananta's* son, a native of *Parṇotsa*, lord of the Gate.

634. Praise was deserved at that time by the subjects who kept their attachment to *Somapāla* and did not come to the king's side, notwithstanding that he was thus established [in their own territory].

Sussala's return to Kaśmīr (A.D. 1119).

635. Then in the month Vaiśākha of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred and] ninety-five (A.D. 1119) he returned to his own country, and *Nāgapāla* too followed him, having lost his throne.

636. Urged on by greed, which foreboded great troubles, he then oppressed the inhabitants and reduced the expenditure.

637. When he removed *Gauraka* from office, and inflicted punishments on the officials who had been under him, all the ministers became discontented.

638. As the new councillors were lacking in strength, he suffered heavy losses of money by the sudden change in the administration.

639. He sent into [the castle of] *Lohara* masses of gold, which resembled the 'gold mountain' (Meru), after having them made into gold bricks (ingots).

640. In order to punish *Garga's* followers he then appointed *Gajjaka*, who had been a confidant of *Garga*, as police superintendent (*daṇḍādhikārin*) in *Lahara*.

Rebellion in *Lahara*.

641. The followers of *Garga*, in fear of oppression, thereupon joined *Mallakoṣṭhaka*, and he feeling irritated, treacherously killed the unsuspecting [Gajjaka].

642. When *Lahara* was in rebellion, the king imprisoned *Arjuna*, an elder step-brother of *Mallakoṣṭha*, who was with him.

633. The emendation of *anantātmaja*° or some similar form for *anantādhipa*° of A is necessitated by the passages viii. 713, 1005, 1042.

634. The text of A shows evidently a corruption in the form *somapālādayaḥ*. The translation above given is based on a conjectural emendation °*pālāśayāḥ*: °*pālāśrayāḥ* might also be thought of.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

643. He also assured the adherence of *Biddaka* by imprisoning his relative *Hasta*, the son of *Saḍḍacandra*, as well as his (Biddaka's) brother.

644. He exceeded the bounds of prudence by throwing into captivity *Sūrya* with his son, from a recollection of his previous hostility, as well as *Ānandacandra* and others.

645. He then set out for *Lahara*, and in his rage impaled *Arjunakoṣṭha*, *Mallakoṣṭhaka* having fled.

646. When he had placed there a force and had then returned to the City all the Ḍāmaras rose in feud against him, as against one who was slaying his friends.

647. As he was angry also against *Pṛthvīhara* notwithstanding his past services, he ordered his commander-in-chief and other ministers to attack him by surprise.

648. He (Pṛthvīhara), however, managed with difficulty to escape, and took refuge at the seat of a relative, *Kṣīra* by name, who was residing in the district of *Jayantī*.

649. This rebel was roving in day-time into the midst of *Avantipura* and other towns, without his opponents being able to check him.

650. The action of the king in recklessly rousing these hostilities brought ruin to his subjects, and was like the letting loose of a ferocious Vetāla.

651. *Kṣīra* who was old, but possessed of an energetic mind, then collected along with *Pṛthvīhara* eighteen Ḍāmaras in *S'amāṅgāsā*.

652. The alarmed king proceeded to *Vijayeśvara*, and sent the commander-in-chief, *Tilaka*, to subdue these [Ḍāmaras], who had united in a strong league.

653. This [leader] of unsurpassed valour broke them up in battles and scattered them rapidly, as the east wind [scatters] the clouds.

654. On his return from the victory over the Ḍāmaras, when he ought to have been honoured, the king, on the contrary, insulted him by not [even] letting him come into his presence.

655. When the king then had returned to the City, he (Tilaka) aggrieved by the injury to his honour, remained at home and made no effort for his lord's sake.

643. By *Saḍḍacandra* is possibly meant *Saḍḍa*, the younger brother of Gargacandra, viii. 33. Saḍḍacandra is referred to again viii. 3215.

The brother of *Biddaka* is evidently *Hamba*, named in viii. 677. The latter passage must be consulted for the interpretation of our verse.

644. Compare for *Sūrya*, a captain of Gargacandra, viii. 402.

645. *Arjunakoṣṭha* is the brother of Mallakoṣṭhaka, named *Arjuna* in viii. 612.

It is necessary to correct *nirgatya* for the meaningless *nirgate* of the text.

648. It is not possible to ascertain the exact position of this district, which is only here mentioned. From the following narrative it may be concluded that it lay in Maḍavarājya; comp. also viii. 1589.

651. For *S'amāṅgāsā* (S'aṅgas), see i. 100.

656. Servants who are put on a level with inferiors; who are kept from rising with their equals; who are placed in the front rank only when enemies have to be fought; who are left outside when peace is made; who after displaying exceptional skill in affairs are humiliated when the work is done,—such [servants] become disaffected and leave the king quickly, as householders [leave] a dwelling which has become infested with snakes.

657. While he neglected to attend to business, the Ḍāmaras damaged everywhere the [king's] stores, as destructive clouds (?) [damage] the harvest.

658. Terrible scandal arose in every town owing to Brahmans, who were exasperated by these troubles, holding solemn fasts (*prāya*) and immolating themselves in fires.

659. The destruction of horses and camels by a plague indicated that a great calamity was hanging over the country.

660. The people at the approach of the calamity were shaken by fear, just as a row of trees [is shaken] by the wind when the lightning is about to fall.

Great rising of *Ḍāmaras* (A.D. 1120).

661. Then at the commencement of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred and] ninety-six (A.D. 1120), the mass of the Ḍāmaras was ready to rush down, like an avalanche when touched by the warm air.

662. In *Devasarasa* the course of rebellion made first its appearance, [and there it developed its] maturity like a painful boil.

663. After forming into a close league *Ṭikka* and others of his relatives, the powerful *Vijaya* marched on and surrounded the king's force, which was encamped (*sthāmastha*).

664. *Nāgavaṭṭa*, the commander of the encamped force, though he was [only] the son of a Kāyastha, held out for a long time in that fight against his impetuous attack.

665. Thereupon the king beseeched the commander-in-chief, whose vigour had been slackened by the recollection of his lord's base conduct, [and moved him] with difficulty to march out.

666. In the fighting with *Vijaya*, who had secured a firm position, his life and victory were often in jeopardy.

657. I have followed, in the absence of something better, the reading of Durgāpr., *kṣayaghanā*. The latter is evidently a conjectural emendation (though not marked as such in his edition) for *kṣayadhanā* found in A L. As घ and ध are totally different in S'āradā writing, it is improbable that the latter reading is a clerical error. Against the conjectural emendation it may also be urged that *kṣayaghanā(ḥ)* means properly only the clouds which are to destroy the world at the end of the Kalpa. The harvest would scarcely be referred to in connection with them in a simile. The proper interpretation of the simile has yet to be looked for.

658. As A L *hutāgni°* gives no suitable sense, I have translated above according to the conjectural emendation of Durgāpr., *hutātma°*.

663. For the meaning given to *sthāmastha*, see note vii. 1542.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

667. When *Mallakoṣṭha*, too, had attained strength in *Lahara*, the king moved out in the [month of] Vaiśākha to a village called *Thalyoraka*.

668. His soldiers were alarmed during the nights by the enemy, and were made [thereby] as miserable as dying people by terrible dreams.

Defeat of King Sussala.

669-671. He (Sussala), the foremost of the all-powerful, who, assisted only by his arm in his attack, had ousted even King *Harṣa*; who by his prowess had several times conquered this land, and whose bold enterprises can as little be counted as those of Jamadagni's son (Paraśurāma),—the might of fate diminished his valour, and broken in his strength he was suddenly separated there from the goddess of victory.

672. After he had retired from that place *Pṛthvīhara*, who held a position at *Hāḍigrāma*, suddenly attacked and worsted the brave *Sajjaka*.

673. He pursued him with fierce energy, and approaching close to the City burned the *Nāgamaṭha*.

674. Then he and other wild Ḍāmaras carried off everywhere the horses of the king and of those in the king's service from their grazing grounds.

675. The king, thereupon, in his fierce anger proceeded to cruelties, and took to wicked courses, as befits those who are struck by an evil fate.

Sussala's cruelty.

676. He put to death the Ḍāmara who was *Pṛthvīhara's* hostage, and sent [his body] at night to the latter with lotus-roots put on his back, as [if he were a prepared meat-]dish.

677. He sent thus viciously to *Biddaka* his brother *Hamba*, and in the same fashion despatched to the others their [dead] brothers and sons.

678. To *Jayyaka*, who resided at *Siphinnāgrāma*, he sent his mother with her ears and nose cut off.

679. Overcome by fury he impaled *Sūryaka* and his son in the City, and put to death many more, whether they deserved to die or not.

680. Then when he was thus raging like a god of death, all [officials],

667. *Thalyoraka*, only here mentioned, is perhaps identical with the present village of *Thyār* situated at the entrance of the Sind Valley on the right bank of the river opposite to Gandᵉrbal, circ. 74° 49′ long. 34° 14′ lat. (marked *Taroo* on the larger Survey map). As the king's expedition is directed against Mallakoṣṭha in Lahara, the place must be looked for in the Sind Valley.

672. For *Hāḍigrāma*, the present *Ārᵈyōm* in the Nāgām Pargaṇa, see note i. 340.

673. The *Nāgamaṭha* is referred to again viii 782. Its position is unknown.

674. For the word *caraka* the meaning 'grazing ground' is clearly indicated by viii. 2226, 2437. The meaning, though not known to the dictionaries, is easily accounted for by the etymology of the word. The emendation *cāraka* proposed in Ed. was erroneous.

676. The roots of the lotus (*bisa*) are used as a favourite vegetable in Kaśmir, and generally stewed with meat. Large quantities of these roots, which are known as *nadur*, are brought daily into S'rinagar from the neighbouring lakes.

677. Compare for *Biddaka*, viii. 643.

678. The place here named cannot be identified.

679. Compare for *Sūrya*, viii. 644.

680. For the terms *ābhyantara* and *bāhya*, compare note viii. 426.

those of the inner [court] as well as those of the outer, became alarmed and disaffected.

681. The foolish course by which King *Harṣa* had lost the throne, that very [course] he followed himself in his rule, though he had denounced it.

682. The various shortcomings of those who are engaged in battle; who compose deep poetical works; who are occupied in gambling, and who pass their time under the burden of the royal dignity,—ought to be pointed out only by that onlooker who, being himself perfect, does not commit any error in practice.

683. The king exerted himself in violent efforts, and even under those circumstances thwarted to some extent the ascendency of *Mallakoṣṭha* and the rest.

684. *Vijaya* then in the course of time brought up *Bhikṣācara*, the grandson of *Harṣa*, by the route of *Viṣalāṭā*.

Bhikṣācara's approach.

685. As he (Vijaya) was about to break into *Devasarasa*, he was driven back by the commander-in-chief, and in his flight fell to the ground over a precipice (*śvabhra*).

686. He was recognized and killed; and the victorious [commander-in-chief] sent his head to the king as a fruit from the tree of victory.

687. The ungrateful king showed no satisfaction at this wonderful achievement, did not praise it nor did he bestow any honours upon him.

688. Contemptuously he sent him word: "The commander-in-chief of the name of *S'vabhra* ('precipice') has killed that [enemy]. Whence then your boastfulness over this [event]?"

689. When *Tilaka* recognized the thorough ingratitude of the king, he became disaffected and took to treason.

690. Had he merely turned indifferent, righteous people could not have blamed him. But his treacherous design has rendered his name unfit to be mentioned.

691. People who love prudence may recommend on each occasion pliancy or opportune conduct. Yet righteous persons of high honour work for the benefit of others even at the risk of their lives, if they are praised for this with gratitude.

692. Even a resolute man fares badly and loses his strength at the very commencement [of his action],—if he does not abandon a dress which has caught fire, the skin which has been bitten by a snake; a plan which has come to the enemy's knowledge; an old house which is on the point of falling down; a king who does not recognize services, and a friend who turns away in adversity.

693. Who else are to be called the greatest sinners if not those who, exceeding this just course, from anger turn traitors to their lord?

684. For *Viṣalāṭā*, see note viii. 177.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

694. Parents are benefactors only once in giving birth, the master on all occasions. Therefore traitors to their masters are worse sinners than parricides.

695. When *Vijaya* was killed, while others yet remained whose power ought to have been curbed, intelligent men felt that no one's mind was at ease.

696. The torrent of rebellion which receded for some time and then again caused violent sufferings, appeared to all like an infuriated ram.

Bhikṣācara enters Kaśmīr.

697. *Mallakoṣṭha* wished to bring back *Bhikṣācara* and sent his own troops to him to *Viṣalāṭā*.

698. When then the commander-in-chief, disaffected as he was, reported that he (Bhikṣācara) was approaching, the king from spite kept him back and sent him word as follows:

699. "Leave him without blocking the route, that I may subsequently slay him, just as one hunts down on horseback the jackal which has started ahead."

700. Though knowing thoroughly the ways in which seditions are raised, the king, misguided by fate, fell there into an error.

701. When the treacherous *Tilaka* had thus been offered, by the king's own order, the [desired] opportunity, he made the Ḍāmaras bring *Bhikṣācara* over the mountain passes.

Rumours about Bhikṣācara.

702. Then there spread everywhere from that place the people's gossip which raised *Bhikṣu's* renown, and caused alarm to the king.

703-704. "He says nothing that is not refined; ten rocks he splits with his arrow; *he walks a hundred Yojanas and back without getting tired.*" *Even* hoary old men with long white beards would excite the curiosity of the people by these and similar such stories, which magnified *Bhikṣu's* greatness.

705. Every single person, even if unconnected with public affairs, told and asked news about *Bhikṣu*, just as if he were [himself] to get one half of the kingdom.

706-710. The old officials out of employment making their ablutions in the bath-house on the river; the numberless *soi-disant* princes in the royal palace; some soldiers, wicked by nature, and eager to get on high horses; the schoolmasters, too, who have their buttocks scratched by their pupils' nails; the aged dancing-girls of the temples, those guardians of the sacred shrines; the merchants who have embezzled deposits and [therefore] show themselves ever eager to listen to the [recital of

695. The *v.l.* of L *śāsya*° is, perhaps, preferable to A *śāmya*°.

701. instead of *marmarājamukhād*, as printed in Ed., read *marma rāja*°. The emendation °*āyumam* is confirmed by L.

706-710. The humorous description contained in these and the preceding verses proves—if any proof were wanted—that the Kaśmīr capital has at all times been that hot-bed of political gossip and fertile nursery of false and often amusingly absurd rumours, which it is at present. That K.'s picture is drawn from life, will strike anyone acquainted with the ways of modern S'rinagar. Strolling

sacred] texts; the Brahmans of the Purohita corporations (*pāriṣadya*) who are experts in arranging solemn fasts (*prāyopaveśa*); the Ḍāmaras from the environs of the City who are more like cultivators, though they carry arms,—[all] those who entertain themselves and others somehow with seditious tales, it is chiefly they in this land who delight in the king's misfortunes.

Susala (A.D. 1112-20).

711. When the news of *Bhikṣācara's* approach increased, the people began to tremble, and the king became apprehensive.

Pṛthvīhara's victory **(A.D. 1120, Āṣāḍha).**

712. *Pṛthvīhara,* whose valour was unsurpassed, then routed in battle the king's army by moving forth from a mountain gorge masked by trees, in which he had lain [in ambush].

713. He put three ministers to flight; the two *Ānandas*, of the family of *Ananta* and *Kāka*, respectively, who were lords of the Gate (*dvāranāyaka*), and *Tilakasiṁha.*

714. In Jyaiṣṭha, *Vijaya* had been killed, and on the sixth day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha the king suffered this defeat, which again put him into distress.

715-716. As one knows the approach of rain when the cows leap up, when snakes climb up to the top of trees, and when a tribe of ants shifts its eggs, so the king at that time knew by evil omens that a calamity was close at hand, and took the proper steps.

Susala sends his family to *Lohara*.

717. Then on the third day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha he sent prudently his son, his queen and others of his family to the castle of *Lohara.*

718. As he was following them, *Loṣṭha* and other (?) Brahmans fell into the *Vitastā* by a break of the bridge, and were drowned.

719. Troubled by this evil omen he accompanied them into the vicinity of *Huṣkapura*, and then after two or three days came back to the City.

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down to the city bridges, the Ghāts on the river bank, or to the vicinity of the palace, one can always watch small crowds eagerly gathering round the news-fabricators, professional and others, ever to be found in these localities.

By *saritsnānagṛha*, in verse 706, are meant the wooden bathing-cells placed on rafts which are found also nowadays near most of the river and canal Ghāts of S'rinagar. They are known now as *srān'kuṭh*, which name is also given by K., viii. 2423, in its Skr. form of *snānakoṣṭha*. Another passage, viii. 1182, speaks of these bathing-cells as *majjanāvāsa*, and shows clearly that they were of wood and moored on the river.

The objectionable habit mentioned in verse 707 has, according to my Paṇḍit informants, not yet died out among teachers of Purohita-schools and village schoolmasters of the old type.

As to the *pāriṣadyas*, and the part played by them at Prāyopaveśas, compare notes ii. 132; v. 465.

713. *Ānanda*, the son of Ananta, is mentioned as Dvārādhipa, viii. 683, 1005. *Ānanda*, the son of Kāka, is referred to again as a brother of Tilaka in viii. 826. It may be assumed that only one of the two Ānandas actually held at the time charge of the 'Gate'; comp. regarding the retention of official designations by former holders of office, note viii. 2420. Ānanda, the son of Ananta, is subsequently referred to as Mahattama, viii. 1427. For *Tilakasiṁha*, see viii. 184, 573.

715. The three prognostics of rain here mentioned are to be found together in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, xxviii. 7, of which passage our verse is evidently a reminiscence.

718. The words *Loṣṭhadvijātayo viprā* contain evidently some corruption. The easiest emendation would be °*dvijādayo*.

Sussala (A.D. 1112-20).

720. When he was without his son and wife a change came over him, and he appeared as if deserted by his lustre and good fortune.

721. It was fortunate in his distress that that plan [of sending his family to Lohara] had recommended itself to him, thanks to it, though deeply exasperated, he was yet destined [to see] a complete rise of his fortune.

722. Owing to this prudent measure, he still holds even to this day sovereign sway through his son, though he too, like King *Harṣa*, had himself raised [his] misfortunes.

723. In [the month of] S'rāvaṇa then, the soldiers from *Lahara*, who had brought in *Bhikṣu*, conducted him to the powerful Ḍāmaras of *Maḍavarājya*.

724. The latter again brought him to *Lahara* under the escort of their soldiers, like groomsmen [conducting] the bridegroom to the house of his father-in-law.

725. After treating them hospitably *Mallakoṣṭha* and the other [leaders] sent these [Ḍāmaras] of great position [back] to their own territory to harass the commander-in-chief.

726. Then when the ring of the enemies was closing all round, the king began to raise foot troops at enormous outlay.

727. When the king in this evil plight was showering money about everywhere, even artisans and carters took up arms.

728. The officers of the army, preparing for the battle, exercised armour-clad horses on every road in the City.

Ḍāmaras of *Lahara* attack *S'rīnagar*.

729. While *Bhikṣu* remained at *Mayagrāma*, those from *Lahara* marched on and attacked the royal troops posted at *Amareśvara*.

730. Commencing the fight in battle-array close to *Hiraṇyapura*, they killed the illustrious *Vināyakadeva* and other leaders of the royal army.

731. When the enemies at the very beginning of the fight got hold of a fine horse which had come from the royal force, they thought they had secured the royal fortune.

732. *Pṛthvīhara* fought close to the royal palace on the bank of the stream called *Kṣiptika*, and destroyed brave soldiers innumerable.

723. Mallakoṣṭha, whose troops brought in Bhikṣu (viii. 697), resided in *Lahara*: see viii. 517 and the lines following.

728. Correct with Durgāpr. *vyāyāmaṁ* for *vyāyāma*.

729. For *Mayagrāma* (*Mań'yām* in Lār) and *Amareśvara* (*Amburhēr*, N. of S'rīnagar), see notes vii. 126, 183, resp.

730. *Hiraṇyapura* is the present village of *Raṇyil*, on the road from Lār to S'rīnagar; see note i. 287.

732. In note viii. 186 sq. it has already been indicated that *Kṣiptikā* is the old name of a branch of the Vitastā which flows past a part of S'rīnagar, and is now known by the name of *Kuṭ*kul*. This branch leaves the main stream on the left bank, a little below the first bridge and close to the Shēr Garhi

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

733. Though *Tilaka* stood at *Vijayeśvara,* yet the Ḍāmaras resident in [the districts] *Khaḍūvī* and *Holaḍā*, marched on and made an attack on the bank of the *Mahāsarit*.

Siege of S'rinagar.

734. They invested the City and shouting day and night set fire to some places, and in others plundered the inhabitants.

735-737. What with troops marching out with music, with the return of the wounded, crowds bewailing slain friends, the flight of routed soldiers, multitudes going forth to look on, masses of flying arrows, armour carried about, horses dragged along, and the dust raised by the throng accompanying the dead,—the roads were [kept] in uproar day after day without interruption.

738. As the enemies attacked every morning with full vigour, it was daily thought: "To-day surely it is all over with the king."

739. Whose resistance was more spirited than that of *Sussala,* whom even the miserable plight of his kingdom could not deprive of courage?

palace. It rejoins the Vitastā after a course of about one and a half miles near the last or seventh bridge. This identification is based firstly on the evidence of the modern name *Kuṭ^{ə}kul,* which is clearly a derivative of *Kṣiptikā-kulyā*, 'the Kṣiptikā stream,' (Kś. *kul* < Skr. *kulyā* is a common designation of small streams or canals; comp. note i. 97 on *Suvarṇamaṇikulyā*); secondly, on that of the numerous passages which mention the Kṣiptikā in connection with S'rinagar and in the position of the present Kuṭ^{ə}kul.

Our own passage and viii. 955 speak of the Kṣiptikā as close to the royal palace. Of the latter we have proved in note viii. 186 that it occupied a site on the narrow strip of ground separating the Vitastā from the Kuṭ^{ə}kul between the second and third bridges. A glance at the map of S'rinagar shows that the Kuṭ^{ə}kul forms practically to this day the limit to the W. and S. of that part of the city proper which is situated on the left bank of the Vitastā. It is thus also the city's natural line of defence to the S.W. Accordingly we find the Kṣiptikā referred to in several passages, viii. 1061, 1116, 1126, 1164, 2164, 3130; also *S'rīv.* iv. 108, in connection with attacks made against the city from that direction.

The same is in fact the case with the reference made in our own passage. Pṛthvihara, whose encounter is placed on the bank of the Kṣiptikā, marches against the city from the districts to the S., as the mention of Haḍigrāma viii. 672, shows. In the same way we find other corps of the rebels attacking the city from the side which lies nearest to their own original positions. Thus the rebels from Lahara-Lār march against *Amareśvara,* i.e. *Amburhēr,* which lies directly to the N. of S'rinagar; comp. viii. 729 sqq. Those, again, from the eastern Parganas of Khaḍūvi (Khruv) and Holaḍā (Vular) invest the city from its eastern side bordered by the *Mahāsarit* or Mār stream; comp. viii. 733.

The passages viii. 1006, 1055, if not furnishing such distinct indications, show at least the Kṣiptikā as flowing in the immediate vicinity of the city. This is also the evidence of *S'rīv.* iii. 191, which mentions the erection of a stone *band* between the Vitastā and Kṣiptikā. It was intended to protect the division of the city on the left river bank from floods.

733. The name *Khaḍūvi* survives in that of *Khruv*, a large village famous for its sacred springs, situated in the *Vihi* Pargana, 75° 4' long. 34° 1' lat (map 'Khrew'). As our passage mentions *Khaḍūvi* side by side with *Holaḍā,* which is the name of the Pargana now called *Vular* (see note i. 306), and as the Lokaprakāśa too in its list of Parganas. iv., knows the *viṣaya* of *Khaḍūviyā,* it may safely be assumed that the name Khaḍūvi designated in Kalhaṇa's time not only the village above referred to, but the district also in which it is situated, i.e. the modern Pargana Vihi.

Of the latter name *Vihi* I have not been able to trace any Sanskrit form. It is evidently a comparatively modern designation which has replaced Khaḍūvi. In viii. 1413 the Ḍāmaras of Khaḍūvi are spoken of as lying in ambush near Padmapura (Pāmpar), which in modern times was the administrative centre of Vihi.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

740. Ever he was seen arranging that the wounded should have their hurts bandaged, the arrow-heads removed, and proper presents given.

741. The sums which the king spent on the troops by giving marching allowances, gratuities and medicines, were beyond calculation.

742. Continually thousands of men and horses were perishing, either falling in the fighting or [dying] of wounds in their quarters.

743. *Mallakoṣṭha* and the other [rebels] from *Lahara*, were checked in their insolence when attacked by the king's forces which were strong in cavalry.

Fight near *Sureśvarī*.

744. Advised by disaffected persons of the inner court (*ābhyantara*), they conducted *Bhikṣu* to *Sureśvarī* by the narrow path [which leads] there, in the hope of an encounter.

745. As they were strong in archers, they came off best in the fight on the narrow embankment across the lake, and got rid of the danger from the mounted men.

746. Meanwhile the faithless commander-in-chief who stayed at *Vijayeśvara*, allowed the Ḍāmaras to become strong by showing [but] scant vigour in fighting.

747-748. Thinking, "The *Lavanya* folk must not believe me helpless, and must not cause trouble by falling on my rear when I move off," he turned back after his start on the force of *Ajjarāja* who had come to *Vijayeśvara* to show his valour.

749. After slaying two hundred and fifty of his soldiers, the faithless [commander-in-chief] left *Vijayakṣetra* and marched to the City.

750. The Ḍāmaras were afraid of following him anywhere on his route; shouting from the hill-tops, to which they had climbed from fear, they left all the roads open.

751. When he had arrived [in the City] after leaving *Maḍavarājya*, the king depressed by adversities received him with attentions, whereupon he laughed at him, remembering his former conduct.

744-745. The details given regarding this encounter can be understood on reference to the map of the environs of S'rinagar. In note v. 37 it has been shown that by *Sureśvarī* is often meant the site of the present village of *Iśbar*, which lies on the E. shore of the Dal lake, immediately below the proper Sureśvarī Tirtha. In order to proceed from *Mań'gām* (Mayagrāma, viii. 720) to Iśbar, the rebels leave the high road leading towards the City near Ranyil (Hiraṇyapura) and march along the deep Nalla, marked on the larger survey map, to *Baṭṭpūr* (map 'Butpoora') at the N.W. corner of the Ḍal.

From there the direct route to Iśbar leads on an embankment across the marshes which line the north shore of the lake and are partly under cultivation like 'the swimming gardens' in the southern part of the Ḍal. Bhikṣācara's force proceeding by this route would naturally be safe for the greater part of the march from an attack of cavalry. On the other hand, the difficult ground being unfavourable to a hand-to-hand encounter, would allow the rebels to utilize fully their superior strength in archers.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

752. Though he went into camp like the other ministers, he did not do anything worthy of himself in the fighting, but remained like [a mere] onlooker.

753. Thereupon all the Ḍāmaras from *Maḍavarājya* marched on and occupied the bank of the *Mahāsarit.*

754. Some devices, such as negotiation and sowing of dissension, which the king employed against the hostile coalition, failed, because they were betrayed by his councillors.

Sussala's defence of *S'rinagar.*

755. Though the king had [before] invaded the territories of various chiefs, yet the highest reward of his arms' might was the protection of the City.

756. The lord of the Gate together with the princes stood at *Amareśa,* the chief justice [and other] ministers in the vicinity of *Rājānavāṭikā.*

757. They took from the king heavy marching allowances, just as if they had gone far off to another continent,—but nowhere did they fight.

758. All the forces of the enemy in turn had victories and defeats, *Pṛthvīhara,* however, nothing but victories.

759. Rushing about in battle like a Vetāla intoxicated by drink, he killed almost all the best fighters of the royal army.

760. But in one of his fights there displayed itself singularly the valour of *Udaya,* of *Icchaṭi's* family, though he was yet scarcely a youth.

761. Proudly engaged in personal combat he struck him (Pṛthvīhara), tore his beard, and wrung the sword from his hand.

762. While the fighting went on at the outskirts of the City, women, children and others also were recklessly killed by arrow-shots.

753. After what has been explained in note iii. 339-349 regarding the *Mahāsarit* or *Mār*, the locality here meant must be identified with the present Cinār Bāgh and the other Bāghs stretching along the left bank of the *Tsūṇṭh Kul.* The latter forms the city's natural line of defence to the S.E.; comp. note viii 731.

756. Our own passage and viii. 768, 899, where Prāyopaveśas of City Brahmans at *Rājānavāṭikā* are referred to, show clearly that the latter locality must have been situated within S'rinagar or in its immediate vicinity. In view of this and the phonetic history of the name as shown below, *Rājānavāṭikā* may be safely identified with the present *Rāṇ'vōr*, a large suburb of S'rinagar lying on the S.E. shore of the Ḍal lake. That Ks. *vōr* corresponds in local names to Skr. *vāṭikā*, has already been shown in notes i. 342 (*Bhūkṣīravāṭikā*); iii. 11.

Rāṇ' may be looked upon as the direct phonetic derivative of *Rājāna* (> Pr. **Rāāna* > *Rān; ' in Rān' is the suffix of the plural); comp. the Hindi title *rānā*, which goes back to the fuller Skr form *rājānaka*.

In evidence of this etymology we may also point out that *Rāṇ'* (sing. obl. *rāṇ-*; nom. *rōn*) is a Kram name of very frequent occurrence among the Muhammadan population of Kaśmir, and in this use clearly derived from the term *Rājāna* which, originally a title, must have become a family designation already at an early date; see note vi. 117. *Rān'* as a Muhammadan Kram name corresponds exactly to *Rāzdān* (Rājānaka) as a family name of Brahmans.

In the *Rāṇe* family of Kangra we may now safely recognize the descendants of the *Rājānakas* mentioned in the Baijnāth Praśasti; comp. Prof. BÜHLER's and my own notes, *Epigr. Ind.*, ii. p. 483. The inhabitants of the Rājānavāṭikā are referred to *S'rīv.* iv. 658, and a marriage contract form given in *Lokapr.*, ii., is dated in the same locality.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

763. While this terrible slaughter of people increased, the king from some peculiar loss of energy was incapable even of going outside his residence.

764. In the meanwhile, when the king was hemmed in, *Somapāla* used the opportunity to plunder and burn down *Aṭṭalikā*.

765. What other occasion would the jackal of the village find for showing his prowess by an approach to the lion's den, than when the latter is taken up by fighting the elephant?

766. In consequence of this unparalleled ruin of the two kingdoms [of Kaśmīr and Lohara], the king was quite overcome by shame and unable to look even at himself.

767. This was for him somehow a time full of all [kinds of] adversities, intolerable on account of every [manner of] disasters and unfortunate in every way.

Fast of Brahmans at *Rājānavāṭikā*

768. While he was holding out even in such [circumstances], the ill-disposed Brahmans of *Rājānavāṭikā* held a solemn fast (*prāya*) which was alleged to work good, but [in truth] worked evil.

769. They urged [before the king]: "Your ministers show indifference in the fighting. Take from them hostages and send them to the hill of *Lohara*."

770. "If this is not done, and this calamity becomes permanent and as it were the regular [condition of things], then who is to give us the ripening autumn crop if the enemy carries it off?"

771. When these [Brahmans openly] had indicated that indifference [of the ministers] which the king from time-serving had not censured, all the ministers took alarm.

772. Then these villainous Brahmans by their supplications induced the king to do confused acts, though [before] they had not had power enough to bend a straw of his.

773. Like another hostile army there grew to power by his side a throng composed of office employés, violent Purohitas of sacred places (*pāriṣadya*) and the like.

774. By the manifold mistakes which arose during the endeavour to conciliate them, the country fell into complete confusion, and plundering became excessive.

764. For *Aṭṭalikā* (*Aṭōli* near Lohara), see note viii. 581. The place which to this day is the commercial centre of the mountain district, seems to have been a favourite object for marauding expeditions For another sacking of Aṭṭalikā, see viii. 1991.

770. The text of this verse is certainly corrupt. For *ko dadhyān na* of A we have in L *ko 'pyadān na*, which gives no better sense. I have translated above after a conjectural emendation, *ko dadyān naḥ*. The Brahmans are in fear of losing the produce of their Agrahāra-lands, where the rice is getting ready for the harvest. The latter takes place in Kaśmīr generally in Kārttika, and the siege of the city described here, fell in Āśvina, the preceding month, as seen from viii. 786. The Brahmans' apprehension was justified; comp. viii. 795.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

775. These wretches who had never [before] seen the king's assembly, and who knew nothing of affairs, used harsh words of various kinds towards the unfortunate king when he tried to appease them.

776. Worse than the *Lavanya* rebellion was this rebellion for the king, just as a disease of the throat pains more than one of the foot.

777. By offering bribes of gold he bought over the chief intriguers among them, and thus with difficulty induced some to abandon the fast.

778. *Vijaya*, a leader of *Bhikṣu's* troops, who came of the stock of *Varṇasoma*, and other soldiers, forcibly entered the City and was killed by the mounted men.

779. When he entered the City that time with great vehemence after breaking open a passage, he nearly effected the overthrow of the king.

780. *Pṛthvīhara* whose power was somewhat reduced also among the *Lavanyas*, showed a desire to treat with the king, who was anxious to create dissension [among his enemies].

781. When that [Ḍāmara] whose success in battle had been the greatest, wished to treat with the king, the troops on both sides thought that that rebellion was ended.

Treachery of *Pṛthvīhara*.

782. He [however] thereupon attacked and killed treacherously three trusted councillors whom the king had sent to conduct him to the *Nāgamaṭha*.

783. By their side fell three attendants of *Tilakasiṁha*, his foster-brother *Mammaka*, the Brahman *Guṅga*, and *Rāma*, the orderly on duty (? *vārika*).

784. *Gauraka* who had been given as a hostage [by the king], fell while remembering the lord of beings (S'iva), and the enemy struck mercilessly at his friends who were bewailing him.

785. When the news of this outrage arrived all the people became disaffected and made the palace resound with abuse of the king.

786. On the fourteenth of the bright half of Āśvina, the king had to pass a miserable day, the land being in uproar in consequence of that [event].

787. The king then became entirely bewildered, distrusted his own thoughts and asked even unlikely persons what was to be done.

788. While he was in such a plight there was no one who did not laugh inwardly . . . . . . or did not rejoice.

789. Then in due course, while he was bearing up even against such sudden adversity, his followers turned to the side of the enemy.

782. For the *Nāgamaṭha*, see viii. 678.

783. The meaning given above to *vārika* has been conjectured with reference to vii. 781; compare also *kaṭakavārika*, vi. 345; viii. 861. Regarding *Tilakasiṁha*, see note viii. 791.

788. The text has here a lacuna of three syllables.

Sussala (A.D. 1112-20).

790. *Bimba*, a step-brother of the commander-in-chief (Tilaka), went over to the enemies and accepted from them the charge of the 'Gate' (*dvārakārya*).

791. *Janakasiṁha* sent continually secret messengers to *Bhikṣu* and betrothed to him his brother's daughter.

792. Day after day horsemen could be seen deserting to *Bhikṣācara* and carrying off with themselves their swords, horses, armour, and other [equipment].

793. What more [need be said]? Those who during the day stayed in the king's presence were seen openly and without shame before *Bhikṣu* at night.

794. When the king's authority was so far relaxed that people went and came from one side to the other without being stopped, there arose a [fresh] calamity.

795. When the autumn harvest had been carried off by the Ḍāmaras, the people all fled in every direction abandoning their possessions and households.

796. It was the people's vain belief that if King *Sussala* were gone, *Bhikṣu* would fill this land with gold.

797. The people, who follow [blindly] the lead of others, did not reflect whether a beggar (*Bhikṣu*) had ever been seen to be liberal, or whence riches should [come] to him.

798. People in the hope of receiving clothes (*ambara*) bend down before the streak of the new moon, though the latter is seen only for a short time and has but the sky (*ambara*) for a covering. Fie on greed which forgets to reflect upon what is real and what not.

799. At a victory of the royal party the people let their heads droop, and when *Bhikṣu's* side was successful they could not hold themselves for joy.

800. Then it happened with the two parties of the king and the Ḍāmaras, that they stopped hostilities from fear of each other, just as [it is told] in the parable of the Brahman and the dog.

801. The king was preparing to flee from fear of being betrayed by his own servants, and the enemy from fear of the king's prowess, neither of them knowing the other's intentions.

802. The king who had lost confidence, and who believed that his own

791. *Janakasiṁha*, frequently mentioned subsequently, is the same person as *Janaka*, Tilakasiṁha's brother, who has last been referred to, viii. 632, as town prefect; comp. viii. 914, 898. The niece he gives in marriage to Bhikṣu was a daughter of Tilakasiṁha, who seems to have been one of the ministers treacherously killed by Pṛthvihara; see viii. 783 and viii 942.

798. The pun lies in the double meaning of the word *ambara*. It is customary to make a Namaskāra before the young moon when first seen, and the moon apparently is supposed to return this attention by gifts of clothes; comp. *Padmapur.* v. lxxviii. 17 sqq. The young moon remains only for a short time above the horizon.

relatives, too, were bent on treason, did not think his life safe either in stopping or in flight.

803. When in this great plight he was showering [on them] dresses, gold, jewels and other [gifts], the soldiers who took his presents, did not praise but abused him.

804. On hearing the people talk without fear of himself as one doomed and not destined to remain, he became agitated like a patient who is abandoned by the physicians.

805. The attendants looked at him with amusement and insolence, though they yet carried out his orders for any immediate business.

806. He, though daring [otherwise], was, alas, at that time like a common person. Filled with fear he was incapable of going even outside his residence.

Revolt of Sussala's troops.

807. While the Ḍāmara bands were thinking of retreat owing to internal dissensions, the king was thrown into a helpless state by his own soldier.

808. With drawn swords they blocked the doors in the royal palace, and everywhere held solemn fasts with a view to getting marching allowances.

809. When the king gave them money, [they thought that] rich as Kubera, he might yet give more, and instead of showing attachment they were eager to humiliate him.

810. Then they all without shame stopped him and made him give money, just as a sick man, when about to start to a sacred place to die there, [is stopped] by his creditors.

811. The temple-purohitas (*sthānapāla*), too, performed a solemn fast, and by besetting him with violence made him pound up golden vessels and other valuables for distribution.

812. Thereafter he was as little able to quiet the City in which young and old were at every moment in uproar, as [if it had been] the surging ocean.

813. One morning when the gates [of the palace] were blocked by others of his soldiers, he saw the whole City rising in tumult.

814. Thereupon he ordered *Janaka*, the city prefect, to move about the City to allay the tumult, and waited for an opportunity to leave himself.

815. After getting rid of these soldiers with difficulty by means of presents and kind words, the king fully equipped came out of the palace along with his ladies.

816. He had not yet gone outside the courtyard after mounting his horse, when the plunderers began to loot inside the palace.

811. The term *sthānapāla* corresponds to the modern Kś. *thān*ᵃ*pat'* (*Skr. *sthānapati*), and designates, like *pāriṣadya* or *pārṣada*, the members of the Purohita-corporations at sacred shrines; comp. note ii. 132, and *sthala-pati*, *Samayam.* vii. 34.

Regarding the distribution of pounded gold, comp. iii. 256 v. 16.

SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20).

817. As he marched off abandoning his throne, some of the soldiers shed tears, others shouted aloud, and others plundered his servants.

Sussala leaves S'rinagara (A.D. 1120).

818. Five or six thousand soldiers followed the king as he moved on the road overcome with shame, rage and fear.

819. It was on the sixth of the dark half of Mārgaśiras in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred and] ninety-six (A.D. 1120), when there remained but one watch of the day, that [the king] disheartened by the treachery, marched forth together with his servants.

820. At every step his followers deserted, taking their horses and other [equipment]. Thus he arrived in the night at *Pratāpapura* only with a few soldiers.

821. When *Tilaka* came before him he met him full of trust as [if he were] a relative, and overcome with grief shed tears there for a long time.

822. Fearing that he (Tilaka) might prove false to him, he himself went quickly the next day to his house at *Huṣkapura*.

823. After taking a bath, etc., [the king] eager for victory, formed the plan of going to *Kramarājya* and raising fresh troops through his (Tilaka's) influence.

824. He (Tilaka) thereupon called secretly *Kalyāṇavāḍa* and other Ḍāmaras who were wishing to fight, and thus checked the king's brave intention.

Sussala returns to *Lohara*.

825. By this stratagem he got him to leave his house, whereupon he (Sussala) marched on, bribing by gifts of gold the Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*) who were blocking the road.

826. As soon as he was moving off from there, *Tilaka* left him, but the latter's brother *Ānanda* from kind-heartedness accompanied him for one march.

827. Deserted by his servants he marched on, keeping off the plunderers on the road by his gifts and valour, and escaped safely, as a longer life [was destined to him].

828. The lion-claws which from afar have protected the forest thick with trees and rocks, in the course of time find employ by hanging on the neck of a child. The tusks which serve elephants as weapons in the fight, even they may have to bear being thrown about by the hands of gamblers at play. A high position is by no means firmly assured to prowess.

829. Fortitude, liberality, nobility, wisdom and other virtues of men cannot be permanent in this [mundane] life whose course is wonderful.

830. The sun, too, changes its entire nature from day to day from fierceness to gentleness. How then should there be reliance on the powers of men?

831. Unable to look on *Aṭṭalikā*, which the enemy had burned down, he moved up to the *Lohara* mountain while his soldiers kept silence from rage.

820. Regarding *Pratāpapura*, the present *Tāpar*, on the high road from S'rinagar to Varāhamūla, see note iv. 10.

822. The Kāka family to which Tilaka belonged had its home at *Huṣkapura*: comp. vii. 1311.

831. Owing to the advanced season (Sussala left S'rinagar on the 6th *vadi*

832. Unable from shame to see even his family, he lay there stretched out on his couch and was in torments day and night.

833. Though he did not come out of his inner room, which even in the day time had to be lit up by lamps, yet out of kind-heartedness he received his followers at meal-time.

834. He touched no ointments, did not mount on horseback, nor attend singing, dancing and the like [entertainment], nor receive cheerful company.

835. With disgust he remembered in turn the indifference, the silliness, violence, perfidy and other [evil qualities] which each single person had shown, and described them to the queen.

836. Being in possession of extraordinary wealth, out of kindness he made those who had followed him, rich by his gifts of money, remembering that they had left their own country to follow him.

837. In *Kaśmīr*, as soon as he had left, all the ministers assembled together with the troops in front of the old palace.

838. Their leader was the city prefect, *Janakasiṁha*, who had established an understanding with the ministers, cavaliers, chiefs, Tantrins, citizens and others.

839. *Mallakoṣṭha* and the other friends of *Bhikṣu* who came and went, induced him to surrender for assurance's sake his son and nephew as hostages.

840. Then there came over the City which was filled with terrified women, children, and other [folk], a night when there was no king, and when all beings were cast in fear.

841. In the City which had no king, some helpless persons were killed, others plundered, and others again had their houses burned down.

[842-848. Description in conventional Kāvya style of *Bhikṣācara's* triumphal entry into the City on the following day, resembling closely the description of Cakravarman's entry, v. 342-347].

849. *Mallakoṣṭhaka* kept by the side of the faint hearted [Bhikṣu], just

Mārgaśiras, which fell A.D. 1120 on November 13th), the king cannot proceed to *Lohara* by the direct route over the Toš^{a}-maidān, but goes first to Huṣkapura to cross the range by one of the lower passes into the west. These would take him down into the Prunts Valley, from which he has again to ascend to Lohara (Loh^{a}rin) viâ *Aṭṭālikā* or Aṭōli. Comp. Note *E* on Lohara, iv. 177. para. 7; also notes viii. 390, 581.

836. The text, as found in A and L gives no proper sense. I have translated above according to a conjectural emendation suggested to me by P. Govind Kaul, *anugān svāh* for *anurāgī śvāh*.

837. By the 'old palace' must be meant the royal residence which existed before Anantadeva built his new palace near the *Sadāśiva* temple: see note vii. 186 sq. It must be noted, however, that *purāgaraja-dhanyagre*, as printed in the text, is an emendation for *purāṃ rāja*ᶜ of the MSS. The

Bhikṣācara (A.D. 1120-21).

as a nurse [keeps by the side] of a little boy, and became his instructor in all affairs.

850. Each one he pointed out to him [with such words as these]: "This was a friend of your father. This one has held you on his lap. This one is a foundation of the throne."

851. First he went to the house of *Janakasiṁha* to receive the maiden, and only then to the palace to assume the regal dignity.

852. Since he had [succeeded in] reviving his dynasty which had passed far away, one could not laugh if women based [fanciful] hopes on their offspring while yet in the womb.

853. Seeing this [wonderful] story of *Bhikṣu*, ambitious persons need not be laughed at if they feel apprehensive of enemies though mere pictures.

854. What had been left behind of the treasures of King *Sussala* who was rich as Kubera, provided the amusements of the new king.

855. The royal stores, among which horses, armour and swords were plentiful, were divided between the king, the Ḍāmaras, the plunderers and the ministers, who [all] felt free from restraint.

856. The robbers (*dasyu*) resembling a dense mass of goblins, tasted in the City, as it were, the pleasures of heaven, [though they were] fit only for rustic fare.

857. The king did not make a brilliant figure in the royal assembly, surrounded as he was by rustics whose festive clothes were chiefly long woollen blankets (*kambala*).

858. In view of the incomprehensible manner in which *Bhikṣācara* had made his appearance, the Ḍāmaras spread another legend, namely, that he was an *Avatāra*.

859. In the tasks of government he blundered at every step, since he had not seen it in another's [hands], just as a physician [blunders] in medical treatment if he has not seen it applied by another.

860. After *Janakasiṁha* had given him his niece, the commander-in-chief (Tilaka), too, later on gave him a daughter in marriage and joined his side.

Bhikṣācara's ministers.

861. *Jaṅga*, an officer (? *kaṭakavārika*) of the ruler of *Rājapurī*, when raised to the Pādāgra office, looked only to his own advantage, not to that of the king.

862. The regal power was in the hands of *Bimba*, who was prime minister (*sarvādhikārin*), while *Bhikṣācara* enjoyed the mere title of king.

empty site of this old palace is referred to in viii. 2417.

851. Comp. viii. 791

856. By *dasyu* the Ḍāmaras are intended; see note viii. 7, also viii. 866, 991, 1033, 2495, 2532, etc.

857. Compare for *kambala*, Kś. *kamal*ᵘ, still to this day an indication of inferior social status, v. 461; vii. 40.

858. Compare regarding this designation of Bhikṣu, viii. 3026.

861. For the doubtful term *kaṭukavārika*, see notes vi. 345; viii. 783; for the *pādāgra* office, note vii. 210.

Bhikṣācara (A.D. 1120-21).

863. *Bimba*, though he placed his own power under the control of courtezans and followed a low course of life, was yet at that time able to discriminate between the virtuous and wicked.

864. *Jyeṣṭhapāla*, too, a step-brother of *Daryaka*, being possessed of astonishing prowess, obtained a foremost place among the king's confidants.

865. Also councillors of his grandfather, such as *Bhūtabhiśca* and many others, visited like bees the lotus of his royal fortune.

866. With a simple-minded king, with negligent ministers and bold Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*), that reign was doomed from its very beginning, young as it was.

867. Pleasing himself with ever new women and with rich dishes, and deluded by the enjoyments of comforts, *Bhikṣācara* did not look after the affairs [of the state].

868. The enjoyments of pleasures blinded him for ambitious efforts, just as [if it had been the heavy] slumber of the rainy season, and dulled by drink he longed to sleep when his people pushed him into the assembly.

869. If a councillor from insolence addressed to him words of condescending sympathy, he did not feel anger, but in his simplicity took [on the contrary] an attachment to him as [if he were his] father.

870. The low parasites around him who would eat the food-remnants of a courtezan, induced him to adopt practices fit only for a market-slave as if he had received no education.

871. Since his resolve was like a line [drawn] in water, and his word carried no authority, his favourites neglected to obey him in all matters.

872. What the ministers spoke, he said after them; not a word came out of himself, just as [if he had been] hollow inside.

873. Vile councillors took the simple-minded [Bhikṣācara] to their homes, treated him to meals and pilfered him as [if he had been] a rich [young man] who had lost his father.

874. *Bimba's* fair-buttocked wife would, in his very house, come and take from him, her lover, handfuls of food, just like a mare from the stallion.

875. Eluding her husband's eyes, she would turn his head by displaying with smiles her breasts, armpits, and glances.

Dissensions among *Bhikṣācara's* supporters.

876. *Pṛthvīhara* and *Mallakoṣṭha* were jealous of each other and from time to time made the palace shake by their furious quarrels.

877. Though the king by going himself to their houses induced them to

863. Emend *antarajñaḥ* with Durgāpr. for A L *antaraṅgaḥ*.

864. For *Daryaka*, see viii. 550.

865. Regarding *Bhūtabhiśca*, comp. vii. 1695; viii. 94.

BHIKṢĀCARA (A.D. 1120-21).

arrange a marriage between their children, yet the two being mad with ambition did not relinquish their mutual hatred.

878. When the king himself had married [a daughter] from *Pṛthvīhara's* family, *Mallakoṣṭha* became enraged and left him openly.

879. The one-eyed *Janaka*, too, intrigued without paying regard to his relationship [as the king's father-in-law] and put disaffection into *Ojānanda* and other Brahman councillors.

880. The king who looked on with indifference and was entirely controlled by servants, most of whom were perfidious and evil-minded, became utterly confused in his affairs and an object of abuse.

881. What calamity did not befall the people whose masters were the Ḍāmaras, when Brahman women would suffer violence even from S'vapākas?

882. At that time when the land had no king or rather many kings, the rules of all business broke down manifestly.

883. The old money (*dīnnāra*) was not in circulation during *Bhikṣu's* reign, and for a hundred of that [money] one bought eighty of the new.

Expedition against *Lohara*.

884. The king then in his madness sent *Bimba* with an army against *Lohara* by the route of *Rājapurī* to attack *Sussala*.

885. Accompanied by *Somapāla*, he drew to himself for assistance a force of *Turuṣkas*, the *Sallāra Vismaya* having become an ally.

886. Every single horseman among the *Turuṣkas* said boastfully, showing a rope: "With this I shall bind and drag along *Sussala*."

887. Who indeed would not have thought this coalition of *Kaśmīrian*, *Khaśa* and *Mleccha* forces capable of uprooting everything?

888. When *Bimba* had left and the goad had [as it were] disappeared from behind the king, to what excesses did he not foolishly abandon himself?

889. The impudent concubine (*avaruddhā*) of *Bimba* invited him to her house and pleased him with her food and embraces.

883. It is very curious in view of the statement here made that no coins of Bhikṣācara have yet been found. At least CUNNINGHAM's list, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 46, does not show any coins which could be attributed to him, nor have I been able to trace any myself among the large quantity of old Kaśmīr coins which have passed through my hands. Is it possible that all the coins issued by the pretender should have been subsequently called in and melted down on the return of Sussala?

884. The attack against Lohara is made from the south through Rājapurī, partly because the chief of the latter territory is an old supporter of Bhikṣācara (see viii. 622), and partly because the condition of the Toṣ'maidān and other higher passes would make a direct attack upon Lohara from the north impossible for the winter and spring.

885. The *Turuṣkas* here referred to are, of course, Muhammadans from the Panjāb or the lower hills. I am unable to state what the Muhammadan name was which has been metamorphosed by the chronicler into *Vismaya*. *Sallāra* is possibly intended to represent the Persian title *sardār* or *sālār*, 'commander-in-chief.'

Vismaya's name occurs again viii. 905.

889. The term *avaruddhā* (see note iv. 678) seems to be used here for Bimba's faithless wife

BHIKṢĀCARA (A.D. 1120-21).

890. Enjoying himself with his minister's wife he cared not for affairs. How should he whose fall was near, have troubled himself about evil rumours?

891. There he felt no shame in giving himself up like a vulgar lover to feeding voraciously and playing music on earthen pots, brass vessels and other such [instruments].

892. The king then gradually lost his footing and found in time when his wealth had melted away, even food difficult to secure.

893. The people then began to extol that [same] *Sussala*, who had been reviled before as subject to such greed, cruelty and other [vices].

894. The very subjects who in their disaffection had caused the loss of his riches, honour and the rest, were longing with fervid desire for his return.

895. Though eye-witnesses of it we are wondering to this very day what had enraged these subjects, and what had appeased them again.

896. In a moment they show enmity and in a moment again attachment. The vulgar people, just like animals, do not require any reason [for their actions].

897. *Mallakoṣṭha*, *Janaka* and others sent messengers and induced King [Sussala] who had abandoned the kingdom, to make fresh efforts towards its reconquest.

898. Thereupon when *Tilaka's* people had plundered the Agrahāra of *Akṣosuva*, the Brahmans of that place held a solemn fast against the king.

Fasts of Brahmans.

899. When these and other [Brahmans] holding Agrahāras had assembled at *Vijayeśvara*, the solemn fast of the *Rājānavāṭikā* [Brahmans] broke out too in the City.

900. Thereupon the Purohita-corporations (*pariṣad*) of the temples incited by *Ojānanda* and other leading Brahmans held a solemn fast also in the *Gokula*.

901-902. Such an assembly of Purohitas of sacred shrines (*pāriṣadya*) had never been seen before. The courtyard [of the Gokula] was thronged everywhere with rows of sacred images, which were placed on litters and embellished with glittering parasols, dresses and Chowries, and all quarters were kept in an uproar with the din of the big drums, cymbals and other [musical instruments].

903. While the king's messengers were trying to pacify them, they replied with arrogant words: "Without the Long-beard (*lambakūrca*) we cannot get on."

in anticipation of her subsequent position as Sussala's concubine; see viii. 874 and 966.

891. Compare viii. 98.

898. *Akṣosuva* is only here mentioned, and its position is unknown.

899. For Agrahāras given to individual Brahmans and corporations of sacred places, etc., see note i. 87. The Prāya of the Brahmans of *Rājānavāṭikā* (Rāṇ'vōr) has already been referred to, viii. 768.

900. It is probable that the religious building, mentioned in v. 23 under the name of *Gokula*, is meant here; comp. notes v. 23, 461.

901-902. Compare with this description v. 465 sq.

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904. While thus frivolously designating King *Sussala* by the name of "Long-beard," they thought of him as of a puppet.

905. Upon what plans did this host of Purohita-corporations not debate day after day with the citizens who came to watch the solemn fast?

906. The Purohitas and citizens were agitated every moment by the fear of an attack from the king, and boldly prepared to fight.

907. The whole City, being under *Janakasiṁha's* control, was then in the latter's opinion ready for the restoration of King *Sussala*.

908. The king proceeded first to *Vijayeśvara* in order to make the Brahmans of the Agrahāras give up their fast, but failed there in his endeavour.

909. There in their midst *Tilaka* said to the king: "Kill all the Ḍāmaras." He, however, possessed [then] of righteous thought, did not accept this [advice].

910. When *Pṛthvīhara* and the other *Lavanyas* heard this from the king's mouth, they felt confidence in him, but became afraid of *Tilaka*.

911. The king from dislike wished to imprison the chamberlain *Lakṣmaka*, a son of *Prayāga's* sister. He, however, escaped to *Sussala*.

912. Then he (Bhikṣācara) proceeded to the City and collecting all the people, held an assembly of the citizens who were dissatisfied without reason.

913. Though he was saying what was true, the malignity of the citizens rendered his words vain. There is no remedy against those in rebellion.

914. In the meantime *Somapāla*, *Bimba* and the others marched all to *Parṇotsa* to attack King *Sussala* who stood at *Lohara*.

915. To him came King *Padmaratha*, the lord of *Kāliñjara*, from the family of *Kalha*, in remembrance of his (Sussala's) friendship with the latter and the other [members of his family].

Battle of *Parṇotsa*, A.D. 1121.

916. Then on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, the proud King *Sussala* met in battle those powerful [opponents].

917. Eye-witnesses yet to the present day describe that wonderful battle near *Parṇotsa*, in which he washed off his burning disgrace for the first time.

918. Henceforth his personal vigour returned somehow to the king, and rendered him again perfect, just as the lion [by his return restores the original condition] of the forest.

912. For *saṁnipatya* read *saṁnipātya*; comp. ii. 159; iv. 361.

914. A L write here erroneously *Lahara*; see note v. 51.

915. See regarding *Kalha* and *Kāliñjara*, note vii. 1256. Kalha is last mentioned viii. 581 as visiting Sussala at Aṭṭālikā, and must have died in the meantime.

916. The Laukika year 4197, A.D. 1121-22, is meant; comp. viii. 954.

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919. He with abundant prowess made in a very short time the *Turuṣkas* go into the snares of Death. after dropping from fright the ropes [they had brought to bind him].

920. His mighty fury, resembling a Vetāla, swallowed up *Somapāla's* maternal uncle, like a mouthful, in the battle on the bank of the river *Vitolā*.

921. What more [need be said]? With his few troops he slew, routed and shattered them, many though they were, so that whosoever could attack them (?).

922. Which excellence was not displayed by those *Kaśmīrians* who fought against one master, and by their defeat brought disgrace on the other?

923. When *Somapāla* had then retreated together with the *Turuṣkas*, the *Kaśmīrians* shamelessly deserted *Bimba* and went over to the king's (Sussala's) side.

924. These impudent people of wonderful nature felt evidently no shame in bowing their heads that day before the lord of their own race [against whom they had stretched] their bows the day before.

Sussala marches back to *Kaśmīr*.

925. Two or three days later the king started again for *Kaśmīr*, together with the citizens and Ḍāmaras who came [to join him].

926. The Rājaputra *Kalhaṇa*, son of *Sahadeva*, preceded the king on the march and collected the Ḍāmaras resident in *Kramarājya*.

927. That very *Bimba*, who had been the first to go over from the royal army to *Bhikṣu*, deserted the latter and joined the king.

928. Other councillors and Tantrins in league with *Janakasiṁho*, were seen shamelessly coming to meet the king.

929. A certain soldier, born in the village of *Kāṇḍiletra*, who was distinguished by auspicious marks, had occupied a seat (*upaveśana*) in the deserted [district of] *Bhāṅgila*.

930. As he had given an open passage to the people who proceeded to *Sussala*, *Bhikṣu* in the meantime marched forth with *Pṛthvīhara* to punish him.

931. After defeating him, he (Bhikṣu) formed in his anger the plan of slaying *Janakasiṁha* also, who was preparing to go to *Sussala*, and who heard this report.

919. Compare viii. 886.

920. The *Vitolā* can be safely identified with the *Bitarh* river which drains the valleys of the Sadrūn district, south of the western end of the Pir Pantsal range. It joins the Tohi (Tauṣi) at the town of Prūnts. The mention of the river shows that the 'battle of Parṇotsa' was fought close to the town of this name, whose position is marked by the present town of Prūnts.

921. The interpretation of *yathātmaparipanthinaḥ* is doubtful, and the text probably defective.

926. For *Sahadeva*, see viii. 198.

929. Regarding *Bhāṅgila*, the present *Bāngil*, see note vii. 498; for *upaveśana*, note viii. 1070.

I have not been able to trace the position of *Kāṇḍiletra*.

930. Through Bāngil lead the routes to the Fīrōzpūr, Nīlakaṇṭh, and other passes which communicate with the Lohara territory to the S. of the Pir Pantsāl.

BHIKṢĀCARA A.D. 1120-21).

932. He (Janakasiṁha) being in the City, collected thereupon all citizens, horsemen and Tantrins, and rose against *Bhikṣu*.

Rising of Janakasiṁha.

933. King *Bhikṣācara* thinking that he had taken possession of the throne, then marched in haste with *Pṛthvīhara* to the City.

934. *Janakasiṁha* boldly took up the fight with his troops at the bridge before the [temple of] *Sadāśiva*, though endeavours had been made to conciliate him.

935. For a short time one saw brave fighting on the part of *Janakasiṁha's* soldiers who rushed up boldly fearing no defeat.

936. *Pṛthvīhara*, however, with his brother's son *Alaka* crossed by another bridge and worsted his force.

937. The Tantrins, horsemen and citizens then scattered, and *Janakasiṁha* fled at night with his relatives to *Lahara*.

938. When *Bhikṣu* and *Pṛthvīhara* were preparing in the morning to pursue him, the impudent horsemen and the others came thereupon again to their side.

939. The Brahmans of the Purohita-corporations (*pāriṣadya*) and the rest left off their solemn fast, put the divine images quickly under their arms and ran away in fright.

940. The few that [remained behind] guarding the empty litters of the divine [images], were not troubled by *Bhikṣu*, as they declared that they had renounced their fast.

941. Having seen the horsemen on their huge prancing steeds one day in *Janaka's* army and on the next day in that of *Bhikṣu*, we are filled to this day with wonder.

942. Upon *Tilakasiṁha's* son, [Bhikṣu's] brother-in-law, there fell the lustre of his uncle's (Janakasiṁha's) office which was to vanish in a moment along with *Bhikṣu's* royal glory.

943. When *Janakasiṁha* had fled, King *Bhikṣu* got the [chance of] destroying the horses and other [property] of those who were his opponent's partisans.

944-946. In the meantime *Tilaka* and the rest had been worsted at *Huṣkapura* by *Sulhaṇa*, *Siṁba* and others, who had assembled large forces. [Sussala] thereupon accompanied by *Mallakoṣṭha*, *Janaka* and others who had come before him with their troops as well as by other chiefs who had command of ample forces, marched by the *Lahara* route, overspread the country in two or three days, and arrived suddenly [before the City] without having been noticed by the enemy.

934. The *Sadāśiva* temple stood close to the royal palace; see vii. 181, 186 sq. Hence the bridge here mentioned is perhaps the same as the one referred to in vii. 1547 sqq.

939-940. Compare viii. 900 sqq.

942. Bhikṣu had married Tilakasiṁha's daughter; see viii. 791, 851.

944-946. Sussala seems to have gone first to Huṣkapura, probably by one of the western routes over the mountains (see note viii. 390),

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

Sussala's return to S'rinagara (A.D. 1121).

947-953. With his face which was enclosed by a big beard and showed a knitted brow, pupils shaking with anger and wide-opened nostrils, he menaced fearlessly some of the horsemen and other faithless soldiers who had just then come before him in the market-streets of the City. Others, again, he chid and likewise those who had been defeated [on his own side]. His body was blackened by the fierce heat, and in his rigid bearing he looked fierce like Death. At the ranks of the citizens who had wronged him before, and who were [now] shouting propitious words and strewing flowers, he cast contemptuous glances. His armour he wore carelessly, just thrown over his shoulders. His locks which had slipped forth from below his helmet, were grey with dust, and so were his eye-lashes. His sword was in its sheath as he rode on his bounding horse in the midst of his horsemen, whose drawn sabres formed a line. In all directions the ground was covered by his wide-spreading forces shouting war-cries, and accompanied by the music of kettle-drums. Thus *Sussala* entered the City.

954. After [an absence of] six months and twelve days he returned on the third day of the bright half of Jyaiṣṭha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred and] ninety-seven (A.D. 1121).

955. Without entering the palace he searched for *Bhikṣu* who had fled before, and espied him on the bank of the *Kṣiptikā* in the company of the *Lavanyas.*

956. He (Bhikṣu) had fled with *Pṛthvīhara* when the enemy had reached the river-bank, but meeting on the road other *Lavanyas* had turned back with them.

957. The king put him to flight in combat, and then after capturing *Siṁha*, a relative of *Pṛthvīhara*, who had been wounded by sword-strokes, entered the royal palace.

958. The latter bearing the [fresh] marks of having been enjoyed by his rival who had just left, disgusted him as [if it had been] prostituted.

959. *Bhikṣu* left *Kaśmīr* together with *Pṛthvīhara* and the rest and proceeded to the village of *Puṣyāṇanāḍa*, which belonged to *Somapāla's* [territory].

and then to have marched round the north shores of the Volur lake through Khuyᵃhōm to Lahara (Lār). He can thus appear unexpectedly to the north of the city, whereas his opponents would naturally await his attack from the south. The march from Varāhamūla to S'rinagar occupies by this route about two or three days, as stated by Kalhaṇa.

959. The mention of *Puṣyāṇanāḍa* in connection with the frontier station of *S'ūrapura*, viii 967, 1578, leaves no doubt as to the identity of this place with the present *Puṣiāna*, which is the last inhabited place on the western or Panjāb side of the Pir Pantsāl pass, situated circ. 74° 38′ long. 33° 38′ lat. Puṣiāna lies at a height of 8300 feet above the sea, and is now a small village chiefly occupied by carriers and others who live by the traffic on the route. In winter it is generally deserted owing to the heavy snowfall; for a description comp. VIGNE, *Travels*, i. p. 260; INCE, *Handbook*, p. 69.

The word *nāḍa* affixed to the name in its Skr. form, is identical with *nāla*, which survives in the Anglo-Indian '*Nallah*,' 'valley, ravine.' In its modern Kś. derivative *nār*, the word is

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

960. When he had left, the king won over all Ḍāmaras to his side and appointed *Mallu*, son of *Vaṭṭa*, to the charge of *Kherī*, and *Harṣamitra* to the command of the army (*kampana*).

961. Of the [king] who remembered the former wrong and took no heed of the time or place, ...

962. Unable in his hatred to support even the odour left by the touch of *Bhikṣu*, he broke up the throne and made a present of it to his servants.

963. The Ḍāmaras who were not able to give up their fraudulently acquired wealth and who were afraid of the irascible king, did not abandon their seditious endeavours.

964. *Bhikṣu* on the other hand living after his dethronement in the territory of his supporter *Somapāla*, gathered again power through his gifts and honours.

965. *Bimba* who had gone to *Viśmaya* to ask for help, fell bravely fighting, when the latter had been made a prisoner by his enemies.

966. *Bhikṣācara* when left without *Bimba*, behaved improperly and took without shame his wife as a concubine.

967. The valiant *Pṛthvīhara* fell from there (Puṣyāṇanāḍa) upon *S'ūrapura*, and though his force was small put the son of *Vaṭṭa* to flight in battle.

Fresh invasion of *Bhikṣācara*.

968. When the latter had retreated, he brought *Bhikṣu* back again and proceeded to the territory of the Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*) in *Maḍavarājya* in order to win them over.

969. When he had got *Maṅkha*, *Jayya* and other Ḍāmaras of that part over to his side, he marched to *Vijayakṣetra* to defeat the commander-in-chief (Harṣamitra).

970. *Harṣamitra* was vanquished by him in battle, and having lost his soldiers abandoned *Vijayeśvara* and fled in fear to *Avantipura*.

971. The inhabitants of *Vijayakṣetra* and the people from the various towns

often found at the end of local names in the Kaśmir mountains; comp. note viii. 595.

It is of interest to note that Puṣyāṇanāḍa is described as belonging to Rājapurī territory. This shows that the upper valley of the Prūnts Tohi was not like Prūnts (Parṇotsa) itself under Kaśmir rule.

960. A *Vaṭṭa* has been mentioned above, viii 345. *Harṣamitra* had been *kampaneśa* before; comp. viii. 509.

Kherī has been identified in note i. 335 with the modern Pargaṇa of *Khur-Nar*ᵉ*vāv* to the south of *Div*ᵉ*sar*.

961. Two Pādas are here missing in the text of A, L. The words supplemented here by the Calc. Editors, and reproduced in Durgāpr.'s edition, are without MS. authority.

965. *Bimba*, who was last mentioned in viii. 927 as having joined Sussala, seems to have returned to Bhikṣācara's side; for *Viśmaya*, see viii. 885.

966. Comp. viii. 874, 889 sqq.

967. Regarding *S'ūrapura* and its watch-station, see note v. 39.

971. For the ancient shrine of Viṣṇu *Cakradhara*, situated on the high Uḍar still called *Tsak*ᵉ*dar*, near Vijᵉbrōr (Vijayeśvara), see note i. 38. Comp. with the following description the legendary account of the burning of Narapura near Cakradhara, i. 259 sqq.

and villages [of the neighbourhood] fled then in fright to the [shrine of Viṣṇu], *Cakradhara*.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

972. They filled the place with their women, children, animals, rice stores and property, and so did the king's soldiers with their arms and horses.

Burning of the *Cakradhara* temple.

973. *Bhikṣu's* hosts which stretched to the horizon, and were evidently bent on the thorough pillage of the [whole] people, then climbed up after them and besieged them.

974. As the [refugees] stayed in the temple courtyard which was protected by massive wooden ramparts and gates, the assailants could neither capture nor kill them.

975-976. A certain wicked Ḍāmara called *Janakarāja*, a *nirguṭa* (?) from the village of *Kaṭisthalī*, wished to burn a personal enemy of his, *Karpara* by name, who was inside, and foolishly setting fire to that place mercilessly caused the destruction of such a multitude of people.

977. On seeing the flaming fire burst forth, there arose a mighty cry of woe on all sides from the mass of beings.

978. The horses broke their ropes frightened by the approach of the enemy, as if it were that of the buffalo of Death, and killed the people by rushing about in that [courtyard] where there was not room for a needle.

979. The sky was obscured by masses of smoke from which gaped forth moving flames, and which thus resembled goblins with bushy red hair and beards.

980. The tongues of flames issuing from the smokeless fire seemed like waves of gold coming from a golden cloud which has burst by the heat.

981. The waves of fire moved about on the sky as if they were red head-dresses fallen from the heads of gods flying before the conflagration.

982. The crackling noise that arose from the bursting of the joints of the great beams, sounded like the noise of the Gaṅgā when it was boiling under the heat [of the sun on its course] through the atmosphere.

983. The sparks that took to rapid flight through the wide atmosphere, seemed like the souls of the beings who were frightened [to death] by the conflagration.

974. The mention of the wooden ramparts of the *Cakradhara* temple accounts for the great scarcity of stone remains now found on the Tsakᵊdar Uḍar.

On the northern extremity of the latter, which is detached from the rest of the plateau by a dip in the ground, I have found on a visit paid to the site in September, 1895, traces of a quadrangular enclosure, about forty yards square, marked by hollows in the ground. Could these hollows be the last indications of the wooden walls which enclosed the shrine?

975. *Kaṭisthalī* is not otherwise known.

The word *nirguṭa* must designate a caste or occupation as seen from *Samayam.* vii. 21; viii. 42; but its exact meaning cannot be ascertained. The emendation (*nirguṇa*) proposed in Ed. was wrong.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

984. The air resounded with the cries of the birds bewailing their young ones, and the earth with the cries of the burning people.

985. The fire consumed the women while they were embracing, with loud wailings, their brothers, husbands, parents and sons, and closing their eyes from fright.

986. The few who by force escaped from the interior were cut down by the cruel Ḍāmaras [who acted as if] urged on by Death.

987. Even so great a fire did not burn then as many beings as died there in a short time by the mere perspiration.

988. When those inside were all dead, and the murderers outside appeased, the place became suddenly silent.

989. There could be heard only the crackling of the fire while its flames were getting smaller, and the bubbling noise from the steaming mass of corpses.

990. By a hundred channels flowed forth the effluvia [composed] of the dissolved blood, marrow and fat, and the horrible stench spread for many Yojanas.

991. Thus there were caused at *Cakradhara* [twice] terrible sufferings through fire, first by the wrath of *Suśravas*, and secondly by the revolt of the Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*).

992. Such destruction of masses of beings, resembling the end of the world, was caused by fire only at the burning of the [three cities of the demon] *Tripura*, or in the *Khāṇḍava* [forest] or there.

993. After *Bhikṣu* had committed this great crime on the festive day of the twelfth of the bright half of S'rāvaṇa, he was deserted by the royal fortune as well as by his luck.

994. In thousands of towns and villages the houses became deserted, because the householders with their families had been burned on that occasion.

995. *Maṅkha*, a Ḍāmara from *Naunagara*, searched the dead bodies like a Kāpalika, and gratified himself with the objects found upon them.

991. For the story of the Nāga *Suśravas'* vengeance upon King Nara and his town, see i. 244-270.

992. The burning of the cities of *Tripura* by S'iva, and the destruction of the forest of *Khāṇḍava* by Arjuna, is related in *Mahabh.* VIII. xxxiv. and I. ccxxiii. sqq., respectively.

993. A passage of the *Nīlamata*, much corrupted in the MSS., vv. 785-791, refers to the twelfth day of the bright half of S'rāvaṇa as a holiday known by the name of *mahatī dvādaśī*. Fasting, S'rāddhas, etc., are prescribed for this day, but no account is given of the reason for its celebration. The pilgrimages to several of the Kaśmir Nagas are held at present on that day, e.g. those to the Tīrthas of Kapālamocana, Uccaiḥśirṇa (Vutˢśan), Trigrāmi.

995. By *kāpālika* is meant here probably the attendant at the burning-ground, who receives part of the clothes and ornaments with which the dead is put on the pyre, comp. *Mārkaṇḍeyapur.* viii. 105 sqq.

Regarding *Naunagara*, see vii. 358.

Sussala restored (A.D. 1121-28).

996. *Bhikṣācara* then descended thence to *Vijayakṣetra*, and after capturing the wicked *Nāgeśvara* put him to death by tortures.

997. What act of his in his grandfather's country did not deserve blame? But all were pleased when he put to death his father's murderer.

998. *Harṣamitra's* wife, whom her husband had left behind on his flight, was found by *Pṛthvīhara* inside the courtyard of [the temple of] *Vijayeśa*.

999. King *Sussala*, who blamed himself as the cause of such slaughter which had destroyed his subjects, then marched out to battle.

1000. Owing to the enormity of his crime *Janakarāja*, destined to suffer the torments of hell, met quickly his death before *Avantipura*.

1001. Wonderful it is that people in their delusion do not remember how easily that body perishes, for whose sake they commit actions which destroy their happiness in another world.

1002. The king thereupon made *Simba* commander-in-chief, and drove away the host of Ḍāmaras from *Vijayakṣetra* and other places.

1003. *Pṛthvīhara* proceeded from *Maḍavarājya* to *S'amālā*, but on being defeated by *Mallakoṣṭha* was obliged to leave [this] his own territory.

1004. Some corpses were thrown into the *Vitastā*. Many others which could not be dragged out were burned in the courtyard of [the shrine of] *Cakradhara*.

1005. *Rilhaṇa* then defeated *Kalyāṇavāḍa* and others in *Kramarājya*. *Ānanda*, the son of *Ananta*, became thereupon there lord of the Gate.

Pṛthvīhara attacks S'rīnagara.

1006. The powerful *Pṛthvīhara*, carrying along [the body of his relative] *Siṁha* who had been impaled, met in an encounter *Janakasiṁha* and others on the bank of the *Kṣiptikā*.

1007-1008. There is one day in this country in the month of Bhādrapada, on which the bones of those who have died, are started on the way to the sacred lake (*tīrtha*), when all places resound with the wailing of the women. This was enacted every day during the fighting with *Pṛthvīhara*, when the interior of the City was [ever] filled with the wailing of the women of the fallen brave.

996. *Nāgeśvara* had betrayed Prince Bhoja; see vii. 1653 sqq.

1003. Pṛthvihara was a Ḍāmara of *S'amālā* (Hamal); comp. viii. 591.

1005. See for this Ānanda, viii. 633.

1006. *Siṁha* had previously fallen into Sussala's power; see viii. 957.

1007-8. K. alludes here to the custom, still observed by all Brahmans of Kaśmīr, of depositing the bones of those who have died during the year, in the sacred Gaṅgā lake below the glaciers of Mount Haramukuṭa on occasion of the pilgrimage to this Tīrtha.

The ceremony of depositing the bones in the lake takes place on the eighth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada. The pilgrims start from S'rinagar on the 4th *śudi*, when the removal of the bones from the houses gives rise to a good deal of lamentation. It is customary for the woman-folk of all related families to assemble at the house of the deceased, and to testify their sympathy by loud wailing. Full details regarding the pilgrimage are given by the Haramukuṭa-gaṅgāmāhātmya. Regarding the Gaṅgā lake (Gaṅgabal) see notes i. 57; iii. 448.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1009. *S'rīvaka*, the brave brother-in-law of *Yaśorāja*, returned then from abroad, and was put by the king in charge of the *Kherī* post.

1010. He took no hostile steps against the *Lavanyas* nor they against him; on the contrary they passed the time secretly in doing each other favours.

1011. The king then set out again in [the month of] Āśvayuja to *S'amālā*, but was defeated by the enemy in a battle at the village of *Manīmuṣa*.

1012. *Bhikṣu*, who by continued practice in fighting had acquired superior strength, showed himself there for the first time vigorous and the foremost of all the brave.

1013. The Brahman *Tukka* and other chief men in *Sussala's* force were killed by *Bhikṣu*, *Pṛthvīhara* and others, having been rendered helpless by a sudden heavy downpour.

1014. In the two armies, which counted many strong men, there was not one who could face *Bhikṣu* when he roamed about in battle.

1015-1016. In this war for many years *Pṛthvīhara* and *Bhikṣu* had two mares, called *Kādambarī* and *Patākā*, one yellow, the other whitish of colour. While many horses perished, these wonderfully escaped being killed, nor did they get exhausted.

1017. There was no other hero anywhere like *Bhikṣācara*, who would protect the troops in critical positions, bear up with fatigues, never feel tired and never boast.

1018. In *Sussala's* army there was no one who could steady the soldiers at times of panic, and for this it was that many fell on frequent occasions.

1019. In some fresh defeats certain of the Ḍāmara troops were saved by *Bhikṣācara*, just as young elephants [are saved] by a lord among elephants.

1020. No one displayed at that time such devoted activity as *Pṛthvīhara*, who slept himself every night at *Bhikṣu's* door.

Bhikṣācara's conduct.

1021. From that time onwards *Bhikṣu*, the great soldier, was in battle ever the protector in front and in the rear, like the *Viśve Devāḥ* at the S'rāddha.

1022. Showing on all occasions boldness and unshaken fortitude, he did not forget to justify his course by thus addressing his adherents:

1023. "My endeavour is not for the throne, but my purpose is to remove the great disgrace which has attached itself to the work of my forefathers."

1009. *Yaśorāja* had been exiled by Sussala; see viii. 534.

1011. I am not able to identify *Manīmuṣa*. In view of our own passage and viii. 1133, the place must be looked for in S'amālā or Hamal.

1021. Mantras addressed to the *Viśve-devāḥ* are recited at the beginning and end of the annual S'rāddha sacrifices.

1023. The text as found in A does not permit of a suitable construction. I propose to read with L *prasaktaṁ* for A *prasaktuṁ*, and to correct *vyavasāyo* for *vyavasāyaṁ*. Misreadings of [a]ṁ for o (both superscribed), and *vice versâ*, at the end of words are frequent in S'āradā MSS.; comp. e.g. notes vii. 638, 919, 998.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1024. "These protectors of the people, being at the time of their death left as it were without a protector, were surely envying those who had a protector, thinking [then] that their family was extinguished."

1025. "In this thought I struggle on with firm resolve bearing my hardships; tormented myself I cause pain to my rival kinsman day after day."

1026. "How can he who feels ambition, shrink back from a bold act, when he knows that nobody dies until his time has arrived?"

1027. "What would be the use of crooked designs for promoting our object if they were revealed? Or again—why should we not reveal them, since we have vowed to take our stand on the [straight] road indicated by the Ṛṣis?"

1028. The Ḍāmaras felt apprehensions on account of *Bhikṣu's* extraordinary prowess. Therefore they did by no means destroy his rival (Sussala).

1029. Those of royal blood [usually] grow slowly in knowledge while watching other rulers' conduct of affairs, before they themselves come to the throne.

1030. He, however, had seen nothing of his father and grandfather. Thus [it came about that] when he before had obtained the throne, he was misguided.

1031. Had he but gained it another time, could there have been any talk at all about his overthrow? Even fate could not have looked upon him slightingly.

1032. Though he knew the duplicity of the *Lavanyas*, he passed his days lightheartedly, in the hope that he would gain the throne when once his antagonist had been killed.

1033. King *Sussala* thought this frame of mind of the Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*) to be to his own advantage. In his eagerness for victory he was preparing to employ either policy or vigorous force.

1034. He (Sussala) did not take care of his own adherents in fighting as he remembered their [former] hostility. Hence, they did not feel confidence in him, and for this reason victory did not fall to his share.

1035. Among those dissensions on one side and the other no regard was paid to the country, the whole of which fell into an altogether pitiful condition.

1036. Alas! the elephant, too, in his wantonness eagerly uproots the rows of those trees, which, indeed, on his account have already suffered injury by the fire

1024. Bhikṣācara is made to allude to the fate of his father and grandfather, whose fall he is to revenge.

1027. The meaning of this verse is not quite clear. As far as I understand the argument, Bhikṣācara wishes to account for his reticence as to his further plans. If he had any secret designs, it would not be expedient to reveal them. Or his followers are at liberty to assume that he has got none, but is trusting solely to his good cause.

1031. For A *sāpekṣaṁ*, which does not give a suitable sense, read with L *sākṣepaṁ*.

1033. The translation of the second half of this verse is based on a conjectural emendation indicated in the Ed. The text of A L is certainly corrupt.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

that the hunters of the forests have laid in order to catch him. Nothing good comes to those whom fate pursues, either from others or themselves.

1037. While the royal power was thus divided, King *Sussala* defeated the forces of *Bhikṣu*, which an untimely fall of snow had reduced to straits.

Bhikṣācara retires to *Puṣyāṇanāḍa*.

1038. *Bhikṣu* and *Pṛthvīhara* retired once more to *Puṣyāṇanāḍa*, while the other *Lavanyas* submitted to the king and offered tribute.

1039. *Simba*, too, the brave commander-in-chief, defeated the Ḍāmaras, and suppressed the rebellion in the whole of *Maḍavarājya*.

1040. The king, when he had got relief by so far subduing his opponents, displayed then the former enmity towards his own followers.

1041. *Mallakoṣṭha*, too, was exiled from the country by the angry king, having fled when *Ulhaṇa* informed him that he (Sussala) was preparing to kill him.

1042. He imprisoned *Ānanda*, the son of *Ananta*, and appointed *Prajji*, who was of royal descent, and came from the Indus region (*saindhava*) to the charge of the 'Gate.'

1043. He then went to *Vijayakṣetra*, and on coming back to the City with *Simba*, threw this trusted [servant] into prison.

1044. The fire of his hatred wherewith he wished to burn his servants, was fanned by the gale of recollection and absorbed the water of mercy.

1045. His mind seized with an excess of fury, he put *Simba* to death by impaling him together with his younger brothers *Siṁha* and *Thakkanasiṁha*.

1046. He put *S'rīvaka* in chief command of the army, and after imprisoning *Janakasiṁha* placed *Sujji*, the brother of *Prajji*, in the post of chief justice (*rājasthāna*).

1047. Henceforth his confidants and ministers were foreigners, and among his own countrymen only those who had followed him to *Lohara*.

1048. Therefore all became frightened and abandoning him went over to the enemy. Only one in a hundred remained by the king's side in the palace.

1049. Thus, even after the revolt had been suppressed, he roused fresh mischief which could not be put right, and which was not ceased.

1050. A wise king deserves praise for ignoring a fault, under circumstances where the affront done to one servant might cause apprehensions to the others also.

1042. The epithet *saindhava* given to Prajji could also mean 'descendant of *Sindhu*.' But comp. viii. 1149, where Prajji's foreign descent is indicated. Regarding *Ānanda* see viii. 683, 1005.

1046. *Janakasiṁha* has been mentioned in the Rājasthāna office, viii. 573, but figures subsequently as Nagarādhipa, 'city prefect, viii. 632, 814, 838. May we suppose that the two offices were held jointly?

For *S'rīvaka*, see viii. 1009.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

Return of *Bhikṣācara* (A.D. 1122).

1051. In the month of Māgha then (Laukika year 4197, A.D. 1121-22), *Bhikṣu*, *Pṛthvīhara* and the rest came back again at the invitation of *Mallakoṣṭha* and others by the route of *S'ūrapura*.

1052. The king left the palace and proceeded to the *Navamaṭha*, thinking that this place round which the *Vitastā* formed [as it were] a moat, was inaccessible to the enemy.

1053. In Caitra of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred and] ninety-eight (A.D. 1122) the Ḍāmaras came on to fight, and *Mallakoṣṭha* first began the combat.

1054. While he was carrying on the fight with the horsemen in the City, the king's ladies looked on frightened from the roof of the palace.

1055. *Bhikṣu* established his camp on the bank of the *Kṣiptikā* . . . . .

1056. The trees in the palace garden the Ḍāmaras carried off to feed their cooking fires, and the millet-grass from the king's stables to feed their horses.

1057-1058. While *Pṛthvīhara* was organizing an army at *Vijayakṣetra* by collecting the Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*) of *Maḍavarājya*, the king, ready for a bold enterprise, made in the month of Vaiśākha a sudden attack upon him after ordering *Prajji* and others to engage *Mallakoṣṭha*.

1059. Upon his unexpected attack they (Pṛthvīhara's forces) fled dispirited and wounded, and after crossing the bridge with difficulty, consoled themselves with having escaped with their lives.

1060. Then while *Prajji* was entirely absorbed in fighting *Mallakoṣṭha*,

1051. The early date here given for the Pretender's irruption is very curious. The pass over the Pīr Pantsāl, meant by the 'route of S'ūrapura,' is generally impassable till far into March. The month Māgha of the Laukika year 4197, according to luni-solar reckoning, corresponds approximately to January 10th—February 9th, A.D. 1122. Bhikṣu's march over the pass in that month presupposes therefore exceptionally favourable conditions, which may possibly have been connected somehow with the premature snowfall of the preceding autumn mentioned in viii. 1037.

1052. This verse would afford the means of fixing the position of the *Navamaṭha*, mentioned in viii. 247 as having been built by Jayamati, Uccala's queen, in case we should find a locality in or near S'rinagar answering to the topographical indication furnished by our passage. The Navamaṭha must have been situated on an island of the Vitastā or a strip of land nearly enclosed by a bend of the river.

The present river shows no island in the vicinity of the city. But there is a kind of peninsula formed by a great loop of the river, only about one and a half miles in a direct line above the first city bridge. This peninsula is now called after the village situated on it *S'ampūr ṭhūr*, and part of it is occupied by the Rām Munshi Bāgh, a camping ground well known to European visitors of S'rinagar. Its length is nearly a mile and its breadth about half a mile, while the neck connecting the little peninsula with the 'mainland' on the north is at its narrowest point scarcely more than 400 yards in width.

It is, of course, possible that the river has changed its course above or below the city during the last seven centuries, and that there existed a similar bend in another position, which may have been the site of the Navamaṭha.

1055. The royal palace was close to the *Kṣiptikā*; see note vii. 186 sq. Two Pādas are here missing in the text.

Sussala restored (A.D. 1121-28).

Manujeśvara, *Pṛthvīhara's* younger brother, penetrated into the City, after defeating *Sujji*.

1061. Not being able to reach the other bank owing to the bridge over the *Vitastā* having been broken off, he then proceeded to the *Kṣiptikā*, after burning the houses on the nearer bank.

1062. King *Sussala*, disconcerted, thought that the City had been taken by the *Lavanyas*, and returned withdrawing his troops from *Vijayakṣetra*.

Disaster on *Gambhīrā* bridge (A.D. 1122).

1063. The bridge over the *Gambhīrā* river broke under the rush made by his own troops who were pressed by the fear of the enemy.

1064. On the sixth of the dark half of Jyaiṣṭha (A.D. 1122), there perished there in the water an innumerable host of his soldiers, as one had perished [before] by fire at *Cakradhara*.

1065. As the king was endeavouring to stem the rush of the troops with his uplifted arm, he fell into the river [pushed] from behind by the frightened and routed [soldiers].

1066. With difficulty he crossed to the [other] bank, after having been repeatedly drawn under by those who could not swim and were clinging to him, and wounded by the weapons of those who were crossing.

1067. The troops that had not crossed, he left on the other side mixed up with the feudatory chiefs, and himself marched on followed by only the thousandth part of his army.

1068. Even after abandoning this numberless force, the king kept his courage, and after entering the City engaged in a fight *Mallakoṣṭha* and the rest.

1069. *Vijaya's* mother *Sillā* then took those troops which their lord had abandoned, from *Vijayeśvara* to *Devasarasa*.

1070. Thereupon *Pṛthvīhara* attacked and killed her, put *Ṭikka* in that seat (*upaveśana*), and dispersed those royal troops.

1063. By the name *Gambhīrā* ('the deep river') is designated the lowest portion of the course of the Viśokā (Vešau) river, between the point where it receives the waters of the Rembyār and its own junction with the Vitastā. This confluence, situated circ. 75° 8′ long. 33° 50′ lat., is known to the Māhātmyas as a Tīrtha by the name of *Gambhīrasaṅgama*, as already explained in note iv. 80. The Gambhīrā is repeatedly mentioned by this name in the *Vijayeśvaramāhātmya* (Ādipurāṇa), iv. 71; v. 66, 90; vi. 19, etc.: in the *Vitastāmāh.*; also in *Harsacar*. x. 192. K. refers to it again, viii. 1497.

The road from Vijᵉbrōr to S'rinagar on the left river bank passes to this day the Viśokā close to its confluence with the Vitastā. The Viśokā flows there between steep mud banks, and is so deep as to be unfordable at all seasons of the year.

1069. *Sillā* is evidently the mother of *Vijaya*, the powerful Ḍāmara from Devasarasa, who has been mentioned, viii. 504, as Gargacandra's brother-in-law. Ṭikka, who is put in possession of her estate (see following verse), is a relative of Vijaya, and also from Devasarasa; see viii. 522, 662 sqq.

1070. By *upaveśana* K. designates usually the seats of Ḍāmaras, which in all probability formed in these troubled times little castles; comp. vii. 1254; viii. 648, 929, 1124, 1153, 2505. Such fortified residences of small territorial lords are to this day remembered

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1071. The whole force ran away, and only the Brahman *Kalyāṇarāja*, who was well versed in military exercises, was killed fighting with his face to [the enemy].

1072. From the force of *Sussala* in which councillors, Ḍāmaras, and feudatories abounded, *Pṛthvīhara* captured and bound crowds of soldiers.

1073. While he was pursuing them up to the *Vitastā* (?), he captured the Brahman *Ojānanda* and others who had fled from that force, and impaled them.

1074. *Janaka[siṁha]*, *S'rīvaka* and other ministers, as well as certain Rājaputras crossed the mountain-range and took refuge with the *Khaśas* in *Viṣalāṭā*.

1075. When *Pṛthvīhara* had thus secured the victory, he collected the Ḍāmaras and marched full of ambitious hopes with *Bhikṣu* into the vicinity of the City.

Sussala besieged in *S'rīnagara*.

1076. Then when the king was as before besieged in the City, there began again a fight which destroyed masses of men and horses on all sides.

1077. *Pṛthvīhara*, himself, led forward the force of the [Ḍāmaras] of *Maḍavarājya*, thinking that from that side the royal palace could be entered without obstruction.

1078. The Ḍāmara tribe, joined by brave *Kaśmīrian* soldiers from various feudatory families, was most difficult to defeat.

1079. Thousands of *Kaśmīrians*, such as *S'obhaka* and others from *Kāka's* family, as well as other well-known persons such as *Ratna*, distinguished themselves on *Bhikṣu's* side.

1080. *Pṛthvīhara* on hearing the noisy music which rose from his shouting army, counted from curiosity the musical instruments.

1081. Apart from the numerous kettle-drums (? *tūrya*) and other [big instruments], he could, in his curiosity, count twelve hundred small drums such as are carried by S'vapākas.

in many Kaśmīr villages, and are ascribed to the time when the country was divided into *Kuṭ*ᵘ*rāja*, i.e. **Koṭṭarājyas*. This description might well apply to the Kaśmīr of the last reigns included in our narrative.

1073-74. The mention of *Viṣalāṭā*, the hill district to the S. of the Bānᵃhāl Pass (comp. note viii. 177), and the reference to the crossing of the mountains show clearly that the king's troops, when dislodged from Devasarasa (Divᵉsar) by Pṛthvīhara, flee to the S. towards the mountains bordering Kaśmīr. The mention of the *Vitastā* as the end point of the pursuit seems, therefore, strange on the first look.

I am inclined to believe that K. wishes in reality to refer to the locality where the source of the Vitastā is traditionally placed. This is the Nāga at *Vith*ᵉ*vutur*, the *Vitastātra* of the Rājat., close to Vērnāg in the Shāhābād Pargaṇa; see note i. 102. Immediately above Vithᵉvutur begins the ascent to the Bānᵃhāl Pass, by which Janakasiṁha and the other ministers escaped to Viṣalāṭā.

It is possible that the *Vitastāntam* of the text is a corruption for *Vitastātram*, in which case we should have a reference to the actual village of Vithᵉvutur.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1082. Notwithstanding that *Sussala* had lost so many troops, yet he held out against the enemy with twenty or thirty Rājaputras and with a few of his own countrymen.

Sussala's chief partisans.

1083-1086. *Udaya* and *Dhanyaka*, two noblemen from the family of *Icchati*; *Udaya* and *Brahmajajjala*, the lords of *Campā* and *Vallāpura* [respectively]; *Oja*, the chief of the *Malhaṇahaṁsas* and a resident of *Harihaḍa*; also *Savyarāja* and others from *Kṣatrikābhiññikā*; *Nīla* and other sons of *Biḍāla* descended from *Bhāvuka's* race; *Rāmapāla* and his youthful son *Sahajika*,—these and others too from various families, delighting in the excitement of fierce combats, kept back on all sides the enemies who were engaged in besieging the City.

1087. *Rilhaṇa*, who acted as if he were the king's son, and *Vijaya* and other cavaliers took the lead in the fighting.

1088. *Sujji* and *Prajji*, ever active in battle, were guarded by the king who himself made great efforts, just as [if they had been] his arms and he their armour.

1089. The king shared with those two the revenue of the country, and was in that most critical time faithfully supported by them.

1090. *Bhāgika*, *S'aradbhāsin*, *Mummuni*, *Saṅgaṭa*, *Kalaśa*, and others on his side showed skill in breaking up the enemy.

1091. *Kamaliya*, too, the son of *Lavarāja*, who ruled in the *Ṭakka* territory, fought in the front rank for the king.

1092. The horsemen could not withstand the onslaught of this strong [prince] who was distinguished by the mark of the Chowries, just as [if he had been] an elephant in rut.

1083-86. It is probable that most, if not all, of the partisans of the king who are named here, belong to Rājpūt families of the hill-regions to the south of Kaśmīr. For *Campā* and *Vallāpura*, see notes vii. 218, 220. Sussala's queen *Jajjalā* from Vallāpura, viii. 1441, might have been a daughter or near relation of *Brahmajajjala*.

Udaya, from Icchaṭi's family, has been mentioned viii. 750. He and his younger brother *Dhanya* (called only here *Dhanyaka*) rose to high posts under Jayasiṁha; see viii. 1600, 1624, etc.

The position of *Harihaḍa* and *Kṣatrikābhiññikā* I am unable to trace: the second name is given in L as *Kṣatriyabhiṅkhikā*.

The name *Oja*, for which A₁ has also the variant *Teja*, is written in the first form also in L: *o* and *te* are nearly alike in old S'āradā writing.

1087. *Rilhaṇa*, first mentioned viii. 1005, plays a great part in the subsequent narrative as Jayasiṁha's trusted minister; see viii. 1402, 1624, 2050, etc.

1090. For *Muṅgaṭa* of A and *Suṅgaṭa* of L we have to correct here *Saṅgaṭa*, as Mummuni's brother is referred to under the latter name, viii. 2178, 2183. Both were cousins of Sujji. The name *Saṅgaṭa* had to be restored already, vii. 581, for A *Muṅgaja*. Regarding the name *Mummuni*, comp. note iv. 167.

S'aradbhāsin is in all probability another name of *S'aradiya* who is mentioned as Saṅgaṭa's brother, viii. 2183. *Bhāgika* is identical with Prajji's nephew (and Sujji's son?) Bhāgika, viii. 1228, 1630.

1091. For *Ṭakka*, see note v. 150. It would be interesting to know in what part of the Panjāb *Lavarāja* exercised authority. He was probably a feudatory of the Ghazni Sultāns. For Kamaliya's grandfather (Bhijja), see viii. 1190.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1093. His younger brother *Saṅgika* and his brother's son *Pṛthvipāla* protected him from the side, just as those from the *Pañcāla*-land [had protected] *Phālguna* (Arjuna).

1094. By such jewels of servants and with horses which he had purchased at the cost of much gold, the king gained the victory, though his subjects were in revolt.

1095. In every fight the king, too, moved about without agitation, as a householder [moves] from room to room at a feast.

1096. Because a calamity caused him apprehension [only] at the commencement; but when it had developed it gave fortitude to this spirited [king].

1097. Danger causes dejection at its sudden approach, not so, when one is in its midst; the water feels cold when taken up in the hand, but not when one is immersed in it.

1098. Wherever there was the dark mass of the hostile troops, there appeared the king's force like the moonlight removing the darkness (*sitāsitā*)

1099. On one occasion the Ḍāmaras, upon a given signal, fell together upon the City in a combined attack after crossing the *Mahāsarit*.

1100. The king, whose troops were divided over the [different] localities of the boundless City, with a small number of horsemen himself attacked [the enemy] as they broke in.

1101. The Ḍāmaras, when put to flight by him, could not make a stand, as [little as] a heap of fallen leaves when driven by the autumn wind.

1102. *S'ryānanda* from the *Kāka* family, *Loṣṭaśāhi*, *Anula* and other well-known persons in the Ḍāmara army were slain by the king's soldiers.

1103. The king's followers, resembling Caṇḍāla [executioners], dragged many [Ḍāmaras] with blows into the presence of the fierce king, and put them to death.

Sussala's victory at *Gopādri* (A.D. 1122).

1104. Others then of *Bhikṣu's* side climbed in their fright the *Gopa*-hill (*Gopādri*), where they were surrounded by the opponents' troops and in the mouth of death.

1093. For the *Pāñcālas* as followers of Arjuna in battle, comp. e.g. *Mahābh.* VII. clvi. 51; clix. 47. L has rightly *phālguna*°.

1098. The compound *sitāsitā* permits of different interpretations, several of which may have been intended by the author. *sitā-sitā*, 'white like sugar' or *sita-āsitā*, 'appearing in the bright half of the month,' would also be suitable epithets of *jyotsnā*.

vāhini also can be taken in the double sense of 'army' and 'river'; comp. e.g. iv. 146; vii. 2; viii. 1559. In this case the king's army would be likened to the Gaṅgā, which after its junction with the Yamunā carries white and dark waters (see note iii. 327). The rush of the king's army into the dark mass of the enemy would be compared with the Gaṅgā's descent to hell (Pātālagaṅgā).

1099. The position taken up by the Ḍāmaras on the banks of the Mahāsarit, i.e. the Tsūṇṭh Kul, corresponds to the one mentioned in viii. 733; see note.

1104-1110. The incidents of the fight described in these verses can easily be understood on reference to the local topography of S'rinagar. They appear, notwithstanding some poetical metaphors and exaggerations, to have been recorded accurately enough by the author.

The Ḍāmaras attacked the city on the right river bank from the S.E. by crossing the *Mahāsarit*, or Tsūṇṭh Kul. Being driven

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1105. In order to protect them, the proud *Bhikṣu* forced up his horses by a path which is difficult even for a bird to move on.

1106. *Pṛthvīhara* struck by an arrow in the neck, climbed up with difficulty, keeping continually by his side, and so did two or three other brave soldiers.

1107. After these had stopped the enemy's force, as the rising rocks of the seashore [stop] the ocean, they (Bhikṣu's troops) left the *Gopa*-hill (*Gopācala*) and climbed up the other hills.

1108. Then there appeared on the left of the king's troops *Mallakoṣṭha's* corps, putting everything in motion to the brink of the horizon by its foot and mounted forces.

1109. As the king stood separated from his troops which were eagerly engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, all thought then: "Without doubt, the king is killed."

1110. While King *Sussala* fell back before his sudden attack, there arrived on the battle-field *Prajji* with his younger brother.

1111. On the eighth day of the dark half of Āṣāḍha, there took place that great mêlée of horsemen in which the clatter of their own swords made up the applause.

back by Sussala's troops they retire to the E., the only direction open, probably by the *Setu* of Pravarasena, the present *Suth* (see note iii. 339-349). They then ascend the hill of the Takht-i Sulaimān, which lies in the direct continuation of the Setu, and would naturally attract the fleeing as a place of safety. In note i. 341 it has already been shown that *Gopādri*, 'the Gopa-hill,' is undoubtedly the old name of the Takht hill, and that a trace of the name survives in that of the village *Gupᵉkār*, situated immediately at the foot of the hill to the N.E.

While holding the hill the Ḍāmaras are surrounded by the king's forces. This manœuvre could easily be effected, as the Takht hill is practically isolated and connected with the mountain range to the E. only by a low and narrow neck at its eastern extremity, now known as *Aitᵃgaj* ('passage of the sun,' called so as forming a gap in the hill range to the south). It is only from this rocky neck that the top of the Takht hill can be reached by horses or rather hill-ponies, all the other approaches being much too steep to ride on (comp. NEVE, *Guide*, p. 43).

It is by this very rough path that I believe Bhikṣu to have penetrated to those who had taken refuge on the hill and were in danger of being cut off. By the same path the Ḍāmaras then retire to the Aitᵃgaj, in order to climb up the 'other hills' (see viii. 1107) stretching to the E. and N.E. A track passable for ponies leads to this day from Aitᵃgaj up the west slopes of the hills towards the mountain plateaus above Khunᵃmuh and the valley of the river shown on the map as the 'Arrah.'

While pursuing the fleeing Ḍāmaras on these hills, the king is taken in the flank by Mallakoṣṭha, who with his men of Lahara (Lār; see viii. 1114) comes to the rescue of the Ḍāmaras—but too late—'from the left,' i.e. from the N. As the city is held by the king's forces, the only route open to Mallakoṣṭha is round the E. shore of the Ḍal viâ Brạn (Bhimādevi), Thid (Thedā), and Jyeṣṭheśvara (Jyēṭhēr). Near the latter village, which, as mentioned in Note *C*, i. 124, lies close to the N.E. of Aitᵃgaj, might be placed the final encounter of the day, in which Sussala seems to have been in personal danger, vv. 1109 sq.

If we assume that the Lahara force was originally intended to join in the attack on the city from the N. (viâ the present suburbs of Naushahar and Sangin Darvāsa), and was only subsequently after the repulse of the general attack sent round to help the Ḍāmara force retiring to the east, we can easily understand why it should have come too late (viii. 1114). To get from the above-named suburbs round the shores of the Ḍal to Aitᵃgaj is a march of about eleven to twelve miles, which by an armed force could scarcely be done in less than about four hours.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1112. These two (Prajji and Sujji) overcame him and his son in battle, just as the forest fire with its accompanying wind [is extinguished] by the months of S'rāvaṇa and Bhādrapada with their rain-showers.

1113. Rich as that time was in battles, yet there was no other day which like this put valour and manliness to the test.

1114. Owing to the late arrival of the *Lahara* corps [the rebels] who had wished to overpower [the king], were not able to join hands.

1115. On that critical day they recognized one another's strength, the king that of *Bhikṣu*, and *Bhikṣu* that of the king.

1116. *Pṛthvīhara* then directed those from *Maḍavarājya* to fight in the same position [they previously occupied], while he himself went and attacked by the bank of the *Kṣiptikā*.

Yaśorāja appointed governor.

1117. At that time there arrived from abroad *Yaśorāja*, and was made governor (*maṇḍaleśa*) by the king who was anxious to repress the enemy.

1118. The Ḍāmaras who had witnessed his valour before when he was in charge of *Kherī*, shook a hundred times with fright when they saw his face in battle.

1119. By bestowing upon him saffron-ointments, a parasol, horses and other marks of honour, the king caused him to be greeted by all with respect just as [if he were the king] himself.

1120. The people who in their misery took their long-continuing disasters for a curable disease and eagerly wished to recover, put their hope in him, just as a sick man in a new physician.

1121. The king put up *Pañcacandra*, the eldest of the surviving sons of *Garga*, to oppose *Mallakoṣṭha*.

1122. He, yet a boy under the guardianship of his mother *Chuḍḍā*, was gradually joined by his father's followers, and acquired some reputation.

1123. Of the Ḍāmaras whom the king with *Yaśorāja's* assistance defeated in encounters, some came over to his side and others dispersed.

1124. *Pṛthvīhara*, accompanied by *Bhikṣu*, proceeded to his own seat (*upaveśana*), while the king marched out to *Amareśvara* to meet *Mallakoṣṭha*.

1125. In the meantime *Mallakoṣṭha* had the empty palace near the [temple of] *Sadāśiva* set on fire by thieves, whom he had sent out at night

1112 As *śamite* of A L gives no proper sense, and as an object is required to the verb *prāpa*, we have to emend *śamitāṁ* for the above form.

I cannot trace any other reference to a son of Mallakoṣṭha.

1117-18. Regarding *Yaśorāja*, see viii. 534 sq. That he held charge of the Kheri office, has not been previously mentioned.

1119. For the use of saffron-ointments, see note vi. 120.

1124. For *Amareśvara*, *Ambarhār*, see note vii. 183.

Sussala restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1126. *Prajji, Sujji* and others fought on the bank of the *Kṣiptikā* with *Pṛthvīhara,* who came again and again to the attack.

1127. This *Lavanya* repeatedly burned down houses in the City, and almost entirely laid waste the splendid bank of the *Vitastā.*

Sussala's expedition to *Lahara.*

1128. The king then overran *Lahara* with a large force, and fought desperate encounters in various places.

1129. When he crossed the *Sindhu* without having it bridged, the [inflated] skins burst, and *Kandarāja* and others of his followers went down in the water to the house of [Death], who treats all alike.

1130. *Mallakoṣṭha,* driven out by the king, fled to the country of the *Darads,* while *Chuḍḍā* with her son rose to power in *Lahara.*

1131. The *Lavanya Jayyaka* then brought back to the king *Janaka[siṁha], S'rīvaka* and the rest from *Viṣalāṭā.*

1132. After spending the summer over the operations in *Lahara,* the king then marched when the autumn had arrived, to *S'amālā* accompanied by *Yaśorāja.*

1133. *Ḍomba,* a Rājaputra, son of *Sajja,* fell in battle at *Manīmuṣa,* protecting the troops that had scattered from fear of *Pṛthvīhara.*

1134. The king fought repeated encounters at the village of *Suvarṇasānūra, S'ūrapura* and other places, in which he was victor and vanquished in turn.

1135. When *S'rīvaka* was worsted near the famous *Kalyāṇapura* by *Pṛthvīhara* and the rest, *Nāgavaṭṭa* and others found their death in the fight.

1136. In the month of Pauṣa he (Pṛthvīhara) sent from *Suvarṇasānūra Ṭikka* of *Devasarasa* . . . . . to slay the wife of *Garga* (Chuḍḍā).

1137. She who had with her own and the king's troops defeated her enemies, was there suddenly attacked by *Ṭikka* and killed in the fighting.

1127. The houses here referred to were probably on the left river bank, which could easily be reached from across the *Kṣiptikā.*

1129. By *dṛti* is meant the modern *maśak* largely used for crossing the Vitastā, Cinãb, and other Panjāb rivers in their course through the lower hills. In Kaśmīr its use is at present unknown. The violence of the current and rapids make the use of boats impossible on the Sind above *Gānd*ᵃ*rbal.*

1131. Compare viii. 1074.

1133. Regarding *Manimuṣa,* see viii. 1011.

1134. For *Suvarṇasānūra* (Sunᵃsāmil), see note vii. 1519.

1135. Regarding *Kalyāṇapura,* the present *Kalampōr,* situated on the road from S'ūrapura to S'rinagar, and not far from Sunᵃsāmil, see note iv. 483.

1136. I am unable to make any proper sense of the words *mātur antikam.* The mother of Ṭikka cannot well be meant, as Ṭikka was on the side of Bhikṣu, and *Chuḍḍā,* supported by the king, not likely to leave Lahara and to proceed to Devasarasa to stay with a rebel family. The conjectural emendation proposed in the Ed., *mātur antakam,* does also not suit, because Sillā, who had been killed previously with Ṭikka's connivance (see viii. 1069 sq.), was only a near relative, but not his mother.

I believe that the words referred to are corrupt, and hide the name of the place where Chuḍḍā was stopping. This locality is alluded to in the following verse by *tatra.*

Devasarasa must be taken here as an adjective indicating origin from Devasarasa; comp. viii. 522 and the similar use of *Maḍavarājya,* e.g. viii. 723, 968, 1077, 1116.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1138. Thus cruelly did this wicked man commit another murder of a woman. What difference, however, is there between animals, Mlecchas, robbers and devils?

1139. Those of *Lahara* who like cattle had fled and left their mistress, a woman, when she was being killed, O wonder, took up again the sword.

1140. The king on learning that *Maḍavarājya*, which had previously been pacified to some extent, was again disturbed, proceeded to *Vijayeśvara*.

1141. The wicked tongue which was peculiar to the sons of *Mallarāja*, foreboded a sudden end to their power.

1142. When servants are nowadays put, as it were, on a sieve, they almost all prove to consist of the chaff of vices and to be devoid of character.

1143. As the king used indecent words and low abuse with which he had become familiar from his early youth, and which caused humiliation, *Yaśorāja* became disaffected towards him.

Yaśorāja's defection.

1144. This wicked man, being posted at *Avantipura* with a great force, moved off from there and joined the side of the enemy.

1145. When he had gone over to the enemy with the best of all the troops, the king retreated in dejection from *Vijayakṣetra*.

1146. Shame on the throne for the sake of which he was eager to save his life even by suffering insults from marauders who were mostly thieves and Caṇḍālas!

1147 In Māgha, after his flight, he returned to the City, and owing to his servant *Vatha* having [also] become a traitor, began to distrust even his own hair.

1148. Then after losing his trust altogether in any of the *Kaśmīrians*, the king rested his head on the lap of *Prajji*.

1149. *Prajji* by his valour, liberality, prudence, honesty and other good qualities sealed up (i.e. effaced from recollection) the fame of princes like *Rudrapāla* and others who had previously [come to Kaśmīr from abroad].

1150. He alone of spotless fame safeguarded in this land the honour of the sword and of learning which the wickedness of the times had shaken.

1151. *Yaśorāja* in the meantime was holding council with *Bhikṣu* [and spoke to him]: "The Ḍāmaras do not wish you on the throne, as they are afraid of your valour."

1152. "Let us raise a fresh revolt and either by ourselves secure the throne with the assistance of the troops from the capital or go abroad."

1153. While they were thus deliberating, *Mallakoṣṭha*, too, on hearing that

1138. The murder of *Sillā*, to which allusion is made here, was according to viii. 1070 committed by Pṛthvihara; yet Ṭikka, who succeeded to her estate, seems to have assisted in it.

1141. Compare viii. 168, 271, 491

1149. Compare vii. 144 sqq.

1153. For *Daratpura*, situated probably in the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley, compare note vii. 912.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

Chuḍḍā had been killed, returned from the town of the *Darads* (*Daratpura*) and occupied his own seat.

1154. Then there came over the world the terrible year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred and] ninety-nine (A.D. 1123-24), which was hard to live through and which brought death for all beings.

Fresh siege of *S'rīnagara* (A.D. 1123).

1155. In the spring all the Ḍāmaras marched on, as before, by their respective routes and again besieged the king in the City.

1156. The courageous King *Sussala*, too, was again day and night sharing the excitement of action in a multitude of unceasing encounters.

1157. The Ḍāmaras wholly absorbed by the work of burning, looting and fighting raised a rebellion greater even than the former rebellions.

1158. *Yaśorāja*, *Bhikṣu*, *Pṛthvīhara* and the rest eager to break into the City stood on the bank of the *Mahāsarit* where there was nothing to obstruct them.

1159. Then after some days had passed in fighting, *Yaśorāja* was killed in a combat by one of his own people, who mistook him for an enemy.

1160-1161. For as he was moving around fighting with *Vijaya*, *Kayya's* son, a cavalier of *Sussala*, his own spearmen, by looking at the horse and armour which were of the same colour [as those of his opponent], mistook him in the excitement and killed him by spear thrusts.

1162. It is said that the Ḍāmaras killed him, because they feared that he was able to secure the throne for *Bhikṣu*, and subsequently to destroy them themselves.

1163. Just as he treacherously betrayed his unsuspecting lord, thus too he met his death unsuspecting in battle.

1164. *Pṛthvīhara* then sent the Ḍāmaras to battle in various places and himself proceeded to the attack on the bank of the *Kṣiptikā*.

1165. On that occasion the soldiers from the capital who were on *Bhikṣu's* side, displayed a prowess which surpassed even their foes' great valour.

1166. At that time every single day brought terrors on account of conflagrations, the destruction of brave soldiers and other disasters.

1167. Fiercely burned the sun; earthquakes occurred repeatedly; and there blew sudden storms of great violence which broke down trees and rocks.

1168. The masses of dust which were raised to great height by the winds, seemed to serve as a supporting column to the sky which was rent by the whirlwinds.

1165. For A *svaparo*° read with L *suparo*°.

1168. Correct *mahoddhataiḥ* with G (and Durgāpr.) for A L *mado*; ह and द are often written very much alike in old S'āradā MSS.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

Great fire in S'rinagara (Jyaiṣṭha, A.D. 1123.)

1169. When then a great fight had commenced on the twelfth day of the bright half of Jyaiṣṭha, the Ḍāmaras set one house on fire in *Kāṣṭhīla*.

1170. Whether this fire was fanned by the wind or whether it arose from lightning, it spread unchecked and in a moment set the whole City on fire.

1171-1172. On 'the Great Bridge' (*bṛhatsetu*) one saw as yet only the smoke that had risen from *Mākṣikasvāmin*, rushing on like a herd of elephants, when at that very moment [the fire] fell with vehemence upon the *Indradevībhavana* Vihāra. Thereupon the whole City was at once seen in flames.

1173. Neither the earth nor the horizon nor the sky could be seen in the darkness of the smoke. The sun showed itself and disappeared [again in a moment] just as the skin at the mouth of the *huḍukkā*.

1174. The houses were hidden by the darkness of the smoke and then again illuminated for a moment by the flash of the fire as if to be seen for the last time.

1175. The *Vitastā*, lined on both banks with houses in flames, looked like the sword of Death wetted with blood on both edges.

1176. The mighty flame-bundles which fell and rose again until they touched the top of the upper fold of the universe, resembled a forest of golden parasols.

1177. The fire with its various crests of flames resembled the Golden Mountain (Meru), the smoke resting on its top like a mass of clouds.

1169. *Kāṣṭhīla* corresponds to the modern *Kāṭhül*, a quarter of S'rinagar which occupies the space between the left bank of the Vitastā and the Kuṭ"kul (Kṣiptikā), from the Shērgaṛhi palace to below the second bridge (Haba Kadal). Kāṣṭhila is mentioned by Bilhaṇa, *Vikram.* xviii. 25, as a quarter inhabited by Brahmans. The gloss of A_3 on vi. 89 places in this locality the Agrahāras founded by Yaśaskara. Kāṣṭhila is also named by *S'rīv.* iv. 242 and in the *Lokapr.* ii.

1170. For *mārutodbhūtaḥ* of A L read °*ddhūtaḥ* as emended by Durgāpr.

1171-72. In note iv. 88 it has been shown that *Mākṣikasvāmin* is probably the old name for the island of *Māy"sum*, lying between the Tsūṇṭh Kul and the Vitastā. The westernmost point of Māy"sum lies almost opposite to the southern extremity of *Kāṭhül*, and the fire could easily have been carried across the river there by a high wind.

The term *bṛhatsetu* I take for a proper name, designating probably the chief bridge in the S'rinagar of Kalhaṇa's time. The same term is used for the boat-bridge which Pravarasena II. is said to have constructed, iii. 354. As this boat-bridge was evidently the first of its kind in the country, the name might have clung to the bridge which continued to be maintained in the same locality.

Where this locality was, I am unable to ascertain. Keeping in view the position occupied by the old parts of S'rinagar founded by Pravarasena himself, I should be inclined to look to the vicinity of the present Fourth or Fifth Bridge as a likely place for Pravarasena's bridge. Up to the Fourth Bridge the river forms an almost straight reach, and the smoke rising from Mākṣikasvāmin-Māy"sum could be easily seen from this point.

The *Indradevībhavanavihāra* has been mentioned in iii. 13 as a foundation of Indradevi, Meghavāhana's queen. Its position is not known.

Disastrous fires have also in modern times frequently visited S'rinagar. The last occurred in 1892, when a great part of the city was laid in ashes. The prevalent use of wood in the construction of all private buildings, and the narrowness of the streets, assure a rapid spread for such conflagrations; comp. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 204.

1173. According to the dictionaries *huḍukkā* is the name of a musical instrument. Perhaps a kind of bagpipe is meant.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1178. The houses as they shone forth from the flames made the deluded householders hope again and again that they were not burned.

1179. The *Vitastā* whose waters were heated by the burning houses, which fell [into it], became acquainted with the pains which the ocean suffers from the heat of the submarine fire.

1180. The burning young shoots of the trees in the garden-avenues flew up to the sky together with the birds whose wings were on fire.

1181. The temples with their white stucco appeared, when enveloped by the flames, like the peaks of the Himālaya clothed with the clouds of the [last] dawn which brings the destruction of the world.

1182. As the multitudes of the bathing-huts and boat-bridges were removed from fear of the fire, even the water-ways within the City became deserted.

1183. What more [need be said]? Within an instant the City became bare of Maṭhas, temples, houses, markets, and other [buildings], and like a burned down forest.

1184. In the City which was reduced to a heap of earth, there remained visible and aloft only the single great *Buddha* [statue], which blackened by smoke and without its abode, resembled a burned tree.

1185. Then, as the troops dispersed to save their burning quarters, the king was left with only a hundred soldiers.

1186. As he was unable to cross to the other side of the *Vitastā* owing to the bridge having been broken, the enemy who had found their opportunity, gathered around without number to kill him.

Critical situation of Sussala.

1187. Thinking of the burned City, his own wretched state, and the misery of the subjects, the king in his desperation greatly desired an early death.

1188. When he was about to start, he came face to face with *Kamaliya*, who having his attention called to him by others, and thinking he was fleeing, spoke thus: "Whither away, O king?"

1189. The brave [king] stopped his horse, and turning around his face which was illuminated by a smile of excitement and bore a mark of sandal-ointment, said to him:

1190. "I wish to do to-day what King *Bhijja*, that proud grandfather [of yours], did for his country's sake in the battle with *Hammīra*."

1182. By *majjanāvāsa* the wooden bathing-cells are referred to which still line all the banks of the Vitastā, Mār and other water-ways within Srinagar; comp. note viii. 706 (*saritsnānagṛha*) and *snānakoṣṭha*, viii. 2423.

1184 See regarding this colossal statue, note vii. 1097.

1190. It is to be regretted that we receive no details regarding the historical event here alluded to. *Kamaliya* has been mentioned

Sussala restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1191. "Granted that this person of unknown origin (Bhikṣācara) is a rival kinsman! What our brother and we ourselves could accomplish, King *Harṣa* has seen when he fled before us."

1192. "Is there any person holding a place among self-respecting men, who would abandon his country at the end without having wetted it with the blood of his body, just as the tiger [does not leave] his skin [without having wetted it with his blood]?"

1193. After speaking these words, he threw up the reins and raised his sword, as if he were going to touch with both hands the horse on its upraised front.

1194. Then the son of *Lavarāja* (Kamaliya) stopped the [king's] horse by the reins and spoke: "While there are servants, it is not fitting for kings to proceed in front."

1195. At this critical occasion there came to the king only *Pṛthvīpāla* alone, [who left his] house, though he was suffering from a hurt.

1196. The king warmly praised him for having shown himself the scion of a noble family, and thought that by displaying his readiness to serve him he had repaid what he had received from himself.

1197-1198. Then the enemy ranged in three arrays, shot arrows . . . . . All those soldiers on the left overproud of their horses to kill . . . . . He, urging on his steed, and in such condition through his fate . . . . . Many thousands even of the enemy were made . . . . .

1199. The king, whose soldiers were few, appeared when his image was reflected on the multitude of his enemies' swords, like [Viṣṇu] when he came to the assistance [of Arjuna and showed himself] as the 'Omnipresent' (Viśvarūpa).

1200. King *Sussala* singly put to flight many of the enemy, just as the falcon the sparrows, and the lion the antelopes.

above, viii. 1091, as the son of Lavarāja, a chief in the *Takka*-land, i.e. the central Panjāb. Can we suppose that K. refers here to a heroic resistance made by *Bhijja*, Kamaliya's grandfather, to *Hammīra*, i.e. Mahmūd of Ghazna? The latter is certainly meant by this name in vii. 53 sqq. But the period intervening between his death (A.D. 1030) and the time of Sussala, nearly a century, seems too long for this, if we take into account the shortness of an Indian generation.

It is possible that the title Hammira is used here for one of Maḥmūd's successors. It appears to be associated at a much later period yet with the names of some of the early Paṭhān Sultāns of Delhi; see PRINSEP, *Indian Antiquities*, ed. Thomas, i. p. 831.

1192. The text is here defective, but the meaning of the verse clear. For A *svāṅgaraktāṁ*, which is one syllable short, L has *svāṅgaraktāṁ vā*. The context requires the emendation *svāṅgaraktena*.

1195. *Pṛthvīpāla* is Kamaliya's younger brother; see viii. 1093.

1197-98. The text of these two lines is undoubtedly corrupt. As the half-verses show no syntactical connection with each other, it must be assumed that fragments of several Ślokas have been tacked together here. It is difficult to guess the cause of this singular corruption.

1199. The story of *Mahābh.* VI. xxxv. 3 sqq. is alluded to.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-28).

1201. The horsemen whose rush was obstructed by their own mass, fell [back] upon those on foot, and struck them, too, as they were blocking the way before the horses' hoofs.

1202. In the reflection of the flames of the fire all the fighters, whether fallen or yet to fall, appeared as if red with streaming blood.

1203. At the close of the day when he had scattered the enemy, the king returned with tears in his eyes to the City of which [even] what had been spared by the fire, had lost its splendour.

1204. Though he thus remained unvanquished, yet on account of the ruin of the beautiful [City] he ceased to cherish the hope of defeating the enemy or to care for life.

1205. Thereafter who could ever have looked upon him without tears, whether he was awake or sleeping, moving or standing, bathing, eating, or going forth challenged by the enemy?

Famine in *Kaśmīr*.

1206. Then as all the food-stores had been consumed by the fire, there came a hard and terrible famine over the whole land.

1207. The people's savings were exhausted by the long troubles; their houses were burned; and outside [the City] the Ḍāmaras seized their produce and blocked the roads.

1208. The nobles who received no money from the royal household while the king was in distress, perished also quickly in that famine.

1209. Day after day there were houses burned among those few which the conflagration had left over, by fires which the starving people laid in their greedy search for food.

1210. The people crossed at that time the bridges over the streams holding their noses, on account of the stench produced by the decomposing corpses which had become swollen by lying in the water.

1211. The ground which was white everywhere owing to its being covered with the fragments of skulls from fleshless human skeletons, seemed to observe, as it were, the custom of skull-carrying ascetics (*kāpālika*).

1212. The famishing people, who could scarcely walk, and whose tall bodies

1201. The enemy's cavalry falls back on its own foot, and as the latter does not give way, uses its weapons to force a passage.

1206 In note viii. 61 reference has been made to the traditional revenue administration of Kaśmīr by which a very great portion of the annual produce of the country, i.e. chiefly rice, was brought into the city in lieu of taxes. When the State stores containing this produce are destroyed before the new rice harvest is at hand, a famine must necessarily follow for the city population. The supply of cereals from the villages by ordinary trade was practically unknown in Kaśmīr until recent years.

By the new produce mentioned in the next verse might be meant subsidiary cereals such as corn, oats, millet, etc., which ripen in the Valley in the early summer.

Sussala restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

were emaciated and darkened by the sun-heat, appeared like scorched [wooden] posts.

1213. Then there spread the false rumour that *Pṛthvīhara* had been wounded somewhere by an arrow in the incessant fighting of these days, and had died.

1214. As he was kept concealed by his people on account of a serious wound which had disabled him, the king listened with delight to that story and fought with [fresh] vigour.

1215. The goddess of victory, like a shrewd courtesan, was exciting his desire by displaying a pretended yearning [for him], but did not fulfil his wishes.

1216. Fate, whose disposition is thoroughly perverse, shows kindness only to sharpen [thereby] the succeeding misfortune. Thus the cloud after sending out the flash of lightning in order to destroy the shining plants of miraculous power, envelops the mountain in entire darkness.

Death of Meghamañjarī.

1217-1219. At that time there died the chief queen, *Meghamañjarī*, who had been his beloved consort, and whose fortune had been his support. After passing through long sufferings the king had been expecting the festive day of her arrival with fond desire, as [if it were] the reward for a penance. In her were combined love with tenderness, cheerful speech with dignity, and cleverness with experience, just as [if the latter qualities had been] the children [of the former].

1220. Knowing that the people were bereft of pleasures and weary of their daily life, he saw no object whatever in living or ruling.

1221. Worn out by the disastrous news from her husband she had started for *Kaśmīr* full of eager desire, when she died near *Phullapura*.

1222. The king who had first been under the emotion of the hope of seeing her and then under that of this evil news, fell into still more sorrowful excitement.

1223. The four women who were foremost in her household, and whose devotion had not suffered from the use of harsh words, followed the queen [into death].

1224. A cook by the name of *Teja* made himself worthy of special praise among the servants, by showing exceptional devotion, though her death had not taken place in his presence.

1221. For A L °*cchrāntā* read with Durgāpr. °*cchāntā*: the latter is a correction required by the context.

Phullapura, mentioned again viii. 1843, 1904, must be looked for in the direction of Lohara. But I have, notwithstanding repeated inquiries, failed to trace any local name which might help to fix the position of the place.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

1225. For when he arrived on the following day after an absence, he smashed his head with a stone found near her pyre and drowned himself in the river.

1226. The enemies made the king forget his sorrow by the excitement of challenges to battle and thus, as it happened, did him a kindness.

Jayasiṁha brought back from *Lohara*.

1227. In his dejected state of mind he then desired to renounce the throne, and had his son who had passed out of boyhood, brought back from the *Lohara* hill.

1228. He arranged at *Lohara* for the protection of the treasury and the territory by appointing *Bhāgika*, the nephew of *Prajji*, as governor.

1229. When the king embraced his beloved son on his arrival at *Varāhamūla* [where] he had gone to meet him, he was filled both with joy and grief.

1230. The prince who returned to his own country after three years, felt pained in his heart on seeing his father in distress.

1231. With his face down-cast in grief he entered the City which was reduced to a mass of earth, just as a cloud hanging low with rain [passes over] the forest which has been burned down by a forest fire.

Jayasiṁha crowned (A.D. 1123, Āṣāḍha).

1232. His father had him crowned as king on the first day of Āṣāḍha, and then indicated to him all the main principles of government, saying with a faltering voice:

1233. "May you support that burden under which your father and uncles have tired out, not being able to carry it. Upon you, O my brave [son], devolves this load."

1234. Deceived by fate the king bestowed upon his son merely the insignia of sovereignty, but did not hand over to him the government.

1235. As soon as the prince had been crowned, the blockade of the City, the drought, the plague, the robberies, and other troubles ceased.

1236. And so the earth, too, bore rich produce, and in due course the scarcity ceased in the month of S'rāvaṇa.

1237. In the meantime, while King [*Jaya*]*siṁha* destroyed the enemy in battle, intriguers denounced him to his father as a traitor.

Jayasiṁha imprisoned.

1238. Without reflecting as to the truth [of this] he sent in anger [Vijaya], the son of *Kayya*, to imprison him. The prince, however, learned this beforehand.

1239. He (Vijaya) without presenting himself before the [prince] who was smiling in excessive rage, gave effect to the king's order merely by guarding him.

1230. Jayasiṁha had been sent to Lohara in Āṣāḍha 4196 (A.D. 1120); see viii. 717.

1238. For *Vijaya*, son of **Kayya**, see viii 1160.

1240. The prince, who from mental pain had not taken food, prepared on the following day to go in his company before his father to give him assurances.

Sussala restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

1241. His father who thought that since he was on his guard, it would not be possible to accuse him, induced him to turn back on the way by sending a kind message through the ministers to deceive him.

1242. Inwardly, however, he was firmly resolved day and night that he would enter [his son's apartments] unexpectedly and then seize and imprison him.

1243. Fie upon the throne on whose account fathers and sons mutually distrust each other and can nowhere sleep quietly at night.

1244. Who knows whom kings may put reliance on, when they distrust sons, wives, brothers and servants?

Utpala's plot.

1245-1247. *Utpala* was the son of a certain *Sthānaka*, who was a watchman at the threshing-floor (*khalapāla*), and lived near a wretched village known by the name of *Sāhya*. In his boyhood he had been employed by sons of Ḍāmaras to watch cattle; then he took up arms and became in time *Ṭikka's* constant companion (?). Having carried from the first year [Ṭikka's] messages, he became the confidant of the king when the latter wished to create dissension among his enemies.

1248. He (Sussala) asked him under promises of power and grants to kill *Bhikṣācara* at *Ṭikka's* seat and then *Ṭikka*.

1249. When he had given a promise to this effect, he honoured him with gifts of great value, and employed him also under the title of treasurer (*gañjapati*).

1250. This man wavering in his mind between the lust for pleasures and the dread of betraying his master, could not decide as to whether he should carry out this enterprise or leave it undone.

1251. In the meantime, his wife gave birth to a child, and the king with his object in view sent her various things, as customary at confinement, as [if he had been] her father.

1252. She, feeling distrustful about the cause of [such] exceptional attention on his part, persistently questioned her husband, who then told her [the reason].

1253. "Do not betray your master, or else if the deed is done, you will, yourself, be killed in time by *Sussala*, who will fear you as a traitor."

1254. "Better still! Kill him (Sussala) himself after gaining his confidence. If he is killed, you will receive great riches from your master, his son and family."

1245-47. Under the old land revenue system the produce could not be removed from the threshing-floor by the villagers until the State's share had been taken from it. As often a long time elapsed until this was done, special watchmen (known as *śakdār*) were employed at the *khalas* (Kś. *khal*). Their employ extended practically over the whole year.

I am uncertain as to the proper interpretation of *tunnityam*; the context indicates the meaning expressed in the translation.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

1255. With such words his wife urged him to change his resolution, and induced him to undertake that enterprise after acquainting *Ṭikka* with the affair.

1256. Then as the traitor was going and coming, the king, deluded by fate, put [such] confidence in him as [if he were] his son.

1257. Estrangement from the son and reliance on the enemy's servant—what perversity does not show itself in those whose fortune is doomed!

1258. Low people who are blinded by the lust for their own profit, do not think of the mishap they may step into, just as those who are eager to take the honey [do not think] of the harm from the bees.

1259. Then as *Prajji* and the king were pressing *Ṭikka*, *Utpala* got the latter to make his submission, and to give his son as a hostage.

1260. The king left the subdued *Devasarasa* in the month of Kārttika, and proceeded to the village of *Bāṣṭraka*, situated in the *Kherī* district.

Sussala's victory at *Kalyāṇapura.*

1261. He also put to shame *Bhikṣu*, *Koṣṭheśvara*, and other great soldiers in various encounters in the neighbourhood of *Kalyāṇapura*.

1262. *Sujji* captured alive in battle the very brave *S'obhaka*, of *Kāka's* family, from the midst of *Bhikṣācara* and his men.

1263. The king after first defeating *Vijaya*, the son of *Bhavaka*, burned his houses near *Kalyāṇapura*.

1264. When *Vaḍosaka* had been burned, *Bhikṣācara*, having lost his place of safety, left that territory and took up a position in the village of *Kākaruha* in *S'amālā*.

1265. The younger brother of *Vijaya*, *Bhavaka's* son, from fear joined the king, who wrathfully laid him in fetters and imprisoned him.

1266. The king by posting *Rilhaṇa* with a strong force at *S'ūrapura*, made even *Rājapurī* fear an attack.

1267. When he had thus by exceptional measures broken up the terrible Ḍāmaras, he saw before him but very little to do towards a complete subjugation of his enemies.

1268. *Bhikṣācara* and the *Lavanyas* having lost their strength, thought of going abroad from fear of their powerful foe.

1260. For *Kherī*, here clearly named a *viṣaya*, see note i. 335. *Bāṣṭraka* is not otherwise known.

1261. *Koṣṭheśvara*, who plays a very prominent part in the rebellions of Jayasiṁha's early reign, is a son of Pṛthvīhara, as shown by viii. 2748. He is frequently referred to by the abbreviated name *Koṣṭhaka;* comp. note viii. 1524.

1263. See regarding the end of this *Vijaya* of Kalyāṇapura, viii. 2348 sqq.

1264. *Vaḍosaka* is, perhaps, the same name as the one from which *Vāḍautsa* in viii. 1306 is derived. I have not been able to trace in the tract about Kalyāṇapura (Kalampōr) any local name approaching *Vaḍosaka* in sound.

Kākaruha, of unknown position, is referred to again, viii. 1525.

1269. Because those who had espoused *Bhikṣu's* cause were dispirited by the various manifestations of bad luck and felt dead, as it were, though living.

Sussala restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

1270. The king recollecting the deceitful conduct of *Somapāla* turned back with the thought that he would make a burning-ground of *Rājapurī* after the melting of the snow.

1271. When the troubles in his own country were allayed to some extent, one might have thought that the king was certain of making conquests to the edge of the ocean.

1272. But whoever had survived, one of a hundred, among the people struck with misfortunes, counted each year of his reign as long as a Yuga.

1273. His reign, indeed, brought sufferings to all through sorrows, terrors, poverty, death of beloved persons, and other calamities.

1274. What can man achieve by prowess, hardness, or deceit, when success depends on the strange ways of fate?

1275. Perversity, indeed, is displayed in the ways of the Creator. The one who stands before him as a big mass he avoids as [if he were] darkness. When some [other] person passes by he turns round and looks at him as a lion does. Like a frog he jumps over a ruler close by [and proceeds] to some one else.

1276-1278. He (Sussala) had before blamed *Uccala* and other [kings] who had perished through being unsuspecting; had ever kept his sword drawn, and quoting the story of *Vidūratha* and others which he had heard from those versed in ancient lore, he had not, even at play time, or in the embraces of women, shown a trusting, cheerful face. He [now] persisted in treating *Utpala* with confidence as if he were a friend. Who could see here the delusion of ought but of fate?

1279. *Ṭikka* and the rest told *Utpala* that they would value his deed equally whichever of the two he killed, the king or *Sujji*.

1280. *Sujji* showed no confidence in him. He, again, though eager to kill the king and ready for it at various places, did not find his opportunity.

1281-1283. Then when the king got angry on account of the delay in [carrying out] his promise, he, in order to assure him, brought his son from *Devasarasa* as a hostage, as well as others like *Vyāghra* and *Praśastarāja*, who were just like himself ready for desperate acts, and told the king that with these he would effect his object. On one occasion he moved out together with three or four hundred foot soldiers, which he had selected from among the troops as being fit for a bold enterprise.

1275. Correct with Durgāpr. *samullaṅghyā°* for A *svamu°*.

1277. King *Vidūratha* is said to have been murdered by his wife with a knife hidden in her hair-braids; for references see *P. W.* s.v.

1283. K. refers here evidently to a raid which Utpala, to allay the king's doubts, pretended to lead against Ṭikka and Bhikṣācara.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

1284. While the murderer kept ever by his side, waiting for an opportunity, the king, alas, was pleasing him with favourite dishes and other gifts.

1285-1286. The king who was passionately devoted to horses, had sent away from his side the chamberlain *Lakṣmaka*, the son of *Kayya* (Vijaya) and others of his people, to cure the horse called 'Sovereign of the stable' (*manduracakravartin*) which, while in the City, had been ailing. [Thus] he was at that time with a smaller number of attendants.

Sussala warned against *Utpala*.

1287. *S'ṛṅgāra*, *Lakṣmaka's* son, who had heard of *Utpala's* plan through trusted persons, made a report about it to the king.

1288. A person whose death is nigh takes his enemy for a friend, just as the animal at the slaughter-house, even while it sees the preparations for its slaughter.

1289. Neither the curse of the Gandhāra princess, nor the words of the angry Ṛṣi, nor the portents, nor even his own divine sight which showed the destruction of the family [of the Pāṇḍavas], enabled Viṣṇu to save it. Knowing this, too, who would [attempt to] change destiny?

1290. The king said insultingly: "This is a lie," and pointing at him (S'ṛṅgāra) with his finger, spoke thus to *Utpala* and others who were in his presence:

1291. "This son of a traitor does not wish that good should come to me from your zeal, and tells me, whether from his own account or by others' instigation, that you, O *Utpala*, are a rogue."

1292. They hid their fear and agitation under a smiling face, and boldly replied: "Your majesty says what we ought to say."

1293. When they had gone outside, he, feeling yet a little alarmed, called through the doorkeeper two or three distinguished, steady soldiers.

1294. Heaving sighs, he remained somewhat agitated and pensive, and having tears in his eyes found no distraction in watching the dancing and singing.

1295. In his delusion he thought of his friends, too, as of strangers, just like a god who, owing to his merits [from previous births] having vanished, is about to drop from the sky.

1296. The intimates of the king who felt alarmed at [seeing] their lord misguided by roguery, wished thoughtlessly to call for another protector.

1285. For *Lakṣmaka*, Prayāga's nephew, see viii. 911.

1289. The allusions are to stories told in the Mahābhārata. The Gandhāra princess is Dhṛtarāṣṭra's wife, the mother of Duryodhana and other Kauravas princes; for her curse, comp. *Mahābh.* XI. xxv. 37 sqq. 'The words of the angry Ṛṣi' refer to the prophecy of Visvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada; see *Mahābh.* XVI. i. 14 sqq. For the portents foreboding the destruction of the Vṛṣṇis, comp. XVI. i. 1 sqq.

1291. Correct in text *suto bhavadyo°*.

1296. Read with L *kaṁcid* for A *kecid*. *pūtkāram* (comp. viii. 2592; i. 369) must be

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

1297. The unfailing grip of death [shows itself] just therein that people proceed to foolish actions, though knowing [them to be such].

1298. *Utpala* and the rest passed two anxious days keeping their eyes open for any opportune moment.

1299. While they were watching secretly for their time, the king on the third day after taking his bath in the morning, said to them repeatedly: "You should go to your houses to take your food."

1300. After completing his daily routine, up to the worship of the gods, the king then called at midday *Utpala*, through messengers, [to meet him] alone.

Execution of *Utpala's* plot.

1301. Feeling confident that he would be able to execute his plan owing to the deserted condition of the palace, he proceeded with a nervous feeling before the king, while his followers were stopped by the doorkeeper.

1302. The king called in *Vyāghra*, his younger brother, who had been stopped at the door, and ordered the other servants to keep outside.

1303. When some trusted councillors were delaying [in the room], he, in anger, let escape also these words, which were true: "Let him stop here who is a traitor."

1304. He allowed only a betel-bearer of mature age and the learned *Rāhila*, the minister of foreign affairs, to remain in his presence.

1305. *Arghavicva* and *Tiṣyavaiśya*, two messengers of *Ṭikka*, were present there, as it happened, without being acquainted with *Utpala's* design.

1306-1307. *Utpala* had posted in those days a Ḍāmara from *Vadotsa*, *Sukharāja* by name, an adherent of *Bhikṣu*, at a short distance together with his armed men, in order to assure his own safety, and had told the king that this Ḍāmara would start to carry out that task (Bhikṣu's and Ṭikka's murder) after saluting the king's feet.

1308. While the king was thus stopping [with them], he (Utpala) brought in *Praśasturāja* quickly, after telling the king that he was wanted.

1309. Seeing on entering that the ante-room was empty, he bolted the door without being noticed.

1310-1311. The king whose hair was wet from the bath, and who felt cold, had covered his whole body with a cloak, and his dagger, which he had taken off, lay on his seat. On seeing him seated in this fashion, *Vyāghra* said to *Utpala*: "Make your communication to the king. No [other] such occasion may occur."

taken as a gerund and *dātāram* from the Sautra root *de* (*P. W.*, 5 √*dā*).

1306. For *Vāḍautsa*, compare note viii. 1264 on Vaḍosaka.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

1312. Excited by this signal he went before the king, and under the guise of prostrating himself at his feet, took away his dagger from the seat.

1313-1314. With bewildered eyes the king saw him draw it from its sheath, and had scarcely said: "Fie, what treason!" when he (Utpala) stabbed him first on the left with that very [dagger]. Then *Praśastarāja* struck him on the head.

Sussala murdered by *Utpala* (A.D. 1128).

1315. *Vyāghra* then wounded him in the breast, and thus these two struck him several times, while *Utpala* did not strike him again a second time.

1316. For the latter knew that his life had parted, because that first stroke had penetrated the ribs and had drawn out the strings of the entrails.

1317. *Rāhila*, who had run to the window to shout [for help], was stabbed in the back by *Vyāghra*, but did not give up his life for two or three Nālikās.

1318. *Utpala* feeling pity, saved from his own people the poor betel-bearer *Ajjaka*, who was fleeing after dropping the cubebs (*kaṅkola*) and other [ingredients].

1319. When the tumult rose inside, *Ṭikka's* men and other conspirators, who were in the outer hall, began to plunder with upraised weapons.

1320-1321. In order to encourage his own people outside who, on the report of *Utpala* having been slain by the king, were being cut down by the soldiers, *Utpala* showed from the window the body with the bloody weapon, and called out: "I have killed the king. Do not let his band escape."

1322. On hearing this evil news, the royal attendants fled everywhere in fear, while the rejoicing conspirators took up their position in the courtyard.

1323. On leaving the hall, the murderers slew *Nāgaka*, an attendant of the king, who had entered by the door with drawn sword.

1324. Also a servant of *Trailokya*, the guardian of the royal bed-[chamber], who was denouncing the treachery, and a doorkeeper were killed by *Ṭikka's* people and the rest.

1325-1326. The murderers on seeing *Sahajapāla*, the ornament of *Bhāvuka's* family, distinguish himself amidst the courage-forsaken servants of the King by rushing up with shield and sword, went out by a side door, while he fell to the ground wounded by the strokes of their followers.

1327. While disgrace stained the [whole] Rājaputra tribe, he alone succeeded in washing off shame with his blood.

1328. *Nona*, a learned Brahman, who came in their way, was killed by the

1317. *Nālikā*, a period of twenty-four minutes

1318. *kaṅkola* is a conjectural reading for the impossible *kaṅkāla* of A L.

1325. Regarding *Bhāvuka's* family, see viii. 1085.

1328. For the interpretation of *daiśika*, see note vi. 303

Susśala restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

followers of the murderers, because they mistook him for a Rājaputra on account of his appearance, which was like that of a foreigner (*daiśika*).

Panic in palace.

1329. None of the soldiers pursued the murderers when they saw them fleeing unhurt towards a village, as if they had from rage become [motionless] like pictures.

1330. Then there came the royal relatives, whom the king had made the recipients of his favours, and with their fat bodies covered the deserted courtyard.

1331-32. By recording and describing rogues of various sorts in plenty from King *Harṣa's* story onwards, we have become [hardened] like load-carriers. Yet we cannot venture to name those persons who were worse than wicked, owing to the pain which is caused by touching upon their evil deeds.

1333. Some wretches who were foremost among them, looked at the dead king; thinking it an act of great courage to ascend to the hall from the courtyard.

1334-39. The dead king seemed to express his soul's regret at his end by his teeth biting the underlip which the oozing blood made quiver. His eyes which had become rigid at the thought: "How have I thus been deceived?" remained in the same rigidity after his death. The stream [of blood] which was flowing from his wounds and was darkening his body, seemed like the curling smoke left by the fire of his wrath which had been extinguished inwardly. On his face which [in its rigidity] appeared as if painted, the mass of blood which was sticking to it like red lac, had effaced [the forehead] marks painted with sandal and saffron. He was lying on the ground naked with his hair sticking together owing to the coagulated blood, his hands and feet stretched out and his neck resting on his shoulders. On seeing him thus, those meanest of men did nought that was fitting, but reviled him in their excitement, saying: "Enjoy the fruit of your unsociable nature."

Flight of the royal troops.

1340. As they fled to put themselves in safety, they could not place him on a horse or litter and take him to be burned.

1341. But let this pass as a task which would have caused delay! Nobody even threw him on the [burning] logs under the roasting pans or put fire to the house, while fire was at hand.

1342. They fled, mounting each one a horse of the king, while the troops roaming about in the villages, were looted by the Ḍāmaras.

1343. During the flight on the snow-covered roads, the son did not

1341. The text is here defective of A L emend with the Calcutta editors probably in several places. For *kaścin* as *kaścana*.

SUSSALA restored (A.D. 1121-1128).

protect the father nor the father the son, as he was dying, being killed or plundered.

1344. There was not a soldier who remembered his high honour, and did not abandon his weapon and clothes when set upon on the road by the enemy.

1345. The Brahmans *Lavarāja*, and *Yaśorāja*, who were skilled in military exercises, and the chief of *Kāṇḍa* were the only three who fell bravely fighting.

1346. When, then, *Utpala* and his men saw from close by that the troops had scattered, they entered [again the palace], cut off the king's head and carried it off as well as the trunk.

1347. They proceeded to *Devasarasa*, and the king, with his cut off head, was made a spectacle for the villagers like a slain thief.

1348. Thus he was treacherously murdered on the new moon day of Phālguna in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] three (A.D. 1128), after having passed fifty-five years in life.

JAYASIṀHA hears of his father's murder.

1349. To *Siṁhadeva* the evil news was announced by his milk-brother *Preman*, while he was on his pleasure-couch.

1350. Fond of his father, as he was, he felt at that time, though deprived of his sword, the same emotion as is felt by a person in possession of his sword on receiving such an evil message.

1351. In his bewilderment he lost all recollection. Then at length recovering his senses, he remembered one thing after the other, and deprived of firmness by his misfortune lamented loudly and again inaudibly.

1352. "When you were strenuously on my account ridding the kingdom of enemies, why did you, O king, put your soul in subjection to the vilest [of men]?

1353. "When ultimately in order to put an end to the enmity you were giving interviews to your enemies, you remained unarmed, and honoured, O father, even worthless persons.

1354. "Your father and brother in heaven had their wrath appeased when you took revenge on their enemies. Now, however, it is you who are [there] tormented by wrath.

1346. The term *vāṣṭuka*, unknown to the dictionaries, must be taken on the evidence of viii. 1459, in the meaning of 'trunk' or 'corpse' generally. As L reads *vāṣṭukam* in both passages, this form may be accepted as the correct one for *vāṣṭuvam* which A has here. For other reasons justifying the above interpretation, see note viii. 1457-59.

1347. Tikka resided in *Devasarasa*; see viii. 522, 1069 sq., etc.

1350. It appears from this verse that *Jayasiṁha* at the time of his father's death was actually in prison, or at least under guard; see above viii. 1238 sqq.

1353. The text of this verse is scarcely quite in order, and *aheteḥ* (L *ahetaḥ*) in particular suspicious.

1355. "Do not look with envy for this brief time on Anaraṇya, Kṛpa, Droṇa, Jamadagni, and the others who have been revenged by their relatives.

1356. "The wrath you feel is to be regretted. I shall remove it, O king. I do not feel troubled about this [revenge, nor should I] though the three worlds had to be attacked.

1357. "Before me, as it were, is the face you showed when looking at me, thrilled and smiling with tenderness and sweet with kind words."

1358. While he was saying this and more in lament, and yet hiding his agitation in deep reserve, he saw before himself his father's ministers mute from shame, pain and fear.

1359. What wrath advised, prudence forbade. Even thus he spoke to them some words of hard reproach:

1360. "Shame, you and your weapons have changed for the worse at my father's end, though he, seeing your noble descent (*sadvaṁśatāṁ*), had honoured you with riches (*kośaiḥ*).

1361. "Fie, what at my uncle's murder the eaters of food-remnants did, even that you, men of honour, could not accomplish now."

Council of Jayasiṁha and ministers

1362. As he was thus reviling them with two or three [words?], two or three ministers who came into his presence, induced him to direct his attention to the [immediate] task.

1363. Some recommended that he should start for *Lohara* abandoning the country, and advised hurry in this [flight] on account of the danger [which would arise] from *Bhikṣu* as soon as the night had passed.

1364. Others who were more resolute, advised him to fight for the throne, taking assistance from *Pañcacandra*, *Garga's* son, who was in *Lahara*.

1365. Nobody indeed thought that since *Sussala* was no more, resistance could be offered to *Bhikṣu*, who was prepared to march into the City as [if it were] his own house.

1366. The king felt pained at such ministers not putting reliance in him, and replied: "To-morrow, you will see what is to be done."

1355. The context shows that °*jāmadagnyā*° must be emended into °*jamadagnyā*°.

The death of Droṇa and Jamadagni is revenged by their respective sons, Aśvatthāman and Paraśurāma; comp. *Mahābh.* x. viii. 9 sqq.; III. cxvii. 6 sqq. Anaraṇya's death is revenged on Rāvaṇa by Rāma; see *Rāmāy.* VII. xix. 30 sqq.—Kṛpa is associated with Aśvatthāman in the night attack which the three surviving Kuru warriors make on the Pāṇḍava camp, but nothing seems to be told of a son of his.

1360. The words *sadvaṁśatāṁ* and *kośaiḥ* contain a pun, and can be understood also as referring to the weapons ('being fitted to good bamboos,' 'with covers').

1361. The burning of Uccala's body by his low-caste parasol-carriers is alluded to; see viii. 336 sqq.

1362. The repetition of *dvitraiḥ* appears to indicate a corruption in the text.

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1367. From regard to the situation he did not show how troubled he was by his father's death, but posted guardians who were fully prepared for keeping [proper] watch, over the treasury and other [places of importance].

1368. The City resounded with the voices of the people, who were running to and fro and shouting to each other in long-drawn tones.

1369. That night, which was as if frequented by furious Vetālas, and filled with demons of the Last Night (*Kālarātri*), cast terror into all beings.

1370. The king remained surrounded by lights which in the still air were motionless, and by the ministers who did not stir [being absorbed] in reflection, and thus he thought in his heart:

1371. "While I yet live, destitute and without a protector, there lies my father, murdered in a deserted, dark house, where the doors are not [closed], and through which the fierce wind is passing.

1372. "Oh, misfortune, how shall I be able to look into the face of honourable men in the assemblies, until I have wiped off such an unbearable outrage?

1373. "How will the officers of the troops arrive from regions held by the enemy, and [at a time] when the roads are impassable owing to the snow?"

1374. Reflecting thus on different matters in deep humiliation and in fear, he passed somehow that terrible night.

1375. In the morning he stepped out into the pavilion (*catuṣkikā*) to reassure the citizens, and despatched mounted men to search for the troops.

1376. Then the clouds which were settling down on the earth, began to fill up the roads with dense masses of snow.

Jayasiṁha proclaims an amnesty.

1377-1379. When those who had been sent out, returned after having exposed themselves in vain to hardships, without having even from afar got word of the troops, the king reflected for a short time, and then had the following order circulated in the City under the beating of drums: "Whatever a person may have taken to himself, that is now forsaken by me, and amnesty is given to those who have joined the enemy, guilty though they may be." Thereupon the citizens became everywhere attached to him and shouted blessings.

1380. He was instantly rewarded for this unexceptionable course, which meant an almost complete departure from the procedure followed by the immediately preceding kings.

1381. He who had stood [before] with less than a hundred followers, was at that very time surrounded by the people who were carried away by sympathy.

1382. *Lakṣmaka*, who knew how to address the people with kind words, and

1377. The context requires necessarily the conjectural emendation *meghadainyeṣu* for A L *moghasai°*, as proposed in Ed.; घ and ध are easily confused in S'āradā characters.

knew the ways of [giving] friendly gifts, obtained before the king the position of chief councillor.

1383. While the king was thus wisely pacifying the country by prudent measures, there arrived *Bhikṣu* to enter the City, as the time was turning on midday.

1384. With him then appeared such a mixed host of troops as one had never seen before, composed of Ḍāmaras, citizens, horsemen and marauders.

1385. When, on the news of his opponent's death, he was marching upon the City lusting for the throne, he was as king addressed by *Tilaka*, the son of *Kāka*.

1386. "Because *Sussala*, who was hated by all, has been killed by the will of fate, should, therefore, the subjects have left his son who has good qualities?

1387. "Why then hurry, O king, for the sake of a single day to enter the City? Proceed to *Padmapura*, [while] we go to shut off the enemy from the route [to the City].

1388. "Should then *Sujji* and the other chief officers who have lost their troops, come back, they will be slain there or stopped with their armaments and horses."

1389. "Then after two or three days you will for certain peaceably occupy the City, invited to it by the citizens themselves."

1390. He (Bhikṣu) as well as *Koṣṭheśvara* and the other [rebel leaders] disregarded his advice, and said with a smile: "Enough of these counsels of old men."

1391. His own people, who thinking that his rule had come, were importuning him for various decrees, caused him to delay.

1392. Hence, as his troops were all suffering on account of the heavy snowfall, he stopped for the time, being in the vicinity of the City.

1393. In the time thus gained *Pañcacandra*, *Garga's* son, arrived with his soldiers by the side of the king who was destitute of troops.

Bhikṣācara attacked by Pañcacandra.

1394. He (Pañcacandra) then marched out bravely to battle together with the Rājaputras, who were eager to wipe out the disgrace of having abandoned their slain lord.

1395-1397. *Bhikṣu's* soldiers had scarcely noticed their unexpected attack and began to fight, when on seeing several of their own men killed, they fell somehow into instant disorder on all sides. The chief leaders of the army, *Bhikṣu*, *Pṛthvīhara* and the rest, were unable to rally their fleeing troops, and fell themselves into an unsoldierly panic, such as had not been seen before.

1391. By *śāsanapaṭṭakas* are clearly meant royal decrees regarding grants, appointments, etc.

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1398. If, on their flight, they had been pursued far by those on the king's side, there would indeed have been nothing left of them in a moment.

1399. When those [followers of Bhikṣu] had at last turned their faces, fate showed a kindly face to the afflicted City owing to the new king's greatness.

1400. Thus were divided victory and defeat between the two kings. Otherwise the people had thought it, and otherwise [it came about] by the dispensation of fate.

1401. Fate whose most wonderful power cannot even be imagined, in a moment makes a man to fall who stands firmly, and raises another who is about to fall, just as the current of the waters [washes away] one riverbank [and raises another].

Sujji's march to *S'rīnagara*.

1402. Then at the close of the day there arrived *Sujji* who had escaped from several dangerous situations, tired out like a snake which had escaped from a mountain [forest] caught in a conflagration.

1403. He had stood at the village of *Medhācakrapura* when he heard of the king's murder. After holding council he did not start during the night, but stopped there.

1404. He awaited *Bilhaṇa* and other officers who stood at *S'ūrapura* and elsewhere, in order to proceed with them unobstructed to the City.

1405. In order to be recognized by them in the darkness, he then had flaming fires kept up continually on the roof of the house he was in.

1406. Owing, however, to the disobedience of their soldiers, who dispersed in all directions, they got lost somewhere at night and did not reach his camp.

1407. In the morning he then started, and was not for a moment left alone by the Ḍāmaras, who pursued him in the rear and made attacks.

1408. The people who accompanied him, mostly old men, women and children, he put in front and guarded them on the march, just as a herdsman [guards] his cattle.

1409. By turning back and holding out [against the enemy] with fifty mounted men, he was able to protect them for some short time.

1410. The road was, however, hemmed in by masses of vines and a multitude of trees, and pressed as he was by bold enemies, he lost people at every step.

1403. The position of *Medhācakrapura* is unknown. As Sujji awaits there detachments from S'ūrapura before marching for S'rīnagar, it might be concluded that the place was somewhere in Maḍavarājya near the route from S'upiyan to S'rīnagar. The name is probably a compound of two local names, *Medhā* being prefixed to distinguish this *Cakrapura* from other localities of the same name; comp. for another Cakrapura near Parihāsapura iv. 213.

The name of the present *Tsokᵘpōr*, a village situated about a mile to the E. of Krālᵘpōr on the S'upiyan high road, circ. 74° 52′ 30″ long. 34° 0′ 15″ lat., goes also back to Cakrapura. From the subsequent mention of Padmapura, viii. 1413, it is, however, clear that the latter place, so close to S'rīnagar, cannot be meant in our passage.

1411. He, while longing to repay his debt [of gratitude] to his dead lord and his lord's son who was in distress, could there save himself only.

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1412. What is this to those who, like beasts of prey, cannot await an opportune time even if they are sure to meet death [in their enterprise]?

1413. The fierce Ḍāmaras of the *Khaḍūvī* district had posted themselves in the vicinity of *Padmapura*, in order to stop him on his disastrous march and to kill him.

1414. It so happened that *S'rīvaka* who, with a large force had started from the village of *Kherītalālaśa*, came marching by that road.

1415. Believing this [minister] whose detachment was intact, to be *Sujji*, they fell upon him and killed and plundered his soldiers.

Fight at Padmapura.

1416. In that fight *Meru* and *Sajjana*, two cavaliers, were killed. *Malla*, *Vaṭṭa's* son, was wounded and died after a few days.

1417. There is a place there called *Udīpapūrabāla*, which was then difficult to pass owing to the water flowing through the swamp made by the flood.

1418. When *S'rīvaka*, whose soldiers had been blocked, [got] outside *Padmapura* and was proceeding there fighting at every step, an arrow struck his neck.

1419. When the Ḍāmaras found out that he was not *Sujji*, they looted him, helpless as he was owing to that wound, but spared him from regard for their former friendship.

1420. While they were busily engaged carrying off the mass of stores plundered from *S'rīvaka's* force, and some had gone away, *Sujji* passed the road without mishap.

1421. The longer life destined for the lion may clear the road [for him] by destroying the trap and arrow [set by the hunter], through a wanderer's accidental entry into the forest.

1422. *Sujji* after passing through *Padmapura* with his silent soldiers, was recognized by the Ḍāmaras when he got near the inundation swamp.

1414. I am unable to trace the position of this village, which is mentioned here alone. It is possible that the first part of the name is taken from the *Kheri* district; comp. note viii. 1403.

1416. This *Malla* had previously been in charge of Kheri for a short period; see viii. 960, 967.

1417. Assuming that *bāla* is here a rendering of the Ks. term *bal*, 'place,' which is extremely common at the end of local names in Kaśmīr (comp. note iii. 347), we can translate *Udīpapūrabāla* as 'place where flood water flows.' The same place is designated below, viii. 1422, as *udīpaśvabhra*. The low-lying marshy ground immediately below Padmapura (Pāmpar) on the right river bank is still exposed annually to inundation from the Vitastā.

1419. *S'rīvaka* was the brother-in-law of Yaśorāja, who had been exiled by Sussala and had subsequently joined Bhikṣu. He had also himself been once in exile; see viii. 534, 1009, 1151.

1421. The text of this verse is not quite clear, though the purport must be as above indicated. *yantreṣu* seems to be treated as a Dvandva compound.

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1423. Without heeding their plundering the stores, weapons and other [property] of his foot-soldiers, he crossed the swamp, and with his mounted men reached ground fit for horses.

1424. Subsequently, when the danger from the enemy had passed, he from afar threatened his opponents with frowns, shaking of the forefinger and words of abuse.

1425. Taking along his parasol, which alone they had abandoned in fear, he quickly marched into the City and came with tears in his eyes before the king.

1426. When he had arrived, the king dropped in his presence, just as [if he had been his] elder brother, the fear of the enemy's onset along with tears made hot by pain.

1427. The Mahattama *Ānanda*, son of *Ananta*, was killed that day by Ḍāmaras, while on the march in the village of *Locanoḍḍāra*.

1428. On account of the intolerable exactions which he had inflicted in the form of taxes [levied] on various auspicious occasions (*maṅgalyadaṇḍa*) and otherwise, nobody pitied him when he came to a miserable end.

Royal officers besieged by Ḍāmaras.

1429. *Bhāsa*, a follower of *Sujji*, fled from *Lokapuṇya* and betook himself, when tired, into the courtyard of [the temple of Viṣṇu] *Avantisvāmin* at *Avantipura*.

1430. He and the 'Kampanodgrāhaka' *Kṣemānanda* were besieged in it by the incensed Ḍāmaras of *Holaḍā*.

1431. *Indurāja*, from *Kularāja's* family, an officer of the army, was also besieged at *Dhyānoḍḍāra* by *Ṭikka*, whereupon he pretended to join the latter.

1432. *Piñcadeva*, too, and many other leaders of troops were kept in *Kramarājya* besieged by Ḍāmaras.

1423. The road to S'rinagar on the right river bank leads over an open alluvial plateau after passing the marshes immediately below Padmapura, referred to in note viii. 1417.

1427. Regarding this *Ānanda*, see viii 633. The position of *Locanoḍḍāra* is unknown. The word *uḍḍāra* in the second part of the name represents the Kś. *uḍar*, the designation of the alluvial plateaus or Karēwas in the Valley; comp. *Dhyānoḍḍāra*, viii. 1431. Thus *Gusikoḍḍāra*, *S'riv.* iv. 465, 592, 596, represents the modern *Gūs Uḍar* on the way from Rāmuh to Khānpūr Sarai, and *Dāmodaroḍḍāra*, *S'riv.* iv. 620, the present *Dām*ᵉ*dar Uḍar*. For the older term *sūda* for such plateaus, see note i. 157.

1428. Taxes levied on marriages and other festive occasions seem to be referred to; comp. regarding such imposts in modern times, note v. 167.

1429. Regarding *Lokapuṇya* (Lōkᵘbavan), see note iv. 193. For the temple of *Avantisvāmin* at Avantipura (Vānt'pōr), see note v. 45.

1430. The title *kampanodgrāhaka* designates evidently some official connected with the army (for *kampana*, see note v. 447). The term occurs only here.

Regarding *Holaḍā*, the modern Vular Pargaṇa, see note i. 306.

1431. *Dhyānoḍḍāra* cannot be identified at present. Judging from viii. 1506, 1510 it must be looked for in the eastern part of the Valley; comp. also *Jonar.* 120. Regarding the formation of the name, see note viii. 1427.

1433. Thus the king's followers were slain and wounded in various localities, just as young birds that on the fall of the tree have been thrown out of their nests [placed] on it.

1434. Many who were without shoes and clothes had their feet frozen off in the snow, and died on the roads worn out by hunger.

1435. At that time one could see on the roads leading to the City only people whose bodies were covered with straw.

1436. Also *Citraratha* and others who were soon to become great ministers took to grass as their festive dress.

1437. Even on the second day the clouds did not stop for a moment from sending down snow, and kept even the birds from flying.

1438. *Dhanya* leaving his soldiers behind, then came over to *Siṁhadeva* from the force of *Bhikṣu* who stood at *Vanagrāma.*

1439. All the soldiers of *Bhikṣu* were also ready to turn towards the City, when they heard that the king was receiving kindly his (Bhikṣu's) followers.

Burning of *Sussala's* queens.

1440. Then when the [rival] kinsman's power was waning and the opportunity arrived, four queens came forth [from the palace] to follow the king into death.

1441. The people, benumbed by the fear of a hostile attack and by the sudden hard frost, were not able to conduct them to the distant burning-ground.

1442. Therefore they burned their bodies in haste near [the Vihāra of] *Skandabhavana,* which was not far from the palace.

1443. The Queen *Devalekhā,* who came from *Campā,* and whose beauty was as great as the Creator could make it, entered the fire with her sister *Taralalekhā.*

1444. *Jajjalā* from *Vallāpurā,* who excelled by her virtues, died there, and *Rājalakṣmī,* too, the daughter of *Gagga,* was consumed in the fire.

1436. See for *Citraratha,* viii. 1482, 1620, etc.

1438. Literally the 'village which has as the first part of its name the word *vana,*' i.e. *Vanagrāma.* To this name would correspond a modern Kś. *Vangām.* There are, as far as I know, two villages in Kaśmir called *Vangām.* One is in the Hamal Pargaṇa, circ. 74° 25′ long. 34° 19′ lat., the other in Kuṭʰhār, circ. 75° 21′ long. 33° 43′ lat.

As Bhikṣācara's chief adherents, Pṛthvihara and his family, had their seats in S'amālā-Hamal, the first-named locality might be meant; comp. viii. 1264.

1442. The distance from *Khandᵃbavan,* which, as shown in Note *K.* vi. 137, marks the place of the *Skandabhavanavihāra,* to the site indicated in note vii. 186 sq. as the likely position of the 'new palace,' is scarcely more than three-quarters of a mile. The way lies entirely through quarters which must have been included in the city of Kalhaṇa's time. The burning-ground on the *Māyᵃsum* island (see viii. 339) lay outside the city, and was thus exposed to an attack.

1444. Regarding *Jajjalā,* see note viii. 1083; for *Rājalakṣmī,* viii. 460.

1445. The Ḍāmaras, who thought that the new king would keep the throne from their own lord only till the snow had melted, gave him the [nick-] name of *Himarāja* ('the Snow-king').

1446. *Bhikṣu* then saw the head of *Sussala* which was brought to him, and burned it, as it were, with his looks which flamed with the fire of his deep hatred.

1447. *Koṣṭheśvara, Jyeṣṭhapāla* and others wished to do to that [head] the last honours (i.e. cremate it), but as those who were about him would not suffer it (?), he in his animosity forbade them.

1448. He eager to fight was preparing to proceed to the City when the snow had stopped falling, and knowing from the indifference shown by his followers that they were drawn towards the enemy, he spoke thus :

1449-1450. "I had been thinking that if *Pṛthvīhara* lived, I should obtain the throne by force. But if he were killed, I should become master of the land as soon as the [rival] kinsman (Sussala) died. By the will of fate, however, it has come otherwise, because on the contrary, though the opponent is killed, yet my hope of the throne is gone.

1451. "But then what need is there of that throne, which is useful only for material pleasures? Who else could attain [as fully] as I have that what is fit for the ambitious?

1452. "The head of him who before threw to the ground the heads of my ancestors, rolls about to-day at my palace-gate.

1453. "While he destroyed the happiness of those before me during ten months, I have made him suffer all kinds of misfortune during ten years.

1454. "Having thus accomplished my task I shall turn to good use the rest of my life in comfort, having appeased the torments of my mind."

1455. After saying this and the like he went to *Ṭikka*, and after the latter had bowed down before him, he bestowed upon him in kindness a golden jar, a white parasol and other [gifts].

1456. The assurance [with which he was inspired] by him (Ṭikka), made his hope for the throne rise again and seize him like a demon. Then he came [back] and stopped reflecting inwardly and suffering from the cold.

1447 For *Jyeṣṭhapāla*, see viii. 864.
The translation given above of the words *asahāsannatām* ... *bhajatā* is doubtful. L reads *amahā*°. The text is, perhaps, defective.

1449-50. These lines seem to contain an allusion to the death of Pṛthvihara, the last mention of whom in our narrative is viii. 1397. That no direct reference is made to such an important event, may be due either to an omission on the part of the author or to the defective state of the text. There is certainly a corruption in *vipannām*. Instead of correcting with the Calc. Ed. *vipannaḥ*, I now prefer to read *vipanne*, which agrees better with the context.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

Disposal of Sussala's body.

1457-1459. The *Lavanyas* had kept the corpse of the murdered king under a guard, in order to inflict upon it other extreme outrages. *Sajjaka,* however, a soldier from the City, had, though on the enemy's side, thought inwardly from a sense of gratitude: "Why such a state for the ruler's body when he is dead?" and had, after obtaining access under the pretence of curiosity and overcoming the guards in combat, burned the trunk (*vāṣṭuka*).

1460-1462. From the mouth of a person who was under inspiration from the gods, there had spread a rumour which had made the people expect with certainty a future event similar to his (Sussala's) murder. [This rumour was to the effect] that he had been a destroyer of his subjects since the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred and] ninety-four, because he had become possessed by demons which cast him into delusions. It was in full agreement with this that the man who had cut off his head and had carried it about, was found to have died while asleep.

1463. *Bhikṣu,* forsaking decency by a degrading piece of conduct, then sent the enemy's head to *Rājapurī* to show his implacable hatred.

1464-1465. There the Queen *Saubhāgyalekhā,* a daughter of *Uccala,* endeavoured to slay by [the hands of] her own servants those who carried her uncle's head. At length, after *Rājapurī* had thus been thrown into disturbance, the head came before *Somapāla,* her husband, who was stopping at a distance.

1466-1467. The councillors of the wretched *Khaśa*-prince who, as he used to get drunk with liquors and otherwise behave like a rustic, was to be pitied as [though he were] a beast, and who was entirely led by others,—discussed freely in various ways what was to be done with that [head], each, according to his character, displaying his sense of decency, or the contrary.

1468. *Nāgapāla,* however, who was then with his brother, having obtained a brotherly reconciliation, would not suffer that his benefactor should be dishonoured in the head which [was all that] remained of him.

1469. Also far-sighted people who feared in the end a punishment from *Kaśmīr,* advised that he (Somapāla) should in every respect pay the [last] honours to this head of his [liege] lord.

1457-59. It is seen from these lines that not only the cut-off head of Sussala, but the rest of his corpse too, had been carried off by Utpala and his men when they broke into the palace a second time after the flight of the royal troops; see viii. 1346. If this had not been the case and the headless trunk of the king had been left by them, it would be hard to understand why Jayasiṃha, who was master of the city as well as of the palace (comp. the reference to the latter, viii. 1442), should not have arranged for the burning of the trunk. It is necessary to indicate this, as the expressions used by Kalhaṇa in viii. 1346 are not as clear as they might be, and have accordingly been misunderstood by former interpreters.

1460-62. K. attributes the sudden death of the person who had mutilated Sussala' body, to the same uncanny beings who had taken possession of this body during the last years of the king's life.

1468. For *Nāgapāla,* see viii. 619 sqq.

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1470. If one were to see the jackals merrily keeping company with the lion, then fate may be altered.

1471. At *Gopālapura* then his enemies cremated his head on wood of the black aloe and sandal.

1472. As he had repeatedly won and lost the royal power, as he had often had his reverses and successes on the battle-field, as he had passed through various long plights and disasters—so, too, there were seen at the time of his death most strange occurrences.

1473. Who else had, like he, his head cremated in one country, and the rest of his body in another?

Siege of Avantipura.

1474. When *Ṭikka* and the rest were then marching on the City by way of *Avantipura*, they stopped there in order to kill *Bhāsa* and the others who had already before been besieged.

1475. Though they fought them by lighting fires, throwing stones and making breaches, they could not overcome them notwithstanding their great efforts.

1476. Being slain by those who kept inside the temple courtyard which was protected by mighty stone walls, they could neither stay nor move on.

1477. While they were thus delayed, the king wisely utilized the interval for bribing and winning over the Ḍāmaras of *Khaḍūvī*.

1478. After he had taken hostages from them he quickly despatched *Sujji*, together with *Pañcacandra* and others, to relieve *Bhāsa* and his companions.

1479. He had not reached *Avantipura*, when *Ṭikka* and the rest scattered on seeing *Kayya's* son (Vijaya) and others who formed his advance guard.

1480. *Bhāsa* and those with him left the temple and joined *Sujji*, after killing those who followed behind the routed enemy.

1481. When the commander-in-chief returned to the City in triumph, *Indurāja*, too, with his followers left *Ṭikka* and came back.

1482. The king then placed *Citraratha*, *S'rīva*[*ka*], *Bhāsa* and others in charge of the Pādāgra [post], the 'Gate,' the *Kherī* [district] and other offices [respectively].

1483. Though *Sujji* retained his offices as before, yet he too had to watch the face of the chamberlain (Lakṣmaka). What need be said of the other ministers?

1470. K. refers to the honourable disposal which Bhikṣācara had denied to the head, and which it was yet destined to find at the hands of others. The general purport of the verse must be as shown above; but the text is not in order. For *A ye*, which is one syllable short, and for which *yena* has been conjectured, L reads *vonya*, which is equally impossible.

1471. The *Gopālapura* here mentioned must be situated in Rājapurī territory, and can hence not be the place referred to in v. 244.

1474. See above viii. 1429.

1476. Both the great ruined temples at *Avantipura* have quadrangular courts of large dimensions which are enclosed by colonnades backed with massive walls; see plans and photographs, COLE, *Anc. Build.*, pp 25 sqq., also note v. 44-45.

1481. Compare viii. 1431.

1482. For *pādāgra* and *Kherī*, see notes vii. 210; i. 335.

1483. For *Lakṣmaka*, Sussala's and Jaya-

1484. The chamberlain had to be treated with consideration also by the king [himself], as he was esteemed by countless cliques of Ḍāmaras, and was directing intrigues for causing dissensions among them.

1485. There was in the host of enemies not one who at his instigation did not join the king or [at least] was not preparing to join him.

1486. The king cunningly appeared to conceal in his behaviour the fact of his being the ruler, and would not even take his food without taking his (Lakṣmaka's) opinion.

1487. While he (Jayasiṁha) had thus secured just within the City room enough to stretch his legs, he kept nursing the fruit which was ripening.

1488. *Bhikṣu* after gathering all the Ḍāmaras at *Vijayeśvara*, marched then at the close of S'iśira (months of Māgha and Phālguna) towards the City in the hope of taking it.

1489. The Ḍāmaras when they saw such unity in the mass of their troops as had never been witnessed before, thought then that the kingdom had passed into *Bhikṣu's* hands, and felt alarmed.

Ḍāmaras intrigue with *Somapāla*.

1490-1491. They thought that as he had watched in familiar intimacy the character, courage, friends, enemies, etc., of each single one [among them], he would as soon as he had obtained the throne, start to attack them. [Hence] they held council and secretly sent messengers to *Somapāla* [of Rājapurī], offering him the throne, whereupon he also despatched an envoy.

1492. They thought that as on account of the defects of his person and character he was no better than a brute animal, they would have the pleasures of the rule entirely for themselves.

1493. Fate did not allow that worst of evils to come upon this land as planned by the assembly of those robbers (*dasyu*) who had cast away decency in their lust after enjoyments.

1494. Let the disgrace alone! But could this land even for a short while, have been ruled by such a person on the throne, who was unfit even for being a slave?

1495. The man of straw with his face scorched by fire, protects the rice-crop by frightening the flocks of sparrows. If he were put up to protect the forest-trees, what could he do there to the destructive wild elephants?

1496. His (Somapāla's) envoy who kept close by *Bhikṣu's* side, under the pretence of [offering his lord's] congratulations, secretly induced the Ḍāmaras to offer hostages.

1497. In Vaiśākha thereupon *Sujji* started for the attack, and marching from the City in great haste came to the bank of the *Gambhīrā*.

siṁha's chamberlain, and the latter's chief adviser, see viii. 911, 1286, 1382.

1497. Regarding this river name, see note viii. 1063.

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1498. Praiseworthy was his enterprise that he went forth singly undertaking to fight so great a coalition of brave men.

Sujji's victory on the *Gambhīrā*.

1499. In the course of bold enterprises it is not wonderful if by the will of fate a hundred thousand are defeated by a single man in battle, or a single man by a hundred thousand.

1500. Unable to cross the river owing to the want of a bridge, he watched the enemy on the other side, who were shooting arrows.

1501. For two or three nights he and they stopped on the two banks of the river, ready equipped and mutually prepared to watch for any opportunity [favourable for an attack].

1502. Then *Sujji* had a bridge constructed with boats brought from *Avantipura*, and he himself crossed on a boat together with his horse.

1503. The enemy's troops as soon as they saw him crossing with a few soldiers, became agitated like a row of trees shaken by the wind.

1504. All in a moment might one see him ascending the bank, the bridge got ready, the soldiers crossing, and the enemy scattered.

1505. No swordsman, no trooper, no spearman or archer was able to turn back from the fleeing force and show his face.

1506. As the saddle on *Koṣṭheśvara's* horse got loose, owing to the girth not having been secured tightly, his horsemen stopped on the way for a moment.

1507. They, too, after fixing the saddle disappeared quickly on *Sujji's* pursuit, like a column of dust whirled up by the wind.

1508. The enemy, whose troops were slain, plundered or scattered, met in their shattered state in *Dhyānoḍḍāra* and other villages.

1509. *Bhāsa*, too, who had gone in front, put the enemy to flight after crossing the bridge over the *Vitastā*, which is before *Vijayeśvara*.

1510. When then the commander-in-chief arrived on the following day, after having passed the night at *Vijayakṣetra*, the enemy retreated from *Dhyānoḍḍāra*.

1511. When, after stopping there for a few days, he was preparing to move to *Devasarasa*, he was joined by *Ṭikka's* relatives, who came deserting their party.

1512. After marching into *Devasarasa* he placed in *Ṭikka's* seat (*upaveśana*) the two chief men among them, *Jayarāja* and *Yaśorāja*, sons of *Bhojaka*.

Flight of *Bhikṣācara*.

1513. Pursued by him *Bhikṣu* and others proceeded to *S'ūrapura* and *Koṣṭheśvara* and the rest to their territories, while their hosts scattered.

1508. For *Dhyānoḍḍāra*, see viii. 1431.

1509. There is still a bridge over the Vitastā at Vij'brōr, corresponding to the one here mentioned.

1510. The direct distance from the *Gambhīrā*, i.e. the lowest part of the Viśokā's course, to Vijayeśvara is only about four miles.

1514. Flying in great danger, *Somapāla's* envoy abused his lord: "Where have I been sent by that son of a slave-girl?"

1515. He thought that his [lord's] ambition that was to be served by such great and exciting undertakings, was just as if a she-jackal were seized with the desire of rivalling the lioness.

1516. Thus *Sujji* in a few days cleared and placed at the disposal of his lord's son that kingdom, which owing to his lord's perversity had been lost for a long time.

1517. The king proceeded to approach by means of bribes also the strong Ḍāmaras of *S'amālā* and other [parts] and the townsmen who stuck to *Bhikṣu*.

1518. Having resolved to test the king's power and to do thereafter what seemed proper, they [met] for a combined attack and gave battle.

Battle at *Dāmodara*.

1519. At *Dāmodara* took place that battle which devoured many a brave man, and in which the masses of soldiers as they rushed about hidden by the dust, resembled actors dancing behind the curtain.

1520. *Sahajapāla* by protecting his wounded father who had fallen into *Koṣṭheśvara's* power, obtained fame [for himself and] for his subjects.

1521. Equal were the exertions of the king and of *Bhikṣācara* there. Yet *Bhikṣu* on that day met with such a defeat as could not have been thought of.

1522. From that time forward there could not be seen in *Bhikṣu's* army that soldier in the evening who was there in the morning, nor he who was there to-day, on the morrow.

1523-24. When thus the townsmen and Ḍāmaras were deserting the enemy and joining the king, from whom they received suitable grants and honours, there arose in *Manujeśvara* and *Koṣṭha* a certain anxiety to go over to the king's side, eager as the two were for profits and comforts.

1525. On ascertaining this, *Bhikṣu* started in the month of Āṣāḍha from *Kākaruha* along with his own personal followers in order to proceed abroad.

1514. Compare viii. 1491 sqq.

1518. Read with Durgāpr. *te* for A *tam*; compare above viii. 1296.

1519. By *Dāmodara* is certainly meant the *Dām°dar Uḍar* to the S. of S'rinagar which is called by K. *Dāmodarasūda*, i. 157, 167, and 'the jungle of Dāmodara' (*Dāmodarāraṇya*), vi. 183. Compare note i. 156.

1520. *Sahajapāla*, as viii. 1326 shows, is one of the descendants of *Bhāruka*, mentioned in viii. 1085 among the Rajpūt chiefs supporting Sussala. He is evidently identical with the *Sahajika* of viii. 1085 (see Corrigenda); *Rāmapāla* named in the latter passage is his father.

1524. *Manujeśvara* is Pṛthvihara's younger brother (see viii. 1060), and as such one of Bhikṣācara's chief supporters.

Koṣṭha is an abbreviated name of Pṛthvihara's son who has previously (viii. 1261, 1390, etc.) been mentioned under his full name as *Koṣṭheśvara*; another more frequently used abbreviated form is *Koṣṭhaka* (viii. 1587, 1707, 2003, etc.). Compare for a similar abbreviation (bhimavat) note viii. 183 (Gargacandra, Garga). Koṣṭheśvara - Koṣṭhaka's descent from Pṛthvihara is clearly proved by viii. 2748, 2912.

1525. For *Kākaruha*, see viii. 1264.

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1526. Though the chief Ḍāmaras came then after him, and from a remnant of attachment tried to conciliate him, they could not hold him back in his anger.

1527. *Koṣṭheśvara*, who as the son of a libidinous woman had no morals, was filled with eager desire for his (Bhikṣācara's) beautiful wives.

1528. But who could touch the lion's mane, the jewel in the serpent's hood, the flame of the fire, or [Bhikṣācara's] wife while he lived?

Bhikṣācara leaves Kaśmir.

1529. *Somapāla*, who had concluded a treaty with *Sussala's* son, did not give him a refuge in his dominion when he wished to seek shelter [there].

1530. Then frightened by the endeavours which that [ruler] made everywhere against his life, he proceeded to *Sulharī*, which was a locality difficult of access on the border of his territory.

1531. Even the gods have no pity in *Trigarta*, no morals in *Campā*, no generosity in the *Madra*-land, and no good-will in *Dārvābhisāra*.

1532-33. His councillors gave him this advice: "The king freed from fear is likely to oppress the Ḍāmaras while you are away. Therefore in time they will themselves call you [back] and make you king. Let us hence go to *Naravarman's* country to ask for what is proper." Yet he did not accept this advice though it was the right one.

1534. He then accepted the invitation of his father-in-law to stop in his house with a limited retinue, and his followers left him.

Pacification of Ḍāmaras.

1535. Then when the Ḍāmaras distinguished by their power, proceeded to the City, it appeared as if bridegroom-processions were taking place at a time when auspicious moments (*lagna*) are easy to find.

1536. When the people saw each one of them more [splendid] than the king with his [pack] horses (?), parasols and steeds, they magnified the rough valour which King *Sussala* [had shown] in his firm resistance.

1537. *Koṣṭheśvara* chiefly attracted the looks of the women, possessed as he was of noble bearing, beauty, youth, and lovely apparel.

1530. *Sulhari*, I am unable to identify. From viii. 1596, it appears that it was somewhere to the W. of *Rājapuri*.

1531. For *Trigarta* (Kāngra), see note iii. 100: for *Campā* (Cambā), vii. 218; for *Dārvābhisāra* (lower hills between the Jehlam and Cināb), i. 180.

Madradeśa is an old name of the central Panjāb between the Biās and the Jehlam (or Cināb); comp. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.* p. 185.

The verse probably reproduces a proverbial saying of K.'s time. Rājapuri is clearly included in the judgment passed on Dārvābhisāra.

1533. For *Naravarman*, king of Mālava, see viii. 228.

1534. *Deṅgapāla*, the Ṭhakkura on the Candrabhāgā, is meant; see viii. 554, 1654.

1535. Allusion is made to certain periods of the year when astrological conditions are favourable for marriages, and when accordingly marriage-processions are frequent.

1536. If the text is correct, some distinction of the kind indicated above must be intended between *aśva* and *turaga*.

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1538. In the land where the troubles were ended, the noise of the drums of the Ḍāmaras marching in numerous bands was like the music of festivals.

1539. *Kṣīra*, too, and all the other Ḍāmaras from *Maḍavarājya*, whose hosts of soldiers were awe-inspiring, were by *Lakṣmaka* brought over to the king's side.

1540. To be admitted into the house of the chamberlain [Lakṣmaka] was a great honour also for the royal servants, owing to the attachment which the prince had for him.

1541. As the villages had been plundered by the *Lavanyas*, the king found that time when expenditure reached a high level, as hard to pass as a time of scarcity, though his wealth was like that of Kubera.

1542. The king took from among the Ḍāmaras those who were fit (?), into his salaried service, and thus increased [the number] of those who belonged to the inner court (*ābhyantara*) while reducing [the number of the persons] of the outer court (*bāhya*).

1543. *Tiṣyavaiśya*, *Arghadeva* and other kinsmen of those who had murdered his father, were put to death by the king [in the fashion] suited for high-treason.

1544. In four months from the day of his father's death he had brought it about that the country obeyed no one else, and was quite his own.

1545. But the City was without splendour, the citizens deprived of all means, and the land overrun by numberless Ḍāmaras who were like kings.

1546. An enemy capable of all tasks was firmly established at a short distance. The councillors, feudatories, together with [all] who belonged to the outer and inner court, were leaning towards the enemy.

1547. There was not one old man in the palace to give advice; all the servants [of the king] were chiefly bent on unlawful acts, and perfidy was their sole practice.

1548. This general state of affairs which the king found at the commencement of his reign, should be remembered by persons of judgment in connection with each of the [succeeding] events in order that they may understand them thoroughly.

King *Jayasiṁha's* character.

1549. At this given occasion his numerous good qualities may be briefly described here, though they will have to be mentioned very frequently yet [hereafter].

1550. The qualities of those whose character is very deep, cannot be

1542. The form *pārāt* in A L is clearly corrupt, as the context requires an object to the *saṁgrāmaṇ*. No satisfactory emendation suggests itself. I have translated above conjecturally as if the text had *sārān*.

For *ābhyantara*, *bāhya*, comp. note viii. 426.

1543. Compare viii. 1305.

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appreciated, unless one carefully examines the preceding and succeeding [facts] and acquaints himself with the narrative given in illustration.

1551. If we examine [carefully] the qualities such as they are in reality, of a king who is under our direct observation, we shall not fail as regards an impartial judgment.

1552. Nobody, indeed, is clever [enough] to penetrate the true character of another such as he is [in reality]. How [should he then penetrate] that of such a king of superhuman power?

1553. Nobody here whose judgment is obscured by his own bad deeds, is capable of understanding the exceptional and winning greatness of faithful wives; of a friend who is alike in luck and ill-luck; of a poet skilled in descriptions, and of a king who is the friend of all people.

1554. How should then the mind of everybody find its way to a right conclusion as regards the nature of his virtues and faults which is so wonderful?

1555. Uneven, indeed, are the features also in his character. Not perceiving the excellence of their [aggregate] result, the people have concluded that there were faults.

1556. There is not one action of the cloud which does not benefit others. Some [plants] open their blossoms at the flashes of lightning, which are painful to the eyes, and other [plants] come forth at the long thunders which hurt the ear. Yet the dull-minded people recognize in it no other virtue but the giving of rain.

1557. On hearing of his transcendental virtues as observed by direct perception, the people will feel convinced as regards the [great] deeds of former kings.

1558. Without rising from his seat, he made by his frown the kings (*bhūdharān*) tremble, just as the elephant of the quarter (*diṅnāga*) [makes the mountains (*bhūdharān*) tremble] by shaking his skin.

1559. The kings carry hidden in themselves the pain caused by the fear of him, while the hosts of their armies (*vāhinī*) wail, just as the oceans [keep hidden in themselves] the submarine fire, [while the hosts of rivers flowing into them wail].

1560. The moon of the glory of former kings became invisible in the world, being flooded by the radiance of that sun among kings.

1556. Certain plants are supposed to open their blossoms at the fall of the lightning, and others, like the mushroom, to come forth from the ground at the sound of the thunder; comp. e.g. *Meghadūta*, i. 12, 21, 25.

1559. Comp. for the pun on the word *vāhinī*, note iv. 146.

1560. The moon is supposed to receive the waters attracted by the sun during the bright half-month. When the moon is filled she begins to wane.

1561. Whoever looks at him, sees ever his lord (*īśvara*) facing himself, just as in looking at a correctly modelled image of the god [S'iva, one finds it always facing oneself].

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1562. Constant in his kindness, he never takes back what he has granted. On the other hand, he removes the fear which he caused to the enemies, when they make their submission.

1563. Nobody can face him except his own reflection on his drawn sword, and no one can return his thundering voice except the echo.

1564. His voice, which is not oversharp in anger, but impressive in kindness, resembles a sword which has only a single sharpened edge.

1565. Those supported by this [king] who is of noble birth (*akujanman*), and who diffuses never-fading happiness, are strong like the shoots of the wishing tree [which does not grow on the earth (*akujanman*), and blossoms in never-fading beauty].

1566. The ministers recognized in the king the power of his greatness, though his inscrutable nature made it difficult to notice, and he [again] paid attention to them on every occasion.

Lakṣmaka in power.

1567. The chamberlain [Lakṣmaka], having risen to power, did not allow other ministers to rise, as the stem of the plant called *Eṣa* [does not allow other] trees to grow up by its side.

1568. He was uprooting all with the greatest ease, as if they were blades of grass. The powerful *Janakasiṁha* alone could not be ousted by him.

1569. He being familiar with the king from his boyhood, acquainted with all affairs and having sons grown into youths, could indeed not be harmed in any way.

1570. Then when he (Lakṣmaka) was aiming at a conciliation by means of a matrimonial alliance, his (Janakasiṁha's) son, *Chuḍḍa* by name, humiliated him by showing arrogant contempt.

1571. In his anger at this he (Lakṣmaka) was searching for an opportunity [of revenge], and by means of strenuously repeated denunciations caused the king to take a dislike to *Janaka* and his sons.

1572-1573. The latter two who were of the same age as the king, and who were presuming [upon him] after he had got to the throne, owing to their mothers' intimate familiarity, gave occasion for such [denunciations], inasmuch as they imprudently made in the very palace a royal display in respect of their horses, litters, outfits, baths, meals, and the rest.

1574. It is by no means proper that the ruler should keep on a footing of

1561. The round Liṅga, the image of Iśvara, i.e. S'iva, is meant.

1573. For °*yogyo*° we have evidently to correct °*yugyo*°.

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equality with his contemporaries after he has risen to power. It is a great humiliation for the row of lotuses when they have grown up, to be jumped over by a band of frogs.

1575. Having got this [fact] for a wall upon which to paint the fictions of their gross slander, their enemies roused in the king ill-feeling against their whole set.

1576. In the month of S'rāvaṇa, the grateful king then proceeded to *Vijayeśvara* in order to pay honours to the victorious commander-in-chief (Sujji).

Utpala caught and killed.

1577. In the meantime the returning *Utpala* had been killed deep in the mountains by *Piñcadeva*, the commander of the watch-station (*draṅga*) of *S'ūrapura*.

1578. He had come back from *Puṣyāṇanāḍa*, in order to raise a revolt, and had been caught by the commander of the watch-station (*draṅgādhipa*) who was searching for his horses.

1579. He had fallen to the ground wounded in the knee-joint by an arrow. Yet before dying he killed a soldier of his opponent who had approached him.

1580. When the king was returning after having paid honours to the commander-in-chief, and was stopping at *Avantipura*, the commander of the watch-station placed the enemy's head before his door.

1581. That [commander] who wore his beard in a thick knob, and who was a hammer for the heads of the enemies, drew out the painful dart of deep wrath [from the king's heart].

1582. When thus the king's first expedition had seen the destruction of the enemy, the people took him for one of those [kings] who exterminate all their opponents.

1583. After his return to the City some guilty persons fled, while *Janakasiṁha* and some others were put in prison.

1577-78. Regarding the 'watch-station of *S'ūrapura*' (Hür'pōr), see note v. 39.

Puṣyāṇanāḍa has been identified in note viii. 959 with the present village of *Puṣiāna* on the Panjab side of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass. We have already found it mentioned above as a favourite retreat for rebel refugees from Kaśmīr. The commander of the frontier-station evidently caught Sussala's murderer in one of the high alpine valleys near the Pass as he was preparing to break into Kaśmīr territory; comp. my *Notes on the Pīr Pantsāl Route*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 383.

The circumstance of the rebel having been caught *girigahvare*, 'deep in the mountains,' is explained by the fact that the commander of the watch-station had gone to look after his horses which were grazing there. It is the general custom to this day in Kaśmīr to send horses and ponies to the high alps or *Margs* within convenient reach, and to allow them to graze there during the summer months (Āṣāḍha, S'rāvaṇa, Bhadrapada). Many hundreds of animals can thus be met annually grazing unguarded below the snows of the Pīr Pantsāl range.

1581. The word *drāḍhikā* found only here, must be taken in the same sense as *dāḍhikā*, 'beard,' *Manusmṛti*, v. 283 (> Kś. *dạ̄r*).

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1584. *Koṣṭheśvara* and others then turned hostile to the king, as some persons who had fled caused them to become afraid of him.

1585. In Kārttika the active illustrious king marched out to *S'amālā* and attacked in various localities the enemy's host, which was fierce in battle.

1586. *Hāḍigrāma*, where King *Sussala* and those [of his side] had lost their renown, was burned by *Sujji* whose valour was mighty.

Fresh irruption of *Bhikṣācara*.

1587. *Koṣṭhaka* and the rest then being pressed by the king, called in *Bhikṣācara* who came back once more lusting for the throne.

1588. After having marched in a single day fifteen Yojanas, he reached the hill village called *S'ilikākoṭṭa*.

1589. Driven by his ambition, that proud [prince] thought nothing of the fatigue which arose from marching, pained by hunger and thirst, and in fear of the enemy.

1590. If fate is hostile, success turns away from the ambitious, just as the flag on a chariot when the latter moves against the wind.

1591. For the one the mere start suffices for success; the other, however great his zeal, finds his efforts to be in vain. The Amṛta was drawn from the ocean by the churning mountain (Mandara) after a moment's contact, but not by the son of Himālaya (Maināka) though he had long been [in contact with it].

1592. The river which has left its abode, makes one falsely believe that it is flowing up again, when on its entry into the ocean it is pushed back by the tide-wave. There is no rise again for those whom fate has brought down.

1593. Strength though he showed for such great exertions, hostile Fate yet obstructed his success at the very beginning.

1594. *Pṛthvīhara's* younger brother (Manujesvara) who had been worsted, not knowing that he had arrived, placed himself at that very time under the king's protection, after cutting off his own finger.

1586. For *Hāḍigrāma*, the present *Āṛgōm* in the Nāgām Pargaṇa, see note i. 340; for the defeat alluded to comp. viii. 672.

1588. *S'ilikākoṭṭa* is mentioned once more, viii. 2265, but neither passage allows of a conclusion as to the situation of the place. As a Yojana, equal to four Krośas (Kōs), must be counted as the equivalent of about six miles (see notes i. 265; vii. 393), the march here referred to would have comprised ninety miles. Assuming that the distance is given with approximate accuracy, this performance might justify the extravagant popular belief regarding Bhikṣācara's marching powers, referred to viii. 703. The pretender must be assumed to have started from Deṅgapāla's residence on the Cinab, where he had found a refuge (viii. 1634, 1654). But as the exact position of this place is not known, it is impossible to make any conjecture as to the route which Bhikṣācara may have followed at this irruption.

1591. When Indra clipped the mountain's wings, the mountain Maināka escaped to the ocean, where he has since been hidden; see, e.g. *Rāmāy.* v, i. 114 sqq.

1594. The cutting off of a finger as a sign of unconditional surrender is repeatedly mentioned in the Chronicle; comp. v. 150; viii. 1738, 2272, 2308, 3300; also note vii. 86. From the description of Mallārjuna's conduct, viii. 2308, it appears that the person who had been made a prisoner could claim the victor's mercy by presenting to him his cut-off finger.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1595. *Koṣṭheśvara* and he then came to him when they heard of his arrival, but were incapable of action, just like two spell-bound snakes.

1596. After the two had made him rest in another place from the fatigues of his march, he departed by the route of the *Kārkoṭadraṅga* and proceeded to *Sulharī*.

1597. And there he stopped, burning with the restless desire of invading *Kaśmīr*, while his powerful arms itched from excessive self-confidence.

1598. While he was searching for an opening [to break in], just like the water of a flood, the king too, who had returned to the City, was planning counter-measures.

1599. The chamberlain who was without an equal among the ministers, was unable to bear up with *Sujji's* excessive haughtiness and was eagerly bent on prosecuting intrigues.

1600. Then the elder brother of *Dhanya* (Udaya) who had purified his body by immersion in the water of the *Gaṅgā*, gained the confidence of the fickle king.

1601. He and his people who were familiar to the king, and had been held in regard by him for a long time, became then troubled in their mind because they got no offices.

1602. While he (Jayasiṁha) was placing the burden of affairs on his father's ministers, these shallow-minded persons could not bring themselves to await their time.

Intrigues against Sujji.

1603. The chamberlain, on the other hand, secretly bent on ousting *Sujji*, allied himself with them, though they were not friends, because [he recognized that] they would be very useful [for that purpose].

1604. When then some months had passed, the king, as fate willed, fell suddenly ill with a skin-disease (*lūtā*) which increased.

1605. As his recovery was made doubtful owing to [the appearance of] boils, tumours, diarrhœa, indigestion, and other ailments, the country became agitated.

1606. While the lord [of the land] was in such a condition, his dynasty being

1596. That *Kārkoṭadraṅga* was the special name of the Draṅga or watch-station situated on the Toṣ̱maidān route to Lohara, is clearly proved by viii. 1997. The position of this watch-station has been fully discussed in note vii. 140. It is marked by the present village of *Drang* in the Biru Pargaṇa.

This Draṅga seems to have received its specific name *Kārkoṭa* from the mountain ridge now called *Kākodar*, along which the route leads for about six miles before ascending to the Kaśmir side of the pass (see map). Kś. *Kākodar* might well be derived from an earlier name, **Kārkoṭadhara*, or some similar form; *dar*, probably from Skr. *dhara*, is found at the end of several Kaśmir mountain names. Also in *Śrīv.* iii. 463, *Kārkoṭadraṅga* undoubtedly designates the watch-station on the Toṣ̱maidān route.

Regarding *Sulharī*, see note viii. 1580.

1600. That *Udaya*, the brother of Dhanya, is meant, is seen from viii. 1068, 2387; comp. note viii. 1624.

1603. Connect in Ed. *te 'pahandāmyāḥ*.

singly maintained by him, and the enemy powerful, the Ḍāmaras on the latter's side saw the kingdom already ruined.

1607-1608. Considering what action was beneficial for the future as well as the present, *Sujji* wished then to put on the throne the king's only son *Parmāṇḍi*, who was born from the illustrious *Guṇalekhā* and was [then] five years old, and consulted about this with his (Parmāṇḍi's) maternal uncle, the son of *Garga* (Pañcacandra).

1609-1610. "*Sujji*, together with his son, wishes to betray you, while you are in such a condition, and is now cunningly treating day and night with *Pañcacandra* and his people." Thus spoke then the chamberlain who had found his opportunity, and at his instigation *Dhanya* and the rest to the king, and the latter took this to be true.

[1611-1614. Verses describing generally the thoughtlessness of kings who allow themselves to be misled and imposed upon by foolish parasites. The life and position of honourable persons are at the mercy of rogues whose whimsical suggestions captivate the simple-minded ruler].

1615. Is he, indeed, ever seen that king, whose mind is firm, and whom rogues cannot plainly make dance like a mechanical doll?

1616. Alas, that universal ruin which rises from the kings not being able to discriminate between their servants, it does not cease even at the present day owing to the subjects' sinfulness.

1617. When *Sujji* came as before to inquire after the king's health, he saw that guards had been placed [at the door] from distrust, and felt afflicted.

1618. He recognised that in the king's heart kindness (*dākṣiṇya*) had turned into disfavour (*vāmatā*), just as in the image reflected by the mirror [right is turned to left], and became indifferent.

1619. When his visits to the palace became rare, owing to his feeling annoyed, the intriguers removed altogether that attachment which the king had felt for him.

1620. Also the deceitful *Citraratha*, the son of a Brahman councillor (*āsthāna-dvija*) and a follower of *Sujji*, ruined the king's welfare by his counsels, which raised opposition.

1621. When the king had recovered he (Sujji) was seen in the palace distributing rich gifts to express his joy. As he went outside he expected to be called [back by the king, but this not having happened], he went to his house.

1622. The king did not conciliate him, but considered the way in which he could be attacked, as he had a powerful army [at his disposal].

1607-8. See viii. 460.

1620. Compare regarding the term *āsthānadvija*, note vii. 85; for Citraratha, viii. 1436, 1482. —*bhāḥ* could also mean "holding the position [of a Brahman councillor]."

1621. For the meaning of *prārthanārthī*, compare viii. 1627.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1623. Thinking that if he were deprived of his offices, his followers, having nothing to hope for, would abandon him, he quickly bestowed his official charges on others.

1624. The king granted the garland (*sraj*) of the office of chief-justice (*rājasthāna*) to *Dhanya*, that of the commander-in-chief to *Udaya*, and the charge of *Kherī* to *Rilhaṇa*.

1625. Then when the king had openly shown his hostility by the withdrawal of his offices, *Sujji* found himself with but few followers remaining and became alarmed.

Sujji goes into exile.

1626. Thereupon this proud man feeling dishonoured set out from the City for a pilgrimage to the *Gaṅgā*, taking with him the bones of King *Sussala*.

1627. When on leaving he was passing near the royal palace, he eagerly expected to be asked [to stop], but neither the king's attendants nor the king himself held him back.

1628. In order to manifest the pride he took in having him (Sujji) banished, the chamberlain placed his own son over the escort to guard him, his treasure and other [property].

1629. He (Sujji) felt pained when he thought: "*Lakṣmaka* has given me his son as a guard, [as if to show] that punishment and favour were dependent on himself."

1630. *Lakṣmaka's* son (?) turned back from the 'Gate.' The guileless [Sujji] proceeded slowly to *Parṇotsa* and made *Bhāgika* descend from the *Lohara* hill.

1631. He also handed over the charge of that castle (Lohara) to *Prema*, the king's foster-brother, who had been sent by the chamberlain.

1632. After he (Sujji) had thus removed by abandoning *Lohara* the apprehension which troubled the king, he passed the bad summer season at *Rājapurī*.

1624. Regarding the significance of the term *sraj* (for *adhikārasraj*), see note vii. 1363.

Regarding *Dhanya*, see viii. 1083, 1438. *Udaya* must be Dhanya's elder brother, named viii. 1083, and referred to viii. 1600. For *Rilhaṇa*, comp. viii. 1005, 1087, 1266, etc.

1628. This son of Lakṣmaka is probably the *Sṛṅgāra* referred to in viii. 1287.

1630 The form *Lakṣmako* found in A L is evidently an error. Not Lakṣmaka, but his son, escorts Sujji on his way to exile. I assume that the text had really *Läkṣmako*, 'descendant of Lakṣmaka.

By the 'Gate' (*dvāra*) is meant here in all probability the Pir Pantsāl Pass; comp. note i. 302.

Bhāgika, who in viii. 1228 is mentioned as 'Prajji's brother's son,' is probably a son of Sujji himself. According to the passage quoted, he had been made governor of Lohara. Sujji proves his good faith by taking away his son or nephew from that important place, and inducing him to hand over charge to the new governor sent by the king; comp. the following verses.

1632. Rajauri (*Rājapurī*) is made very unhealthy during the summer and rainy season by its dangerous fevers; comp. MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. p. 300; JACQUEMONT, *Correspondance*, ii. p. 103.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49)

1633. *Lakṣmaka* acquired some renown as he was able to make ministers rise and fall like play-balls, and as he held the Ḍāmaras in check.

1634. Impelled by his desire to create a rival to *Sujji* he then had *Rājamaṅgala* who had the prowess of royal blood, placed in charge of the 'Gate.'

1635. He thought in his jealousy that this brave compatriot of *Sujji*, if helped on by his own riches, would destroy his renown.

1636. He, by bestowing [Sujji's] offices [on others] was the cause of (Sujji's) wandering about on the road with a sword-bearer as his [only] companion, hungry, miserable, and an object of ridicule.

1637. Who would not be able to put unfit persons in the place of fit ones? But even the elements are unable to endow the former with the latter's high qualities.

1638. S'iva is able to throw in haste on his own body, fit for sandal-ointment, ashes from a funeral pyre which do not befit it. But even he who makes the three worlds rise and perish in accordance with his will, is manifestly incapable of endowing those [ashes] with the [sandal]-perfume.

1639. As he (Rājamaṅgala) was not sufficiently strong to be able to rival *Sujji*, he (Lakṣmaka) despatched messengers to call back *Sañjapāla* from abroad.

1640. As the land lacked strong men, the king having regard to the importance of the affairs, took *Koṣṭheśvara* among his intimate advisers though he disliked him.

1641. When he had gained the confidence of the king, and the latter being satisfied was pleasing him with various gifts, he too was attacked by a skin-disease (*lūtā*) while keeping in the City.

Sujji intrigues against Jayasiṁha.

1642. While the king thus put [upon himself] a multitude of restraints from state-reasons, *Somapāla* and other intriguers induced *Sujji* to become hostile [to the king].

1643. He, having been hurt in his honour, declared that he could effect the conquest of *Kaśmīr* with a mere stick, and promised its throne to *Somapāla*.

1644. The latter promised him in marriage the daughter of his sister and [his own] daughter. In the meantime the king (Jayasiṁha) prudently employed diplomacy and bribing.

1645. Those two (Somapāla and Sujji) acted unwisely at that time by not effecting the marriage of the two princesses in haste and thus gave time to their opponents.

1639. *Sañjapāla* had been exiled by Sussala after distinguished services; see viii. 401, 511, 516, 533.

1642. Maṅkha gives in his Kośa, 76, to *cālaka* the two meanings *duṣṭahastin* and *cākrika*, 'intriguer.'

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1646. *Somapāla* was then induced by *Jayasiṁha's* stratagems as well as by the omens he saw, to pay less attention to *Sujji*.

1647. The chamberlain proceeded there in person and brought the lord of *Rājapurī* (Somapāla) to the frontier of his territory in order to arrange for the marriage of the princesses [from both sides].

Marriage alliance of *Jayasiṁha* and *Somapāla*.

1648. *Soma*[*pāla*] married the king's daughter *Ambāputrikā*, born from the queen *Kalhanikā*.

1649. When he had gone after completing this marriage, the thoughtful chamberlain conducted *Nāgalekhā*, [Somapāla's] sister's daughter, to the king [as his bride].

1650. When thus an alliance had been effected between the two countries, *Sujji* found his opportunities gone and started for the *Gaṅgā* in Hemanta (months of Mārgaśiras and Pauṣa).

1651. At *Jālaṁdhara Jyeṣṭhapāla* met him, and as he had lost his mental vigour on account of the great insult, induced him to join the side of *Bhikṣu*.

1652. "When you and *Bhikṣācara* join in the command of an army, neither Upendra (Viṣṇu) nor the great Indra are able to offer resistance.

1653. "We shall take revenge on those two kings,—the one who insulted you, to whom he owed his throne, and the other [who insulted you] while you stopped in his territory."

1654-55. Incited by him with such words he was preparing to proceed to *Bhikṣu* who was stopping with *Deṅgapāla*, but *Bhāgika* kept him back and addressed him thus in excitement: "It is not right that you should do this before you have thrown the bones of your lord into the water of the *Gaṅgā*."

1656. He (Sujji) took an oath by sacred libation that he would for certain join them after he had bathed in the celestial stream (*Gaṅgā*), and then started to carry out what he had undertaken to do.

1657. The king, on the other side, who had put everything on the chamberlain's shoulders, did not think that the kingdom was in a secure condition, owing to the want of energetic action (against the Ḍāmaras, etc.).

1658. For the chamberlain conciliated whoever rose in opposition [against the king], and then looked every day at the latter when he stood by his side, as it were with condescension.

1659. *Udaya*, the commander-in-chief, slew by treachery the proud *Prakaṭa*, son of *Kāliya*, ...

1651. *Jālaṁdhara* is the present *Jālandhar* in the Panjab: see note iv. 177.

Regarding *Jyeṣṭhapāla*, compare viii. 864.

1654. Compare viii. 554, 1584.

1659. *Kāliya* has been mentioned in viii. 41 as a Ḍāmara.

I am unable to suggest any satisfactory emendation for the words *prayalbhamāne kāstyevam*, which certainly contain a corruption. A reference is probably intended to the instigator of the murder of Prakaṭa.

1660. *Lakṣmaka* then, with scant consideration, had all the Ḍāmaras who were full of distrust and unruly, attacked by the commander-in-chief.

Bhikṣācara arrives in Viṣalāṭā.

1661-62. As soon as *Bhikṣācara* had only obtained this opening and had learned that the Ḍāmaras had fallen off from the king, he proceeded at the commencement of the winter to *Viṣalāṭā*, planning how he might throw *Kaśmīr* into confusion till *Sujji* should arrive after bathing in the *Gaṅgā*.

1663. He was prevented from the desired invasion of the territory [of Kaśmīr], by the chamberlain who held the Ḍāmaras in check, and by the wintry season.

1664. He had been called in by *Ṭikka* who was pledged to thorough enmity against the opponent (Jayasiṁha) by the treachery [he had committed] against the latter's father, and was encouraged by all prominent Ḍāmaras.

1665-66. While awaiting the arrival of *Sujji* which was to assure him possession of the throne, he was stopping in the castle called *Bāṇaśālā* belonging to *Ṭikka's* son-in-law, *Bhāgika*, a *Khaśa*-lord. Thinking himself safe in that [castle], though it was of but little height, he made by means of messengers the whole host of Ḍāmaras rise in rebellion.

1667. *Sujji* then returned after having bathed in the *Gaṅgā*, spreading in advance joy for his friends and fear for his enemies.

1668-69. *Siṁhadeva* thought that it would be as great a danger for *Somapāla* as for himself if *Bhikṣu*, whom he had persecuted, and *Sujji* should unite, and accordingly asked that ruler to endeavour to win over the latter. The frightened *Somapāla* employed [for this purpose] a ruse.

Negotiations with Sujji.

1670. *Sujji* had arrived in the morning at *Jālaṁdhara*, and was about to proceed to *Bhikṣācara*, when his (*Somapāla's*) envoy came to him in the evening.

1671. Upon [receiving] his message he renounced the intention of joining

1665-66. The name *Bāṇaśālā* is preserved undoubtedly in that of the modern *Bān*ᵃ*hāl*, a village which has given its appellation to the Bānᵃhāl Pass. [Regarding the regular change of Kś. *h* < Skr. *ś*, see note i. 100.] This Pass being only 9200 feet above the sea, forms the lowest and easiest route across the eastern portion of the range to the S. of Kaśmīr, and was thus particularly suitable for Bhikṣācara's invasion planned in the winter.

I have not been able to visit personally the valley lying on the S. side of the Bānᵃhāl Pass, and can thus not speak with certainty as to the position of the castle in which Bhikṣācara found his end. It appears to me, however, very probable that the castle was not far from the present village Bānᵃhāl. The latter is not marked on the map, but lies, according to BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 137, a few hundred yards to the north of Adlkūt, 75° 16′ long. 33° 27′ lat., at the foot of the Pass. From viii. 1683, it follows that the castle of Bāṇaśālā must have been visible from the top of the Bānᵃhāl Pass.

Abū-l-Fazl (ii. p. 361) mentions at 'Bānihal' a temple dedicated to Durgā, in which auguries are obtained in a curious fashion as to the issue of strife, etc. Pt. Sāhibrām, who in his *Tīrthas.* copies Abū-l-Fazl's notice, metamorphoses the Skr name of the village into '*Bhānuśālā*.'

In note viii. 177, it has been shown that the hill-district in which Bānᵃhāl lies, bore in old days the name of Viṣalāṭā. This designation K. himself uses in viii. 1662, when speaking of Bhikṣācara's last march towards Kaśmīr.

1668-69. See regarding Bhikṣu's treatment by Somapāla, viii. 1529 sq.

the enemy. *Jyeṣṭhapāla* had urged him on [to the latter course], while *Bhāgika* dissuaded him.

1672-73. "The king will relieve you of the debt you have incurred abroad, and will, himself, at my request, bestow an office upon you." This [message] of *Somapāla* was told to him daily by his envoy, and thus he started for [Somapāla's] territory, abandoning his eager wish of [joining] the enemy.

1674. In Vaiśākha the commander-in-chief *Udaya* crossed the pass (*saṁkaṭa*) and began fighting with *Bhikṣu* and his *Khaśa* followers.

1675. When the former's force which was at first small, had grown large, *Bhikṣu* threw himself into the castle [of Bāṇaśālā] and was besieged there.

1676. The king who had moved out to *Vijayeśvara*, thereupon reinforced the camp of the commander-in-chief by sending him various troops.

Siege of *Bāṇaśālā*.

1677. The royal troops were throwing stones from catapults, showers of arrows and various [other] missiles, and those in the castle defended themselves by rolling down stones.

1678. The royal army, though large, could not attack those in the castle, while stones were falling and arrows marked with *Bhikṣu's* name.

1679. After one month only and some days had passed, *Dhanya* (?) effected a breach at the foot of the castle and possessed himself of the water [supply] stored in a tank.

1680. Those who held the fort, and who by force could not be got at, displayed then greedy intentions, and [keeping in view] that King [Jayasiṁha] was eager to use stratagems, wished to give trouble to his opponent.

1681. The king thereupon despatched the chamberlain along with Ḍāmaras, chiefs, ministers, and Rājaputras, to bring this affair to a successful issue.

1682. *Koṣṭheśvara*, *Trillaka* and others followed him with the intention of extricating *Bhikṣu* from the dangerous situation in which he was.

1683. When the chamberlain saw from the top of the mountain-pass the castle of small height below, and looked at his own numberless host, he thought that it was [already] taken.

1684. On the following day those who had been there before, and also those who had accompanied the chamberlain, proceeded to the attack, hoping to take the castle by the full strength of their army.

1679. The word *Dhanya* has been restored here by a conjecture for the meaningless *dhānyaḥ* of A; L has *dhā* ... It is also possible to emend *dhānyaḥ* with Durgāpr. and to supplement the subject from the preceding verse.

1682. *Trillaka*, who figures prominently in the rebellions subsequently related, was a near relative of Koṣṭheśvara, having married a daughter of the latter's brother Catuṣka; comp. viii. 1707, 2209, 2748.

1683. By *saṁkaṭa* is meant here, as also above, viii. 1674, the height of the *Bān*ᵃ*hāl* Pass, from which the whole of the Valley to the S., and also the village Bānᵃhāl, can be clearly seen.

1685. Notwithstanding their great number they were so repulsed by the hail of stones from those [in the castle] that they became convinced of this [undertaking] not being achievable by sheer prowess.

1686. The heads which the stones carried off from the bodies of brave soldiers, appeared, with their streams of blood, like bee-hives [thrown down by stone-hits] from the tops of trees with the bees issuing from them.

1687. *Koṣṭheśvara* committed there somehow an act of folly which caused the ruin of *Bhikṣu*, of himself, and other *Lavanyas*.

1688. He merely to show that there was no one brave like himself, fought with great might, and this led to the death of *Bhikṣu*.

Bhikṣācara betrayed by the *Khaśas*.

1689-90. In his dangerous position amid the treacherous *Khaśas* he (Bhikṣācara) assured himself by saying: "*Koṣṭheśvara* and I are on one side. The other Ḍāmaras are dependent on him. This great force which is seen, will in the end be to our advantage." But it was to happen differently

1691. They then thought for certain: "If he (Bhikṣācara) puts his trust even in that hostile *Koṣṭheśvara*, what can be expected from the others then?"

1692. The sly *Lakṣmaka*, on the other hand, under the force of circumstances promised *Ṭikka*, though he had treacherously killed the king's father, that he would be put [back] in his own seat (*upaveśana*).

1693. The *Khaśa*-lord (Bhāgika) he bribed by offering him great villages, gold and more, and induced him to exert himself for *Bhikṣu's* ruin.

1694. *Ānanda*, the brother-in-law of the *Khaśa*-lord, after going to and fro [between the two], brought *Ṭikka* before the chamberlain and got him re-instated.

1695. When *Koṣṭheśvara* and the other Ḍāmaras saw the friendship of the chamberlain with *Ṭikka*, they took *Bhikṣu's* death for certain.

1696. Agitated thereby they wished to set him free, and sent messengers to the *Khaśa*, promising to give gold with many [other] presents.

1697-99. The *Khaśa*, however, thought: "If I let *Bhikṣu* go after taking a bribe, then he will think that it was *Koṣṭheśvara* and the rest who have saved his life. In anger at this either he will kill me when he gets the throne, or *Deṅgapāla* whose [power] reaches far. Therefore I must carefully keep by the side of *Jayasiṁha*." He replied to them in accordance with these thoughts, and [made them] tell *Bhikṣu* when he was in the privy: "Escape from this place after removing a plank."

1700. The proud [prince], however, thought of the disgrace [in which he would fall] among the people if he were to leave through the privy, with his body smeared over with filth like a dog, and did not leave.

1697-99. *Bhāgika* does not wish to refuse openly to the Ḍāmaras the liberation of Bhikṣācara, but indicates for this purpose an expedient which he is sure that Bhikṣācara will not accept.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1701. The chamberlain who knew [how to bide] his time, in the morning conciliated *Koṣṭheśvara*, who acting in a secret manner, was throwing about insults with the intention of causing a commotion among the troops.

Attack on *Bhikṣācara*.

1702. After the *Khaśa* and his people had given hostages, the chamberlain and the rest made, from day-break, strenuous efforts to kill *Bhikṣu*.

1703. The king at *Vijayakṣetra* was in great agitation and was every moment asking news from the messengers who came and went.

1704-5. "What? This boy-king and these boy-ministers think to achieve the destruction of that *Bhikṣu*, whom the old king, notwithstanding his violent exertions could not subdue during ten years in so many battles? How does this agree?

1706. "In a moment the *Khaśas* will come and laughing carry off whatever can be got. Surely these here will flee routed and looted by the enemies

1707. "*Koṣṭhaka* stands apart, and *Trillaka* here is his relative, and even these who are of the [royal] court, have grown fat with what *Bhikṣācara* had left from his food.

1708. "Who is the new comer who could work the king's good? To be sure, the stores here have only arrived for the advantage of this [enemy]."

1709. While the men talked thus in their tents, the castle was surrounded by the ministers' troops with drawn swords.

1710. "O shame, he who has long been harassed, is to be killed singly. Yet for this purpose they have shamelessly closed a ring [around him] with all their soldiers."

1711. Thus they spoke, and silent like the ocean was the host, with the glittering weapons resembling bright waves and the rolling eyes of the soldiers resembling fishes.

1712-13. Agitated and frightened were the men, thinking inwardly: "Will *Bhikṣu* fly up through the air, or jump over the army with the leap of a deer, or will he like the down-pour from an evil cloud strike down all at once, when he, whose valour is wonderful, takes up his sword at last?"

1714. So far the success was that of the ministers. Now arose the hindrance. That it was removed and the object achieved, was due to the king's lustre.

1715. While the troops with eyes raised up expected *Bhikṣu* to rush forth, a single man with a drawn sword came out of the castle.

1716. He was surrounded by weeping women, and behind him followed some men with fluttering under-garments of saffron-colour.

1702. Compare viii. 1723.

Desertion of *Ṭikka*.

1717. The people in their expectation said: "Here is *Bhikṣu* fleeing from captivity." Then they heard it was *Ṭikka* who had come out.

1718. For he having betrayed *Bhikṣu*, feared that he would be killed by him or by the king's followers, when the struggle began, and had therefore come out.

1719. In order to convince the people of his innocence, he drew his sword as if to cut open his abdomen, but was restrained by his own followers.

1720. After passing with his followers the royal army, which opened the way for him, he moved to the brink of a hill-spring which was close by.

1721. He breathed again in relief when he had at last got to water after leaving the castle (*durga;* or, after having escaped from danger), and, pressed by the other Ḍāmaras, began to play his tricks.

1722-1723. "The sun is setting on the day. Let *Bhikṣu* be kept safe but for a short time. At night the Ḍāmaras will raise the siege." Upon his speaking thus, the murderers [sent] by the ministers began to climb up [to the castle] in company with the hostages, but were stopped by the *Khaśas* rolling down boulders.

1724. The soldiers thereupon with [ironical] shouts and clapping of hands attacked [with such words] the ministers, who were confused in their minds.

1725. "The enemies of the king have escaped from a critical situation. What advantage have the ministers achieved by giving riches [merely as it were] to help the opponent to the throne?"

1726. When the sun was thus sinking together with the royal cause, *Lakṣmaka* asked the *Khaśa's* brother-in-law who was a hostage, what this [meant].

1727. He replied: "Even a water-carrying slave-woman (*kumbhadāsī*) may frustrate a plan. How should I face the *Khaśas* when I am not present there?"

1728. He (Lakṣmaka) thereupon dismissed *Ānanda* with the words: "Go you to remove the opposition of the *Khaśas*," and was laughed at by the other ministers [for this].

1729. The king, who was very far-sighted, apprehended an enterprise coming from the house of *Deṅgapāla* by the way of *Viṣalāṭā*.

1730. On this account the king, when laying his far-reaching snares for this object, had already before won over, with the rest, [Ānanda], the brother-in-law of the lord of the castle, he being a person of importance.

1718. I translate according to the conjectural emendation proposed in Ed.

1727. Regarding the meaning adopted for *kumbhadāsī*, see note iii. 456.

1728. L has *hartuṁ* for A *hantuṁ*.

1729. L, too, shows a lacuna of two syllables after *Deṅgapālagṛhā* . . .

An attempt to liberate Bhikṣācara is referred to, which Deṅgapāla, whose residence is on the Candrabhāgā, viii. 554, could make only through the Viṣalāṭā (Bichlāri) Valley.

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1731. The chamberlain therefore remained calm at that time of confusion, knowing that he (Ânanda) when set free, could be got again like a trained bird.

1732. He said to them: "If this affair fails, my bold action yet does not deserve to be ridiculed. What would be the use of killing that brother-in-law of the *Khaśa*, if everything were lost?"

1733. Owing to the king's good fortune keeping its power intact, the *Khaśa's* brother-in-law made them all [in the castle] give in, and [then] from the top of the castle called up the murderers and the rest.

1734. The spirits of the robbers (Ḍāmaras) rose to their throats, the ministers' minds to uncertainty, and the love desires of the celestial maids to the highest pitch, while the murderers [climbed] up the hill.

1735-1737. King *Bhikṣu's* followers had [previously] as if they wished to follow him in death, been girding their loins with leather-straps, had proclaimed themselves everywhere in the fighting by using, like their master, arrows marked with their own names, had reddened their underlips with betel, and had occupied themselves with dressing their hair and beards. Then when his death was certain, they stopped this and ran quickly to the tents of *Koṣṭheśvara* and the rest for protection.

1738. When *Ṭikka* saw himself surrounded by *Lakṣmaka's* soldiers, whom the latter had cunningly sent up one by one, he took fright and cut off his finger.

1739. As the *Khaśas*, fearing that he might flee, had watched him at that time, he had been troubled in his mind, and had not taken food during those days.

Bhikṣācara's last struggle.

1740. The brave *Bhikṣācara*, who was longing for the fight, and who was annoyed by the delay made by the murderers, was diverting his mind over a game of dice.

1741. As the murderers entered the courtyard of the mansion, wishing to attack him, he got up and completed the game, which was nearly finished

1742. He was inwardly as little agitated as a lover who, while at play with his beloved, has to get up to meet a friend arriving.

1743. "What is the use of slaying many also to-day?" Thus he thought, and leaving his bow went outside armed only with his sword.

1744-50. His dark hair was thinned by long cares; the fringes of his hero's band (*vīrapaṭṭa*) were fluttering like brilliant flags; the glitter of his faultless conch-shaped ear-rings, which played upon his cheeks, and the shine of his sandal-painted marks seemed like a haughty smile; with his sword, eyes and under

1735-37. Compare regarding the preparations for a soldierly death here alluded to, vii. 665; regarding betel-marks as a sign of distinction, vii. 1067; for Bhikṣācara's arrows, viii. 1678.

1738. For the significance of the cut-off finger, comp. note viii. 1594.

1744. For *vīrapaṭṭa*, comp. *e.g.* v. 333; vii. 1478.

1746. For *citracāryante* of A L correct *citracaryānte*.

clothes which were [flaming] like firebrands, he made it visible, as it were, that at the end of a wonderful career his legs had got across [each other and had caused him to fall]; with the quivering, clean corners of his mouth, which were drawn to the fore by his safflower-coloured underlip, he appeared like a fierce lion, whose bushy mane is falling on his shoulders; he moved with remarkable attitudes in which eyes, will, hands, and feet united in numerous graceful movements, and with easy, noble and firm steps, he appeared like the [personified] dignity of what is dignified, like the very ornament of pride and a continual and never-ceasing display of honour and might. Nothing indicated his rapid fall.—Thus the expectant people saw *Bhikṣu* move out to face his opponents.

1751. The valiant *Kumāriya*, the grandson of *Madhu*, from a royal race, and also *Raktika*, the brother of *Jyeṣṭhapāla*, came out following him.

1752. *Gārgika*, a follower of *Bhikṣu*, held back singly by showers of arrows the assailants who were entering through various buildings, low and high.

1753. Under the [shower of the] arrows which left his bow, they were seen flying, just like elephants under [a shower of] hailstones driven by the east wind.

1754. This repulser of the enemy was at last forced to retreat when the stones thrown by the wicked *Khaśas* had wounded his body and broken his bow.

1755. When he had fled, the soldiers entered by various passages, and came all within close reach of *Bhikṣu* and his companions.

1756. One big soldier holding a spear ran quickly against *Bhikṣu's* single sword-bearer, whose fortitude could not at once be noticed.

1757. *Bhikṣu*, who was fond of his attendant, ran in haste, parried his spear as he was making his thrust, and caught hold of his hair.

1758. He also hit him with his sword, and as he was falling mortally wounded, *Kumāriya* and *Raktika* gave him further strokes.

1759. When this man had been slain the three were attacked by the compact mass of the enemy's soldiers, who carried various weapons.

1760. Their weapons scared away the assailants, and they were left alone just as trees when a great snake in their hollow drives away the bee-swarms.

1761. The assailants not being able to kill them with swords, spears and the like [weapons], moved away and then from afar covered them with showers of arrows.

1762. While *Bhikṣācara*, lion-like, was breaking through the cage formed by the arrows, the *Khaśas* hurled down from the mansion heavy showers of stones.

1763. The terrible shower of stones bruised his head, and as he was running an arrow pierced his side, and penetrated into his liver.

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Death of Bhikṣācara (A.D. 1130).

1764. After making three steps he quickly fell, causing the earth to shake, while removing the tremor of the enemies, which had been intense for a long time.

1765. Also *Kumāriya* wounded to death by an arrow which had pierced his groin, fell even [then] before the feet of his lord.

1766. *Raktika* was disabled by an arrow which hit him in a vital part, and though living yet, fell to the ground as if lifeless.

1767. *Bhikṣu* falling in the company of men of high lineage, shone forth, just as a pinnacle that is thrown down by the lightning along with flowering trees.

1768. In so great a host of kings . . . . *Bhikṣu* obtained the highest place not in disgrace but in honour.

1769. Though fate, ever adverse to him, had secured his defeat, yet, verily, he defied it even at his end by his unbroken vigour.

1770. Was he not a beggar when compared with the former kings, whose riches were great? In regard to a noble death they, however, are nothing compared with him.

1771. When the enemy's soldiers came up greatly satisfied with themselves, *Kumāriya*, even in such a condition and such pains, fought them with his knife.

1772. Disabled by strokes he yet moved about as if he ought to fight, and thus the enemies recognizing his prowess gave him many thrusts as they spread out.

1773. Though the *Khaśas* mocked them: "Enough you fools, with your strokes at this dead man," the hostile soldiers hit the dead *Bhikṣu* again and again.

1774. *Raktika*, who was unable to use his arms owing to the terrible pains caused by his wound, and who was on the point of death, was cut down by some vile soldiers.

1775. On the tenth day of the dark half of Jyaiṣṭha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] six (A.D. 1130) this king was killed after a life of thirty years and nine months.

1776. In admiration of his valour even those praised him for whom he had been the cause of long troubles and the reason of their utter ruin.

1777. His head showed for several Nālikās moving eyes, quivering brows, and a smiling mouth, as if life were in it.

1768 I am unable to make any sense of *harṣanṛpātmanaḥ*, which contains certainly a corruption. Neither the emendation of Durgapr., °*nṛpāt paraḥ*, nor that of the Calc. Ed., °*nṛpātmajaḥ*, removes the difficulty.

1778. One body of his proceeded into the company of the Apsaras in heaven; the other here on earth, knowing that the earth and water were cold, entered the fire.

Jayasiṁha receives *Bhikṣācara's* head.

1779. On the following day, then, the ministers brought the heads of these three before the king, who was stopping at *Vijayakṣetra.*

1780-1781. This king (Jayasiṁha) is as the ocean, which has shown its wonderful character by producing Lakṣmī, the nectar (*sudhā*), the treasures (*ratna*), the elephant [Airāvata], the horse [Uccaiḥśravas], the moon and other [wonders]. He shows in various ways his wonderful character which astonishes the world, and his power cannot be measured by anyone.

1782-1783. He did not pride himself: "I have slain him whom my father could not reach," nor did he rejoice: "Destroyed is this thorn [in the side] of kings." He, being free from deceit in his nature and full of generosity, did not think with wrath when he saw *Bhikṣu's* head: "He had made my father's head wander about," but reflected as follows:

1784. "One ought to see in his person only its innate noble character, but not the change [produced in it] by hatred, just as [one sees] in the crystal its purity, but not its heat produced by the sun-rays.

1785. "Alas, from *Utkarṣa* to this king not one has been seen to depart by a natural death.

1786. "Those even who were before this king's favourites, view to-day the head which [is all that] remains of him, as if they had no concern."

1787. Thus thought the lord of the earth with rare generosity, and quickly gave orders that the last honours be paid to such an enemy.

1788. And at night when sleep fled him, he thought of his rise and death and reflected again and again on the wonderful nature of mundane existence.

1789. The people, too, thought that even for a thousand years there would certainly not be trouble in the land from rival-kinsmen.

1790. Fate burns the thin grass and produces in [its place] thick verdure; after a day of intense heat it sends rain. As its actions follow strange courses, there is no relying by rule [upon fate] which is fickle in its decisions.

1791. When a brave man after finishing a task turns his mind to repose, fate puts upon him a heavy burden of fresh tasks.

1792. The foot of the first rider, who has fatigued the horse by long exercising it, has not yet left entirely the second stirrup, when another rider gets

1778. The verse contains an allusion to the five elements (earth, water, fire, air, ether), of which only one does not find mention.

1783. For the emendation °*bhārodāryas*, proposed in Ed., comp. iii. 308; viii. 2217.

1792. Correct with Durgāpr. *āroḍhuḥ* for A L *āroḍhum*.

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on the pained back of the horse, which is counting upon getting comfort from the removal of its load, while it still carries the saddle.

1793. When the kingdom had thus for a single night become free from enemies, there stepped before the king a letter-carrier silent with sorrow.

Report of *Lohara* rebellion (A.D. 1130).

1794-1796. When questioned by the perplexed councillors he reported that on the very day when *Bhikṣācara*, whose enmity caused such dangers, had found his death, the soldiers garrisoning the castle [of Lohara] had, at night, by violent means, [liberated and] crowned *Loṭhana*, the younger of the two step-brothers, *Salhaṇa* and *Loṭhana*, of King *Sussala*, whom the latter had before put in prison on the *Lohara*-hill,—the elder having died [in the meantime].

1797. He related that [Loṭhana] had left his prison, together with his son and nephews, five [in all], who were full of pride and aspired to the throne, and that he was master of the treasury.

1798-1800. Even the guardians of the quarters might have watched the king with attention, expecting that he would be consumed by sorrow, faint, lament, fall [to the ground] with out-stretched arms, fall asleep in his mental confusion or take to staring,—when struck down by the lightning of this evil message which fell just as his mind had been eased by the cessation of a long-lasting evil. Yet he did not change in appearance, conduct or gestures.

1801. No other king had ever since the beginning of things been in such a calamity which no one else could have overcome, and which would have been [for others] altogether unbearable.

1802. His father had reconquered by force the lost kingdom, and he himself had freed his father's throne from enemies.

1803-1805. The stronghold and the treasury were [now] lost. Where a boy, without a [proper] name even, the only one left of rival-kinsmen, without wealth and friends, had caused for many years calamities which destroyed riches and honour,—in that land fond of rebellion there arose now, when this single foe had been slain, six enemies possessed of friends, a stronghold and riches, while the subjects of this territory [of Kaśmīr] were disaffected and the treasury empty.

1806. Even the descendant of Raghu (Rāmacandra), I know, could not vie in fortitude with this king, who had proved his greatness by passing such a test.

1794-96. *Salhaṇa* and *Loṭhana* had been sent to Lohara as prisoners A.D. 1112; see vii. 519.

Regarding the term *koṭṭabhṛtya*, comp. note vii. 966.

1797. From viii. 1914 it is seen that Loṭhana had only one son, *Dilha*. Of his nephews, *Bhoja* is subsequently mentioned as a son of Salhaṇa; see viii. 2489.

For *Mallārjuna*, a son of Sussala, see viii. 1982. Another nephew was *Vigraharāja*, an illegitimate son of Sussala, see viii. 1936.

1803-5. *Bhikṣācara* is meant; regarding his name, see viii. 17.

1806-9. Reference is made to the well-known story of Rāma's exile, told at length in the Rāmāyaṇa. His father Daśaratha, while preparing to have him installed on the throne,

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1807. Once the father [of Rāmacandra] in recounting [his son's] virtues, remembered that the latter's disposition had remained unaltered when he had endowed him with the royal power and when he had exiled him, and spoke thus:

1808. "I have not noticed the slightest change in his person when he was called to the coronation ceremony, and when he was sent out into the forest."

1809. Thereupon he (Daśaratha) had told him to stop for a limited period in lovely forest-regions accompanied by his wife and younger brother, and had promised to restore him to fortune.

1810. Though the two had thus both undergone the sudden transition from happiness to misfortune, yet there is a great difference between them owing to the peculiarity of their respective lots.

1811. Fate, surely, cut off the whole of his manifold resources, because it intended to show to the people that [Jayasiṁha's] power was not dependent on material causes.

1812. Who would have thought much of the wonderful achievements to be related of this king, if his means had been abundant?

1813. The king whose resolve was deep like the sea, [wished] to know what else had happened, and the letter-carrier then, on being questioned, related at length the events of the castle [of Lohara].

Lothana set free and crowned at *Lohara* (A.D. 1130).

1814. "When *Bhāgika* had gone, after handing over the castle, the governor *Preman* who had become heedless in his good fortune, neglected to take care about guarding it.

1815. "He was engaged solely in adorning himself, in eating and drinking and the pleasures of love, and followed also a wrong course by estranging those under him by excessive arrogance.

1816. "When your Majesty from regard for family-relationship had not allowed him to blind and otherwise [disable] the prisoners, he took no precautions whatever to guard them.

1817-1818. "*Udayana*, a scheming Kāyastha of great ambition, the chamberlain *Māṅika* and *Indākara*, son of *Bhimākara*, these councillors planned treason together in the meantime, and on various occasions devised the murder of *Preman*, who [thought that he] had firmly established himself.

1819. "Having escaped being killed, as they found no opportunity, he on one occasion descended on business from the castle [of Lohara] to *Aṭṭālikā*.

was induced that very day by Rāma's stepmother to send him into exile. Daśaratha on further reflection limited this exile to fourteen years; comp. *Rāmāy*. II., xix. 1 sqq.

1814. Compare viii. 1630.

1819. *Aṭṭālikā* has been identified in Note *E* on Lohara (iv. 177, § 9) with the present *Aṭōli* and *Manḍ*, situated about eight miles below Loh^rin. In §§ 1, 9, 10 of the note quoted, the other localities mentioned in the following narrative have also been fully discussed.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1820-1822. "After previously acquainting with their plan the wife [of Loṭhana] whom they wished to put on the throne, they forged papers to convince all those in the castle that such an order had been sent from *Kaśmīr* by the king who was on the point of death. Then they saw *Loṭhana*, and after freeing him from his fetters [and taking him] from the castle, crowned him at night at the temple of *Viṣṇu Siṁharājasvāmin.*

1823. "A depraved wife of King *Sussala, S'aradā* by name, who was stopping there, gave them her support.

1824. "With the help of iron bars, which she provided, they broke off the locks from the treasury-room and carried off the rich treasure, the jewels, and other [objects of value].

1825. "[Numbering] seven in all, together with the servants, they did these various acts of great boldness, after having induced the Caṇḍālas on guard by bribes to refrain from resistance.

1826. "When then the inhabitants of the castle were roused from sleep by the sound of the kettledrums and other musical instruments, they saw before them *Loṭhana* with the ornaments fit for a king.

1827. "Being dressed in garments of such splendour as had never been seen before, and surrounded by the royal councillors he made the people wonder as he showed himself in the light of the lamps.

1828-1829. "As the rest of the night passed with its bright moonlight, they also got rid of the fear of an hostile attack. This had been caused by the apprehension that the young son of *Preman*, who was stopping with *Carman* and *Pāśika*, two Ṭhakkuras of that place, might bring these up together with their armed followers.

1830. "In the morning, then, *Preman* on hearing the evil news came up to suppress [the rebellion], hot with pain and scorched by the sun-rays.

1831. "When I left to come before the lord, I saw that on reaching the ground of the main road (*pratolī*) he had to turn back before the enemy's soldiers who had come out [from the castle]."

1832. On hearing this report the king despatched in haste *Lulla*, a councillor from *Lohara*, and *Udaya*, the son of *Ānandavardhana*, who was lord of the Gate.

1822. The shrine referred to is perhaps identical with the temple of *Siṁhasvāmin*, said in vi. 304 to have been erected by Queen Diddā in honour of her father *Siṁharāja*. I have not been able to trace its position at Loh^rin. Perhaps it occupied the site of the present Ziārat of Saiyid Canan Ghāzī, now the chief object of worship of the place. This shrine lies about one mile to the east of the ridge on which the castle of Lohara appears to have stood; see Note *E*, iv. 177, § 15.

1825. I have translated after the conjectural emendation of *yāmacaṇḍālaiḥ* for A L *yāmāc°*; comp. the expression *caṇḍālayāmika*, vi. 77.

1832. This *Udaya* whom K. names everywhere with his title (*dvārapati*, *dvāreśa*, etc.: comp. viii. 1927, 1970, 2281; etc.), must be carefully distinguished from Udaya, the brother of Dhanya and commander-in-chief (*kampanāpati*); regarding the latter see note viii. 1624, also viii. 1840.

Ānandavardhana must clearly be taken here as a patronymic; comp. note viii.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1833. Of these two who knew the country from being born in it, he thought that they would be able to take the castle by watching the scarcity of provisions and other weak points.

1834. When on his return to the City he saw *Bhikṣu's* head carried about by soldiers who were asking for presents, he scolded them and had it burned.

1835. People, chiefly women, burned and bewailed him, the grandson, in the land of his grandfather, and were left unmolested by the king's order.

Expedition for reconquest of *Lohara* (A.D. 1130).

1836. The king despatched *Rilhaṇa* [against Lohara] though he did not rely on success as the season was unfavourable, owing to the fierce heat of the early summer.

1837. From him who was distinguished by courage, devotion to his lord, disinterestedness and other good qualities, the king who was eager to conquer [Lohara], was expecting an effective beginning.

1838-1839. The king, whether misled by destiny or instigated by perfidious councillors, was then following a manifestly wrong plan, inasmuch as he believed, being himself without resources, strongholds or [good] advisers, that his officers could carry out the enterprise in a season of excessive heat against an enemy who was not shaken.

1840. *Udaya*, the commander-in-chief, remained alone with the king, while all the other ministers followed the chamberlain (Lakṣmaka).

1841. His army, which contained Rājaputras, horsemen, Ḍāmaras, and councillors, and was amply provided with all kinds of stores, spread over a great space.

1842. He established his camp at *Aṭṭalikā*, and closing the [routes in] all directions endeavoured by all means to bring the enemies to submission.

1843. *Lulla* and others who stood at *Phullapura*, situated in the vicinity of the castle, made the enemies tremble, distracted as they were by dangers, internal dissensions and encounters.

1844-1845. *S'ūra*, the chief of *Bahusthala*, to whom King *Sussala* had previously given *Padmalekhā*, the daughter of *Loṭhana*, in marriage, after the latter's imprisonment, had arrived to the assistance [of his father-in-law], and his soldiers attacked the opposing troops at every moment.

1846. When the territory had been occupied by those [royal officers],

1830. Or should we have to emend °*vardhanim*?

1836. The disastrous effect which the comparatively hot and feverish climate of the lower Lohrin valley had upon the Kaśmirian troops employed in the subsequent expedition against Lohara, has been discussed in Note *E*, iv. 177, § 10.

1843. Regarding *Phullapura*, which has not yet been identified, see note viii. 1221.

1844. Nothing is known of *Bahusthala*, which is mentioned only here.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

Loṭhana whose mind was wavering in fear, was prepared to submit to the king and to take his punishment.

1847-1849. *Lakṣmaka* urged daily: "So much has been achieved. Since [further] enterprises are useless at this bad season, our return recommends itself and would not cause disgrace. Subsequently, when the season at the commencement of the autumn turns favourable, we shall in fresh strength take up the enterprise and by a full effort carry it to a successful conclusion." This recommendation was not accepted by the king nor by the ministers about him, full of deceit as they were.

Intrigues of *Somapāla* and *Sujji*.

1850. *Udayana*, who was prime minister [at Lohara], called *Somapāla*, too, to the assistance of his lord, offering great riches.

1851. That disreputable [prince] in the greediness of his mind was, notwithstanding the relationship into which he had entered, planning treason against the king who was sinking under great calamities.

1852-1853. *Somapāla* assented, thinking deceitfully to justify himself: "If but *Loṭhana* gives great riches, what regard need I pay to the relationship [with Jayasiṁha]? Else I shall cunningly tell the others that I am on their side." In this deceitful game *Sujji* had his hand to some extent.

1854-1861. For when the latter had been induced by the king, through *Somapāla's* mediation, to renounce his intention of joining *Bhikṣācara*, and was asking from the envoy of the king the previously promised money, insisting on repaying to his creditors what he owed them,—the envoy who had then learned that *Bhikṣācara* was as good as dead, had arrogantly refused to give him anything, saying with contempt: "What use is he to us now that the danger has passed away?" [Sujji] then, after hearing of *Bhikṣācara's* death, recognized that he was not needed by the king. He had passed in grief a single day, when he heard of the danger [caused] by the *Lohara* disaster. Having recovered once more his pride, and being filled with rage, he said to the king's envoy: "I shall secure you peace with *Loṭhana*," while he told *Somapāla*: "I shall induce *Loṭhana* to give you gold." His intention was to turn the strength and weakness of all to his own profit. He therefore proceeded with *Soma[pāla]* to *Ghoramūlaka*, accompanied only by a few [followers] whose departure from the midst of the troops was not noticed.

1853 For *Sujjer vyāje* A L, we have to correct *Sujjir vyāje* or *Sujjer vyājo*.

1854-57. Regarding the previous negotiations between Somapāla and Sujji, see viii. 1668-73.

1861. *Ghoramūlaka*, which is only here mentioned, was probably situated to the north of Rajauri in the direction of the Rattan Pir range. The latter Somapāla and Sujji have to cross subsequently in order to get at the royal force in the lower Lohrin Valley.

The name of the place is preserved for us in all probability under a slightly modified form in the *Nyāyamañjarī* of *Abhinanda*, which has recently been published by Prof Venis in his "Vizianagram Sanskrit Series." Abhinanda, whom Prof. BÜHLER in his article on this author's Kādambarīkathāsāra, *Ind. Ant.*, ii. pp. 102 sqq., has proved to have lived in

1862. Or it may be that he abandoned from a greedy desire for bodily pleasures the honesty he had displayed [in his previous conduct], and thus came to sully his good name by showering on it the dust of impropriety.

1863. He was not able to forsake the tender fat fare of *Kaśmīr* which is easily digested by drinking water whitened by lumps of snow.

1864. He was not able to eat abroad dry barley in husks and similar [food], and was, therefore, trying by whatever means to return to *Kaśmīr*.

1865. The *Kaśmīrians*, not seeing any end to the affair and parched by the heat, became perplexed when hearing of his sudden approach.

1866-1867. Those who were with the chamberlain eating fried meat and drinking delightful light wine, which was scented with flowers and cooled, showed great self-confidence, and boasting in various ways, said: "Soon shall we get hold of *Sujji* in battle and drag him along by his beard."

1868. However much they exerted themselves, they were unable to withstand [Sujji], who was followed by a few *Kaśmīrians*, *Khaśas*, and men from the *Indus* (*Saindhava*).

the first half of the 9th century, mentions incidentally, *Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 274, that by performing a certain sacrifice his grandfather (called Kānta according to *Kādambarīkathāsāra*, Introduction, verse 9), 'secured the village of *Gauramūlaka*.' In this local name, I think, we may safely recognize the *Ghoramūlaka* of our passage.

Abhinanda tells us in the Introduction of the Kādambarīkathāsāra, śl. 5, that his sixth ancestor S'akti had emigrated from Gauḍa (Bengal) and settled in the country of Dārvābhisāra. From this mention, and the circumstance that Abhinanda's great-grandfather S'aktisvāmin is said to have been a minister of Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya of Kaśmīr, Prof. Bühler has already concluded that Abhinanda's family must have been settled in the hill territory lying immediately to the south of Kaśmīr. We have shown in note i. 180 (comp. also viii. 1531), that the geographical term Dārvābhisāra included the territory of Rājapurī. And in the latter the Ghoramūlaka of our own passage was evidently situated.

The phonetic difference between the forms *Gauramūlaka* and *Ghoramūlaka* is easily accounted for. It is *à priori* probable that we have in both forms attempts to sanskritise a Kaśmīrī (or Pahārī?) village name, which in its Apabhraṁśa form may have sounded **Gōramul*, **Gauramul*, or something similar. Kaśmīrī knows no *gh* (see GRIERSON, *J.A.S.B.*, 1897, p. 180), and makes a scarcely perceptible difference between *o* and *au*. Whereas Abhinanda transcribed the name of his grandfather's Agrahāra by *Gauramūlaka*, perhaps with an intentional approximation to his own surname 'the Gauḍa,' Kalhaṇa reproduces three centuries later the local name in a proper and intelligible Sanskritic garb as *Ghoramūlaka*. Compare the double forms *Baleraka* and *Bhaleraka* for the identical local name, vii. 1239 and viii. 2410; also the note on *Godharā-Hodara*, i. 96.

I have not been able to search for this local name on the spot, and am, therefore, unable to indicate the exact position of the place. I must add that my attention was first called to the curious passage of the Nyāyamañjarī by an inquiry which Prof. Venis addressed to me in a letter, dated 25th March, 1895.

1863. K has already referred to the snowy water as a delight of Kaśmīr; see iii. 362.

1864. Barley is eaten in Kaśmīr only by the poorest, and then only on the road or wherever else proper food cannot be prepared; comp. i. 205; vii. 1621. The objection felt by the Kaśmīris to the food of the plains has not diminished, and complaints similar to those of Sujji can often be heard from the modern Kaśmīrī when outside his beloved Valley.

1868. By *Saindhava* might be meant more particularly people from the Salt Range (*Saindhavāraṇya*), to this day a good recruiting ground for brave soldiers. Brahmans from the Salt Range used to take military service until quite recent times.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1869-1870. *Loṭhana*, when pressed for much money [by Somapāla], said "It were better for me to pay tribute to *Jayasiṁha*, my brother's son and the fore most of self-respecting kings." Thus slighted *Somapāla* displayed some leaning towards the king's side.

1871-1872. He (Somapāla) upbraided *Sujji*: "What, while I prepare to help my father-in-law's (Jayasiṁha's) troops who are wholly taken up with fighting the enemy, you, my follower, are looking for a weak point [to attack them]?" He, [however,] doing what suited his own pride, prepared to attack the royal force, not troubling himself about all [others].

Kaśmīr troops retreat from Lohara.

1873. *Lakṣmaka*, then, greatly frightened by the intense cold fevers coming with the month of Āṣāḍha, set out with his army and retreated at night.

1874. Some soldiers who had been despatched to report to their lord that the army was lost, quickly betook themselves eager for slaughter to *Sujji*.

1875. At the same time, when the king's troops set out by one side of the path which was rendered difficult by precipices, their enemies [set out] by the other.

1876-1877. The troops abandoning the route by *S'ārambara*, as it was in the enemy's hands, wished to retire to their own country by a pass called *Kālenaka*, and reached that day without mishap the village called *Vanikāvāsa*, which is on that [route], and with [them went] all kinds of people.

1878. Those who had started behind them, took shelter also in the neighbouring hamlets, and then after eating and drinking passed half the night without suspecting any danger.

1873. Dangerous fevers prevail in the Loh^erin valley about and below Maṇḍi (Aṭṭālikā) from the commencement of the summer rains and during the autumn. When visiting the valley in August, 1892, I found a considerable portion of the inhabitants of Maṇḍi attacked by these seasonal fevers, which are partly due probably to the extensive rice-cultivation. Compare Note *E* on *Lohara* (iv. 177), § 10, and note viii. 1682.

1875-77. In Note *E* (iv. 177), § 10, it has been shown that the route by which the Kaśmir troops tried to effect their retreat, led first for about three miles up the Loh^erin Valley above Maṇḍi-Aṭoli (Aṭṭālikā). The narrow rocky defile between this place and Palēra corresponds exactly to K.'s description. From Palēra a difficult path, shown on the larger Survey map, leads in a south-easterly direction up to an alp called *Kuliyan*, which corresponds to *Kālenaka* of the text.

The last inhabited place on the way up to this alp (which has been entered on the map according to local information), is the hamlet of *Van* (map *Ban*), 74° 28′ long. 33° 46′ lat. In this I recognize our *Vanikāvāsa*. The latter name is evidently made up of an original **Vanikā*, with the addition of the term *āvāsa*, 'habitation.' Below Van the map shows several hamlets spread along the Valley. In these, we may suppose the rear of the Kaśmirians took shelter (viii. 1878), and was surprised by Sujji's night attack.

The '*S'ārambara* route' corresponds to the valley which joins the Loh^erin Valley at Aṭoli from the N. Leading up to the Fīrōzpūr and Zamir passes, this valley would have opened to the Kaśmirians a direct route to their own territory. The name *S'ārambara* survives in that of *Chāmbar*, the largest village in the Valley. In tracing back the modern name to *S'ārambara*, through **S'[a]rámbara* > **S'rámbar* > *Chámbar*, attention must be paid to the phonetic analogies furnished by the names which have been discussed in note i. 100.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1879. *Sujji* marched on quickly, and then by having the drums beaten to announce to the opponents his surprise-attack, caused a panic.

Night attack of *Sujji*.

1880. Thereupon the troops with their helpless leaders fled quickly by various hill-paths while the night yet lasted.

1881. In the morning the ministers were stripped of their fine dresses by the plunderers, just as big rocks [are deprived] by earthquakes of the various liquid minerals [contained in them].

1882. No one drew his sword to protect the troops from being plundered. Every one then saved himself but no one else.

1883. Some who were scaling the rocks in leaps and displaying their crimson underclothing, showed [such] skill in their flight as [if they had been] red-buttocked monkeys.

1884. Some, again, who having lost their clothes displayed their yellowish bodies, appeared in their movement like fragments of blocks of yellow orpiment driven about by the wind.

1885. Some, again, whose bodies were heavy, as they moved on the mountains which were thickly covered with spears, trumpeting when they took breath,—resembled young elephants on hills covered with bamboo-forests.

1886. What need of mentioning names? There was not a single minister there who did not fling away courage and flee like a beast.

1887. The chamberlain was seen from afar by some soldiers of the enemy as he was hurrying to escape in confusion, carried on the shoulders of a servant.

1888. Undressed as he was, the circles of his arm-rings glittered in the sun. On recognizing him they set out to pursue him, running with all their might.

Capture of *Lakṣmaka*.

1889. The servant struck by a stone dropped him, and he himself wounded by a stone was then caught by those who came up in great haste, while he stood motionless.

1890-1892. His body was thin like that of a S'ārikā-bird, pining in grief over its recent captivity, and with his contracted eyes in which tears appeared, he resembled a bat (*valguli?*). He was thinking that as he had robbed *Sujji* of his honour and wealth, the latter would now, that he was his captive, surely inflict upon him other even greater hardships. Thus they carried him on their shoulders with shouts and laughter before *Sujji*, after taking away his cloak and ornaments.

1893. That honourable man (Sujji) covered his face with his dress and saying, "*Bṛhadrāja* ('the great prince') is welcome to us," gave him his own clothes.

1879. It appears necessary to correct *vidviṣadbhyaḥ* for A *vidviṣadbhiḥ*.

1890. The text of this line has a lacuna and is otherwise defective. I now propose to read *valgu-lir* for A *-lyalir* and *vyañjadmiṣaḥ* for *vyañjadviṣaḥ*. For *valguli* compare *P.W.*, s.v. *valguli*; for *viṣa*, 'water,' i.e. tears, see *ib.*, s.v. 1 (b).

1893. From viii. 2217 it is evident that *Bṛhadrāja* was a designation of Lakṣmaka, probably a nickname. Sujji covers his face to hide his mirth.

1894. After having him dressed up and put on a horse he spoke to him kind, conciliatory words and gave him fresh assurance.

1895. He took him then with him, and covered with lustre and surrounded by the *Khaśas* who had looted horses, swords and stores, went before *Somapāla*.

1896. Fortune which moves about unsteadily like the lightning playing on the sky, and which follows the cloud of destiny,—with whom does it ever abide permanently?

1897-1898. He, before whom *Somapāla* and other [princes] had, in order to please him, taken their food without hesitation as [if they had been] his servants, and whose body they had themselves humbly tended with saffron-ointment,—he was now seen by the people during five or six months standing before those in the same fashion.

1899. *Lulla*, too, who showed a dark face enclosed by a greyish-white [beard], like a monkey, was caught in the forest by the enemies, and was dumb with grief.

1900. When *Somapāla* had taken over *Lakṣmaka* whom *Sujji* delivered to him, he thought that he had secured *Kaśmīr*, and turned back to his own country.

1901. The brave *Māñika* and others came to him from the part of *Loṭhana*, and promising great riches asked him to give up the chamberlain.

1902. Which Dāmara birds did then not think that they could reach *Kaśmīr* by keeping under the wing of the chamberlain's advice?

1903. Greedy as he (Somapāla) was, he did not do this, as he hoped to seize the kingdom, which was dependent on the chamberlain, and expected to take much wealth from the king.

1904. The king did not lose his firmness when the ministers reached the City in humiliation, and the chamberlain was lost to him.

1905-1906. Ten thousand of the picked soldiers raised by the king, with which *Bhikṣācara* before had carried on his war for the crown, and with which *Susala* had maintained himself, even when the land had risen in rebellion—then perished attacked by the cold fever.

1907. Day and night there did not cease at that time anywhere in the land, even for a moment, the tumultuous wailing of relatives and funeral music.

1908. That was a time when all business came to a stand-still, owing to the fierce heat of the sun, when the kingdom struck with exhaustion, was as if lost.

1909. At that time the royal gate (court) at *Lohara* enjoyed great splendour, *Kaśmīrians*, too, arriving there from different regions.

1897. Regarding the use of saffron-ointment, compare note vi. 120.

1906. See note viii. 1873.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

Loṭhana's rule at Lohara.

1910. *Loṭhana*, whom an extraordinary royal fortune had reached as accidentally as the fall of [the fruit in the story] of the crow and the date-palm, resembled the god of wealth by his unbounded display.

1911. His nephews, attendants, son and others who had shared his bodily discomforts and his sufferings, enjoyed themselves [now] in common with him.

1912. Though owing to his mature age he did not display activity while he was in power, yet one did not see him squander wealth on unworthy persons, or show a closed fist to worthy ones.

1913. The shade (darkness) is found independently by itself, while the light, owing to its own nature, is accompanied by a hundredfold shadows. Misfortune exists without happiness, while happiness is impaired by being pervaded with endless misfortunes.

1914. One month, more or less, after obtaining such success, *Loṭhana* lost his only son *Dilha*.

1915. Thereupon died *Mallā*, *Loṭhana's* wife, whose heart was rent by the dart of grief when she bewailed in him her only son.

1916. When his most loving wife and his son endowed with the highest qualities had died, he did not see any use whatever in that royal fortune.

1917. It may be due to want of affection, easily found in a king, or to the delusive power of fortune that he ever felt happy again.

1918. The king who knew the times, ransomed, though he was without resources, the old *Lakṣmaka* for thirty-six lakhs.

1919. When he returned, the people covered the road with a shower of flowers thrown in congratulation, and who would have not thought that the king had recovered his luck?

1920. By the strength of his good fortune the record of his defeat was quickly forgotten, and recovering his power, he (Lakṣmaka) was again able [to award] punishments and favours.

Sujji at the Lohara court.

1921. *Sujji*, who had lost through greed of money all his firm attachment [for the king], acted with sincerity as *Loṭhana's* minister.

1922. By giving the daughter of *Bhāgika* in marriage to him (Loṭhana), he removed his distrust as well as the sorrow from which he suffered on account of his first wife's death.

1923. The wise [Sujji] also approached King *Padmaratha* and brought the latter's daughter *Somaladevī* in marriage to him.

1910. For *kākatālīya*, see *Pāṇ.* v. iii. 106.

1918. See regarding the approximate value of this amount, Note *H* on the Kaśmīr monetary system, iv. 495.

1922. Regarding *Bhāgika*, the son (or nephew?) of Sujji, see note viii. 1630.

1923. For *Padmaratha*, lord of Kāliñjara see viii. 915.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1924. By thus securing him a firm footing through high connections he repaid the unlimited authority he had received from him.

1925. Urged on by the new king who was often invited by the Ḍāmaras and others, he planned an invasion of *Kaśmīr*.

1926. In order to baffle his enemy who had got so far and had formed alliances with neighbouring princes, the son of *Sussala* employed a stratagem.

1927. In this enterprise the deep thinking *Udaya*, lord of the Gate, whose honesty was unswerving, earned the praise of discriminating persons.

1928. While stopping there in want of all resources and tempted by the enemy with money, honours and other [offers], he was ever bent on serving his lord.

1929. He stood at a place called *Vanaprastha*, not far from *Lohara*, and unweariedly harassed the enemy's force by continuous attacks.

1930. *Māṇika*, *Indākara*, and the rest were rightly or wrongly afraid of King *Loṭhana* on account of an intention which he (Sujji) was hinting at.

1931. For they feared that the king who had put his trust in *Sujji*, was at the latter's instigation thinking of having them put out of the way as intriguers.

Jayasiṁha's schemes against *Loṭhana*.

1932-1933. The thoughtful King *Jayasiṁha* then sent them word: "We shall, for your benefit, put *Mallārjuna*, King *Sussala's* son, from the Queen *Sahajā*, on the throne at *Lohara*. Therefore you should suddenly overpower *Loṭhana* just as [you overpowered] *Preman*."

1934. This message the king sent in deceit, wishing to possess himself of the castle, and they agreed to it in the same way, without putting trust in him.

1935. When *Loṭhana* learned that *Mallārjuna* had entered into an intrigue, he threw him as well as the other intriguing nephews into prison.

1936. In his apprehension he allowed only *Vigraharāja*, who was a son of *Sussala* from a concubine, to act as his chamberlain.

1937. After making peace with his uncle (Loṭhana) for appearance's sake, the crafty king hastened to employ various stratagems to regain his lost kingdom.

1938. *Loṭhana*, firm on his throne through *Sujji's* exertions, let *S'ūra* depart and remained for some months undisturbed.

1939-1940. When he got news that *Tejalādinā*, the powerful mother of that daughter of *Padmaratha*, which *Sujji* had previously brought [as a bride], had

1929. *Vanaprastha*, not otherwise mentioned, was probably, as its name ('forest-plateau') indicates, some alp in the mountains above Lohara.

1930. *Indākara's* name must be restored here for A L *Indaraka*, with reference to viii. 1813, 2019.

1933. Compare for *abhisaṁdhatta*, note vii. 1255.

1938. Regarding *S'ūra*, chief of *Bahusthala*, comp. viii. 1844 sqq.

1940. It is to be regretted that *Darpitapura* has not yet been identified, as its mention here might have enabled us to form an opinion as to the direction in which Kāliñjara, Padmaratha's territory, is to be looked for. Compare iv. 183.

come to assist at the occasion of the marriage ceremony which had not yet been celebrated,—he proceeded to *Darpitapura* to meet her.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1941. Thereupon *Māṇika* and the rest having got their opportunity left their prison, and meeting together, crowned *Mallārjuna* as king of the [territory subject to the Lohara] castle.

Mallārjuna made king at *Lohara* (A.D. 1131).

1942. Calling, as before, the Ṭhakkuras to their help, they kept off the followers of King [*Jaya*]*siṁha* who had reached the ground of the main road (*pratolī*) in the hope of effecting their entrance [into the castle].

1943. On the thirteenth day of the bright half of Phālguna in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] six (A.D. 1131), *Loṭhana* lost his throne as quickly as he had gained it.

1944. Simple-minded as he was, he regretted in his misfortune that the maid he had not yet wedded, and the wealth he had not yet used up, had got into the enemy's possession.

1945. Moving about helplessly he secured, through *Sujji's* power, some remnants of the treasures from *Aṭṭālikā* and other places.

1946. *Māṇika* treated King [*Jaya*]*siṁha's* followers, whom he had previously called in, with contempt, and put *Mallārjuna* in undisputed possession of the kingdom.

1947. The young king was most extravagant, and had once betel handed round for which pearls had been cut up instead of betel-nuts.

1948. As he showered gold on procurers and the like in his lust after sensual pleasures, sensible people reproached his liberality.

1949. The treasures which King *Sussala* had accumulated by tormenting the subjects were, by this extravagant [prince], put freely to uses which corresponded [to their manner of acquisition].

1950. For he, inflamed with wantonness and of a low mind, drove away honest people and fostered a host of courtezans, strolling players, rogues, parasites, slaves and the like

1951. The wealth which lords of the earth acquire by oppressing the people, must fall a prey of rivals, or of enemies, or else of fire.

Retrospect regarding royal treasures.

1952. The treasures which King *Jayāpīḍa* had amassed by oppressing his subjects, were squandered by *Utpala* and the other sons of a slave-woman who killed his grandson.

1953. *S'aṁkaravarman's* treasures which were obtained by maltreating the people, were freely used up by *Prabhākara* and the other paramours of his wife.

1942. Compare viii. 1881.
1952. Compare iv. 677 sqq.

1953. See v. 230 sqq.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1954. The wives of *Paṅgu* (Nirjitavarman), subdued by love, gave away [their husband's] wickedly acquired riches to *Sugandhāditya*, who enjoyed their embraces.

1955. The great wealth which King *Yaśaskara* had accumulated, was used up by his wife who, compelled by love, had embraced a Caṇḍāla.

1956. The son of *Parvagupta* (Kṣemagupta) left on his death, the riches he had inherited as the acquisitions of former kings, for *Tuṅga* and the rest, his wife's paramours.

1957. *Saṃgrāmarāja*, who was bent incessantly on amassing riches, was plundered by *Vyaḍḍasūha* and others who, bee-like, kissed the lotus-face of *S'rīlekhā*.

1958. The treasures of King *Ananta* who ruined his subjects by his want of care, were reduced to ashes, though they had been swelled [by acquisitions] from the whole world.

1959. King *Kalaśa's* treasures which had been acquired by skill in evil arts, were speedily squandered by his son on unworthy persons, and by his wife on paramours.

1960. The possessions of King *Harṣa*, who never ceased to thirst for acquisitions, were burned together with his palace, wives and sons.

1961. *Candrāpīḍa*, *Uccala*, *Avantivarman*, and other kings who were strict in observing the law, had never their lawfully acquired riches destroyed by improper [uses].

1962. While *Mallārjuna's* fortune was yet young, thieves, intriguers, neighbouring chiefs, courtezans, parasites, and the rest began a plentiful plundering.

Citraratha sent against Lohara.

1963. The king, who felt annoyed at having his aims frustrated, though he had deceived his enemies, then despatched quickly *Citraratha* to make an attack.

1964. Having been raised to the simultaneous charge of the 'Gate' and the Pādāgra offices, he took up his position at *Phullapura*, accompanied by a host of nobles.

1965. His men were unable to overcome in battle the forces of *Mallārjuna*, which were numerous, and had also a support in the stronghold.

1966. His servant, *Saṃvardhana*, who was held in esteem by the king, had gone up to the castle to produce dissension [among the garrison], but was slain at night by *Mallārjuna's* followers.

1954. Compare v. 281 sqq.
1955. Compare vi. 76 sqq.
1956. See vi. 318 sqq.
1957. The account of S'rilekhā's amours, vii. 123 sq., does not mention *Vyaḍḍasūha*.
1958. See vii. 409 sqq.
1959. Compare vii. 508 sqq.

1960. Compare vii. 1571 sqq.
K.'s narrative knows only of two sons of *Harṣa* (Bhoja and Salha), whereas the plural is used in our passage.

1964. *Citraratha* has been mentioned before, viii. 1482, as in charge of the Pādāgra office. Regarding *Phullapura*, see viii. 1221.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

1967. When *Koṣṭheśvara* came up behind, the enemies, though holding a castle which could not be taken by fighting, became frightened.

1968. *Mallārjuna* thereupon made peace, agreed to pay tribute, and despatched his mother to them in order to pay [them] attention.

1969. She, wearing a dress which, though without ornaments on account of her widowhood, yet showed royal splendour, captivated *Koṣṭheśvara* and the other fickle-minded [chiefs].

Mallārjuna pays tribute.

1970. When she had returned from them, *Mallārjuna* felt reassured and delivered to the lord of the Gate (Citraratha) the promised tribute.

1971. *Koṣṭhaka* attracted by the pleasure of looking at the king's mother, came up with a few attendants to the castle under the pretence of wishing to see it.

1972. Then when he had descended, *Citraratha* in his company went before the king, carrying the presents.

1973. The king, however, took counsel with *Udaya*, the lord of the Gate, who was skilled in looking after gain (?), and employed fresh stratagems to defeat his enemies.

1974. When *Loṭhana*, too, had gone to *Padmaratha*, the young king (Mallārjuna), freed from attacks, found room to stretch his legs to some extent.

1975. After wedding *Padmaratha's* daughter *Somalā*, he married, owing to his extended influence, also the daughter of *Nāgapāla*.

1976. Deluded by his pride, he paid to *Somapāla* and other princes who were secretly intriguing [against him], subsidies as if they were his servants.

1977. Many rogues and [among them] also men of royal descent, plundered him by performing [before him] as poets, singers, talkers, fighters, and strolling players.

1978. He, whose intellect was defectively developed since his youth, and who shouted a great deal, was thought by blockheads to have a clever mind merely on account of his boldness in talking.

1979. His appearance was pleasant, but apart from his face, which was shining like that of an evil-bringing comet, he had nothing that was good.

1980. In the meantime, the king approached the valiant *Sujji*, fearing that *Mallārjuna*, too, might get his support.

1981. The chamberlain who had the power to exile and to recall *Sujji*,

1968. For Mallārjuna's mother *Sahajā*, see viii. 1932.

1969. See for *Koṣṭheśvara's* gallant propensities, viii. 1527, 1537.

1972. For A *saṁbhūta°* emend with Durgapr. *saṁbhṛta°*.

1973. The meaning of *ākṛtiśālinā* is doubtful, and the first part of the word, perhaps, an error for *ādṛti°*.

1975. Regarding *Somalā*, see viii. 1923, 1939; for *Nāgapāla*, Somapāla's brother, viii. 619.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

displayed particularly on that occasion a peculiar energy, which had an instant effect.

Sujji recalled.

1982-1984. He had offered to *Sujji*, by the king's direction, the garland of office (*adhikārasraj*) for the commander-in-chiefship and the other [high posts], excepting, however, the garland for the post of chief-justice (*rājasthāna*), without thus satisfying him (Sujji). He (Lakṣmaka), then, yielding from regard for *Somapāla*, who had come to his house, tore off with his left hand in excitement his own hair-braid (*jūṭasraj*) and offered it. On receiving this, he (Sujji) felt gratified, and his looks became tender as if the tree of his fortune had been raised.

1985. *Rilhaṇa* showed no opposition to the return of *Sujji*, and abandoned, for the king's benefit, his friendship for *Udaya* and *Dhanya*.

1986. The king recalled *Sujji* and honoured him by going to meet him. Upon his advice he exiled *Dhanya* and the others [of his party] from the land, yet not from his mind.

1987. The king having found his opportunity prepared to have the guilty *Koṣṭheśvara* killed by bravos, and the latter on hearing this news fled from his presence.

1988. When the king having won over *Manujeśvara*, proceeded to the attack, he (Koṣṭheśvara), being rendered helpless by the defection of his own party, fled abroad.

Loṭhana's enterprises.

1989. *Loṭhana* who had resided at a place called *Bappanīla*, secured the help of some Ṭhakkuras and attacked *Mallārjuna*.

1990. Therein was seen indeed his incredible valour, that overthrown he yet always defeated him (Mallārjuna) who was in power.

1991. He carried off his horses, plundered the market of *Aṭṭālikā*, and . . . . destroyed everywhere the watch-stations on the roads (*mārgadraṅga*) and other [fortified places].

1982-84 The obscure language of this passage offers some difficulty, and the translation of the last line, as given above, is only conjectural. As I understand the passage, Lakṣmaka, who is conducting the negotiations with Sujji in Somapāla's presence, offers to reinstate Sujji in all his former posts, except the Rājasthāna. In order to overcome Sujji's resistance to this arrangement, Lakṣmaka tears out his hair-braid and offers it as a kind of substitute for the withheld 'garland of office.' By this drastic display of his personal desire to bring every sacrifice, he moves the heart of Sujji, who then expresses himself satisfied.

In order to construe verse 1984, the emendation of *āpyāyam* for A L *āpyāya°* seems necessary.

Regarding the 'garland of office,' see note vii. 1363.

1985. Read *praveśe'prati°* for *praveśe prati°*.

1989. *Bappanīla* is mentioned only here and viii. 1993. The position of the locality is unknown. The second part of the name recalls *Nīlapura* (see vii. 253), and the first the *Babbāpura* (?) discussed in note vii. 588.

1991. In Note *E* on Lohara (iv. 177), § 9, it has been shown that 'the market of Aṭṭālikā' (text here *Aṭṭilikāpaṇa*) corresponds to the present *Maṇḍi*, 'the market,' close to

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1992. Invited by a Ḍāmara of the name of *Rājarāja*, he then broke into *Kramarājya*, with a view to gaining the Kaśmīr throne.

1993. When that *Lavanya*, who was close by, had been executed by *Citraratha*, who had received news of this, he retired again to the territory of *Bappanīla*.

1994. While he was repeatedly making his attacks, *Mallārjuna*, who resided in the castle [of Lohara], was unable to descend even to *Aṭṭālikā*.

1995. *Koṣṭheśvara*, who was preparing for an expedition [against Jayasiṁha], arranged for a peace [between Loṭhana and Mallārjuna] by getting the nephew to deliver a great amount of money to his uncle.

Loṭhana breaks into Kaśmīr.

1996. After having secured a firm foothold at *Lohara*, he then in company with *Loṭhana* broke into *Kaśmīr* territory eager to fight the king.

1997-1998. Crossing the mountains he took up a position at the *Kārkoṭa-draṅga* without having met with opposition on the way. He had not yet effected his junction with the other Ḍāmaras, when the king marched out in haste and using his full energy overpowered him at the very beginning.

1999. In the meantime, the chamberlain died by a sudden attack of illness. Men of small merits do not live long in their fortune.

2000. Alas, those whose minds are spoilt by luck, do not know that fate, irresistible in its course, will overtake them quickly, though they stop in their houses with all doors closed, hoping to keep it off and taking no notice of it.

2001. His wife, while continually clearing the house of people, did not know that death had fallen upon him while he was peacefully sleeping.

2002. They thought that, after having been attacked by fever, and having shaken it off, he was sleeping in comfort, and did not then know that he had died just while asleep.

Troubles at Lohara.

2003. When *Koṣṭhaka* then, together with *Loṭhana*, had departed, neither *Mallārjuna* nor *Koṣṭhaka* nor *Loṭhana* was king [at Lohara].

2004. *Mallārjuna* treacherously killed *Udayana* who was with him. [Thereupon] *Koṣṭhaka*, whom he had named as surety [for Udayana's safety], became irritated against him.

Aṭāli. This little town is still the commercial centre of the Lohārin and neighbouring valleys; comp. note viii. 581.

For the significance of the term *draṅga*, comp. notes iii. 227 (*D*); v. 39; and *Notes on the Pīr Pantsāl Route*, pp. 382 sq.

The lacuna of two syllables in this line does not affect the sense.

1994. Aṭāli (which name is written here as *Aṭṭalikā* in A) is only about eight miles below the probable site of *Loharakoṭṭa*.

1997. For *Kārkoṭadraṅga*, the frontier watch-station on the Toṣ'maidān route, see note viii. 1046.

2003. K. seems to refer here to the subsequent troubles at Lohara, related in the next lines, during which nobody held full royal power there, until the territory fell again to Jayasiṁha.

2004. *Udayana*, last mentioned viii. 1850, seems to have kept by Loṭhana's side.

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2005. He (Mallārjuna) did not conciliate the angry [Koṣṭhaka], whereupon the latter collected his force and taking *Loṭhana* with him, rushed on in fury to wage war upon him.

Defeat of *Mallārjuna* on the *Paroṣṇī*.

2006. *Koṣṭhaka*, though accompanied only by a few mounted men, among them *Mallakoṣṭha*, routed his inactive force after crossing the *Paroṣṇī*.

2007. *Khaśas*, men from the *Indus* (*Saindhavaka*), and others were slain in that battle, and King [Mallārjuna], himself, came near to annihilation, but was left alive from hatred against King *Jayasiṁha*.

2008. He ascended to the height of the castle, having fallen [himself] from the height of honour, and being curbed in his power conciliated *Koṣṭhaka* once more.

2009. The Ḍāmara (Koṣṭheśvara) abandoning *Loṭhana* kept peace [for some time], but fell again out with him (Mallārjuna), when he did not pay what he had promised.

2010. Imprisoning the officials he (Koṣṭheśvara) collected the customs at the watch-station (*draṅga*), and had his own name stamped in red-lead on the wares as if he were the king.

2011. At every moment the union between them broke, just as between two pieces of a glass jar which have been glued together with gum.

2012. The lord of *Lohara* estranged the *Lavanya* (Koṣṭheśvara) by his harsh words which had no issue, and he, again, the former by his unchecked rivalry.

2013. The Ḍāmara thereupon made an attack and weakened his force by carrying off the best weapons and most valuable horses.

2014. Thus the foolish *Koṣṭhaka*, by persistently making his strength felt in the wrong direction, ... undermined the fortune of [Jayasiṁha's] opponents for the future.

2006. The *Paroṣṇī* is evidently some river to the south of Lohara. Could it be the stream flowing from Lohᵃrin itself, or another name of the *Tohi* of Prūnts, called *Tauṣi* vii. 53? Tauṣi is probably only a generic appellation for any perennial mountain stream.

Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 8, who has rightly pointed this out, observes: "Most, if not all. *Tohis* have special names which, however, are little used" Thus, in fact, we find *Palasta* marked on the Survey map as another designation of the Prūnts Tohi.

The Nīlamata, 155, 1398, twice mentions a river *Paroṣṇī*—in the second place in a list of rivers which join the Vitastā outside the Kaśmīr Valley. But no further indications are furnished by these passages.

Mallakoṣṭha is the Ḍāmara chief of Lahara, first mentioned viii. 517.

2007. Regarding the *Saindhavakas*, see note viii. 1868.

2010. This passage is of interest, as it proves that the watch-stations or *Draṅgas* served also, as might *à priori* be supposed, as custom-stations in old times. In accordance herewith, we find customs-revenue from Draṅgas mentioned in the Fourth Chronicle, 258, and the Draṅga of S'ūrapura (Hurᵃpōr) spoken of as a *śulkasthāna* by S'rivara, i. 408. Compare the notes on *draṅga*, iii. 227 (*D*); v. 39; and *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 382 sq.

It is still customary in Jammu territory, and probably elsewhere too in India, to mark goods for which octroi-duty has been paid, with seal-impressions in red-lead (*sindūra*).

2013-14. The text of these lines contains two small lacunæ, but the general purport is clear.

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2015. In the meanwhile, that prince (Mallārjuna) was planning the murder of *Māṇika*, who was his chief minister, and by the daughter he had given him, his father-in-law.

2016. For he (Māṇika) was of a restless disposition owing to his youthful vigour, and openly enjoyed the favours of his (Mallārjuna's) mother as her paramour.

2017. It was at meal-time that the murderers, upon a sign given by the king, struck down and killed him just as he was eating.

2018. Shaking his sword (? *asipaṭa*), donning the hero's band (*vīrapaṭṭa*), and shouting a great deal, he performed various heroic exploits (*ārabhaṭi*) while plundering his (Māṇika's) soldiers.

2019. Ah, *Indākara*, too, did not escape from among [those who were concerned in] the treason. That prince, himself, destroyed him by giving him poison.

2020. King [*Jaya*]*siṁha* then, when his enemies had been scattered by fate, got *Koṣṭhaka* over to his side and sent *Sujji* to effect the conquest [of Lohara].

2021-2023. When the latter had approached within a march of one watch (three hours), *Mallārjuna* whom *Koṣṭhaka* had thrown into confusion by carrying off his horses, and who was harassed by internal dissensions, abandoned the castle, not being able to offer resistance, and marched off with the treasures towards *Avanāha*. Fallen from his regal position he was plundered on the routes by robbers, yet preserved with difficulty a remnant of his treasures.

Mallārjuna dethroned, *Lohara* retaken (A.D. 1132).

2024. Being in his eighteenth year, he lost his throne on the second day of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] eight (A.D. 1132).

2025. He who was giving the Amṛta to him who carries the moon as his crest-ornament (S'iva), ... and had his head cut off in the fight. If this was done by S'iva, then who else would not listen to calumniators of his benefactor?

2026. That the drops of water clinging to the lotus-flowers are taken for pearls, and dulness sticking to kings is somehow taken for judgment, therein manifests itself the peculiar delusive power of the glory which adheres to [the lotus-flowers and kings].

2027. Some kill with mighty strokes in the forests, some by their nose, others

2015. Correct for *mantriṇām* with Durgāpr. *mantriṇām*.

2018 For *ārabhaṭi* compare *Harṣac.* pp. 55, 67.

2019. Compare viii. 1818.

2023. For *Avanāha*, see note vii. 1349.

2025. The meaning of this verse is rendered obscure by the lacuna indicated above. The allusion is to the demon Rāhu, who had his head cut off by S'iva after partaking of the Amṛta; comp. *Mahābh.* I. xix. 1 sqq. But I am unable to trace the story as to the previous connection between the demon and S'iva.

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by their eyes, and others again by their tongue. But there are also some mischievous people in royal palaces who cause disaster by their mere speech.

2028. The wicked cannot harm the servant of the king as long as he is before the latter, just as the sun-rays [cannot burn] the tinder which is placed before the crystal (? *jyotīrasāśman*). But when he is behind, they find their opportunity [and destroy him], just as the sun-rays reduce to ashes [the tinder behind the crystal].

Intrigues against *Sujji*.

2029-2031. While the commander-in-chief (Sujji), having brought *Harṣaṭa*, *Kapila's* son, as governor to [*Lohara*]*koṭṭa*, was collecting a garrison for the castle, and delaying there some days for the purpose of again securing for that territory peace with prosperity,—some rogues who bore him a grudge, irritated the king against him by denouncing him at a moment [when the king was] in a favourable mood.

2032. What other king would act firmly on his own judgment, if this [king], too, is made to dance like a child, [pulled about] by rogues?

2033. Or is it, perhaps, that the dulness imparted in early youth by an entourage chiefly composed of fools does not pass away even in mature age, just as the flaw [does not pass away] from the precious stone?

2034. By the rulers' mere inability to discriminate between their servants, there falls, alas, a thunderbolt on the innocent land.

2035. The king's advisers had got *Sujji* sent to the conquest of *Lohara* in the hope that by failing to carry out the enterprise he had undertaken, he would become ridiculous like *Lakṣmaka*.

2036. Then, when he executed that extraordinary task, those wicked [advisers] struck at him with skilful calumny which is as unfailing as the missile of Brahman.

2037. The commander-in-chief on his return did not recognize the king's irritation, as the latter hid his changed feelings profoundly under kind speeches.

2038. Or how could he (Sujji) have felt apprehension or distrust in his natural honesty and after he had done such good service?

2039. The king found no pleasure in his actions, right though they were, like a lover who has become estranged through the wanton talk of malicious persons.

2040. From the self-conscious thought that he had conquered and given back to the king two lost kingdoms, as well as from pride he (Sujji) proceeded just as it pleased him.

2041. His relations who were freely oppressing the citizens by taking away their houses and otherwise causing them trouble, created aversion [against him] among the people.

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2042. *Koṣṭheśvara* in recollection of his own evil deeds did not trust the king nor his uncle (Manujeśvara) who, when the king was angry against him, had shown a hostile feeling.

2043. *Citraratha*, who was accumulating wealth by oppressing the subjects, and who had entered into [marriage] relationship with *Sujji*, was not in favour with his lord.

2044. The king secretly helped *Dhanya* and *Udaya* who were stopping at *Rājapurī*, with money, though he did not show his affection for them from regard for *Sujji*.

2045. These two, having lost their followers through the cold fever, were hanging on to *Mallārjuna* who retained great riches though he had lost his throne.

2046. At that time there arrived at *Rājapurī Sañjapāla*, whom *Lakṣmaka*, from hatred against *Sujji*, had previously called [back] through messengers.

2047. As the king, who was prevented by *Sujji* and *Citraratha* from acting [as Lakṣmaka had desired], did not grant him permission to return, *Mallārjuna* invited him through messengers.

2048. Having got, on this account, into a quarrel with some noble on the road, he was wounded and lost his property.

2049. Persons of judgment thought much of the fact that *Mallārjuna* could not lay hold of him, though he offered him much gold, and though he (Sañjapāla) was in such [reduced] circumstances.

Sañjapāla's return to Kaśmīr.

2050. The king dependent as he was [on others], and *Bilhaṇa* then invited him with kindness through secret messengers. and he arrived in haste.

2051. He came boldly to the City, thinking [ever] on the road which was infested by enemies: "If they do not kill me here, they may kill me there."

2052-2053. He whom the kings of *Kanyakubja*, *Gauḍa*, and other countries had honoured in rivalry, felt pained when in his own land he received no attention from the king, owing to the ministers preventing it, and the citizens near the palace looked at him with tears in their eyes.

2054. The king then, without heeding the ministers, gave him an audience and honoured him by offering him betel with his own hand.

2055. Though he had no means whatever, he was followed by people from mere regard for his fame, and by his frequent visits to the royal palace he made his enemies tremble.

2056. *Sujji*, who was a judge of men, trembled inwardly, when he noticed the

2042. Compare viii. 1988, and regarding the relationship between Manujeśvara and Koṣṭheśvara, note viii. 1524.

2045. In support of the emended reading *cārāleyatāḥ*, comp. the use of *ava-√lag*, v. 421; vii. 1232.

2046. Compare viii. 1639

2053. Emend with Durgāpr. °*antike*.

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conversation, behaviour, and the other [ways] of him whose appearance was [already] remarkable.

2057. He thought: "Surely, such an extraordinary, uncanny being, who is capable of dealing out universal ruin without limits, will not end thus in this country."

2058. He had seen in foreign lands various proud men of valour, but looking at him (Sañjapāla) he thought that the end had come for the proud ones.

2059. Overcome by destiny or his pride *Sujji* then committed various actions which deserved censure.

2060. When stopping in *Maḍavarājya* he killed a Brahman, who having been plundered by his followers had spoken harsh words in anger, by hitting him with darts as [*if he were*] a jackal.

2061. When, after agitating the minds of the people outside by this wicked action, he returned, the people in the City, too, became hostile to him on account of his acts of violence.

2062. About this time *Kamaliya* and the rest got in their arrogance the highest privileges bestowed upon a quite unimportant relation of theirs.

Discontent of Sujji.

2063. *Sujji* thought in his pride: "What, is there to be anyone else besides myself to bestow favours?" and had a person, not much better than a strolling player, placed on the same footing.

2064. *Rilhaṇa*, too, who had established matrimonial connections with *Kamaliya* and the rest, then became particularly a thorn in his eye on account of his power.

2065. The enmity which had arisen between them and him from a small cause, quickly grew into a tree of a hundred branches nursed by the slander of rogues.

2066. *Ulhaṇa*, *Sahadeva's* son, gave him who was arrogant by nature, bad counsels which increased his arrogance, and thus urged him on to give himself up wholly to this strife.

2067. He showed his wrath freely also against the king, thinking: "This ungrateful [*prince*] allows inferiors to conduct themselves as my equals."

2068. The king, on the other hand, being afraid of him, excluded *Rilhaṇa* from [private] councils, familiar conversations, and other confidential occasions as if he had been one of the outer court (*bāhya*).

2069. He (Rilhaṇa), however, cunningly hid such slights from his lord, and by his deception put courage into his own people and fear into his enemies.

2062. For *Kamaliya*, see viii. 1091.

2066. Regarding *Sahadeva*, see viii. 198.

2068. Comp. for *bāhya*, note viii. 426.

2070. By presents he secured the friendship of *Sañjapāla*, who was a man full of energy, and whose adherence was sought by both parties.

2071. The palace to which they both proceeded fully armed, became agitated at every moment by disturbances.

2072. *Sujji*, in order to insult those of the opposite party, together with the king, caused in his pugnacious mood a disturbance in the assembly [held in celebration] of the Mahīmāna festival.

2073. When the door-keeper announced him (Sujji) with his hand placed on his neck, he abused him, and saying harsh words in his rage struck him with a stone.

2074-2075. While those [of the opposite party] were all motionless and thinking how they might protect their lord, the king directed them to assign a seat to him [close to himself], and after speaking to him conciliatory words, said to them, whether from deceit or in earnest: "There is nothing for me [to fear] from this faithful man." Inwardly, however, he reflected [over the case].

2076. The Brahmans of *Maḍavarājya* then began a solemn fast (*prāya*), and declared that they would not have *Sujji* as commander-in-chief.

2077. *Rilhaṇa*, skilled in expedients, in order to intimidate the enemy, brought up at night *Pañcacandra* who had troops ready equipped, and who was his (Sujji's) enemy.

2078. *Sujji* was afraid of *Sañjapāla* and of that [Ḍāmara] who had a large number of soldiers; of the rest he took no heed, and this was known to his opponent (Rilhaṇa).

2079. He (Sujji) fearing an attack left his residence accompanied by horsemen, and after putting his troops in fighting array, passed the night on the road without, however, being attacked.

2080. *Sujji* at that time made friendship and allied himself with *Koṣṭheśvara*, who was also in opposition to the king.

2081. The latter, who had been hated by the king [before], became for him an object of still greater hatred, on account of his killing *Manujeśvara* who had refrained from opposing [the king].

2072. The *mahimāna* festival, still observed in Kaśmīr is described in the *Nīlamata*, vv. 523-533. According to this text, a fast is to be held on the eighth day of the bright half of Phālguna and lamps to be placed on the snow in honour of the gods and Pitṛs. On the next day people are to feast, wine to be drunk by those who take it, Brahmans to be fed, etc.

At present only the custom of placing lights on the snow and the fast is observed on Phālguna *śudi* 8.

Another festival, called the 'small Mahimāna,' is placed by the *Nīlamata*, vv. 506-513, on the eighth day of the bright half of Māgha. This festival is now entirely forgotten.

2073. Compare vii. 236 sqq.

2081. See regarding *Manujeśvara's* conduct, viii. 1988; as to *Koṣṭheśvara*, comp. viii. 1640, 2042.

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Intrigues against *Sujji*.

2082. Those measures which he (Sujji) had taken that night, his enemies attributed to a treacherous design against the king, whereas they were intended for his own protection.

2083. That king who with dull senses mistakes a falsehood for the truth and truth for a falsehood, foregoes his aims and is put to sufferings by misfortune.

2084. Persons without judgment abandon a glittering jewel because they take it for fire, and think that the glance of brown-eyed [maids] which is directed towards another, is [intended] for themselves. Why should they not then thus take everything here that is true for false, and that is false for true?

2085. The king thereupon seeing no other remedy for the troubles but his (Sujji's) death, destined *Sañjapāla* to be the murderer (*tīkṣṇa*) of that powerful man.

2086. He (Sañjapāla) being a man of courage and unable to kill him by treachery, like a miscreant, wished to kill him after attacking him [openly], and was looking out for an opportunity at various places.

2087. While the two were plotting deceitfully against each other, the country was disturbed every moment by panics.

2088. While *Sujji* kept awake as before, fearing an attempt at night, the royal palace, too, became filled with guards keeping attentive watch.

2089. When *Sujji* demanded the exile of *Rilhaṇa*, the king, too, agreed, being unable to offer resistance.

2090. When he was about to depart after taking leave, the lord of the Gate (Udaya) pointed out to the king that the people were in commotion on account of the hardships [done] to him, and thus by cunning got him reinstated.

Overtures of *Sujji*.

2091. *Sañjapāla* took an oath by sacred libation with *Sujji*, who had asked him for his friendship, and after consulting with him came at night to the king and thus informed the latter.

2092. "O king, owing to the instigation of *Ulhaṇa* and others, as well as from his own pride, *Sujji*, who is bent on having no rivals, has the following intentions:"

2093-2094. "'If the king were of my opinion, who am his faithful servant and helper, I should, after exiling *Rilhaṇa* and imprisoning the rich *Citraratha*, recover for the king the horses and treasure which have been lost at the *Lohara* expedition, and furnished with the [necessary] means also kill the wicked *Koṣṭhaka*.'"

2095. "'I do not pay attention to family-relations if affairs [of state] are in

2082. For *tathā sthite*, which does not permit of a suitable construction, we have probably to read *tathāsthitaṁ*.

2095. K. makes Sujji allude to his relationship with Loṭhana, to whom he has given the daughter of his son (or nephew) Bhāgika; see viii. 1922.

their way. My attachment is to my lord, in whose service [I count] my life as grass.' "

2096. " 'While I thus take upon myself the task of overcoming the rival kings and other [enemies], the youthful [king] may enjoy the pleasures of the royal fortune with his mind at ease.' "

2097. "He (Sujji), in order [to assure himself] assistance, desires to ask from the sovereign that *Ulhaṇa* be made lord of the Gate, and that I be put in charge of the various offices of *Rilhaṇa*."

2098. "He (Sujji) also says to me: 'If *Ulhaṇa*, you and I myself combine and are of one mind, then is there any necessity to take into account him who is on the throne?' "

2099. " 'If he (Jayasiṁha) should not agree to this, we being on the spot may call in some other rival kinsman and put him up as king in his place.' "

2100. The king replied after heaving a sigh, and as he spoke the flashes of his teeth (*dvija*) appeared like ropes stretched out to catch [something whose] escape might be feared.

2101. "It is thus as he (Sujji) has said it; no deceit, no incapacity, no apathy, can be supposed in that proud man."

2102. "The intention is to destroy him. Hence it need not be considered at the present moment how difficult it would be to break his undisputed predominance."

2103. "That, however, afflicts me that the murder of this guileless man which has been resolved upon whether under the first impulse of a touch of anger or with justice, must be carried out."

2104. "For we have discussed this plan before persons of little character. He would certainly find it out by bribing them with money."

2105. "Worthless persons find employ [with us] though we know them [as such], whether this be on account of their irrepressible merits [from a previous existence] or owing to the dulness of persons like myself."

2106. "That is the penalty paid by kings for their error in taking fools into their service, that they have to suffer from the result of the latter's foolishness."

2107. "For parasites the ways of kings are as difficult to follow, as for bazar-bulls the mountain-paths (*bhūmibhṛnmārga*) . . . ."

2096. Emend for *madhyetha* of text *mayyatha*; [illegible] and [illegible] are very much alike in S'āradā writing. Read *yuvā viśrānta*°.

2100. K. by this somewhat obscure simile wishes apparently to describe the cautious reserve with which the king indicates his intentions to Sañjapāla.

2107. The second half of this line is missing. The allusion is to bulls set free in honour of S'iva (*vṛṣotsarga*), which stray about in the Bazars of Indian cities. Their idle life and ample food makes them generally grow extremely fat, and climbing on hill-paths would, indeed, tax them severely. (Fat

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2108. "Rogues and dogs show an aversion to proper conduct, are anxious never to let their tongues rest and live by the food of others."

2109. "This evil act which has been planned owing to the infliction of rogues, and which again cannot be abandoned from fear of them, will yet be regretted by us thereafter."

Plot for *Sujji's* death.

2110. Thus spoke the king, and resolved upon the death of *Sujji*, caused him often to keep awake, and himself passed sleepless nights.

2111. The servants told the king that *Sujji* was on the guard owing to the plan having been betrayed, and was preparing to kill him. The king believed them and felt alarmed.

2112. He then went himself to their houses and tried to put *Sujji* into friendly relations with *Rilhaṇa*, by telling them to form a matrimonial alliance.

2113. When also after thus allaying his suspicions he could not find an opportunity to kill him, he felt distressed, and was tossing day and night on his couch in helplessness.

2114. When *Sañjapāla* did not come from his house as he was mourning over the loss of a relative, he was still more troubled by fear that the violent act would not succeed.

2115-2116. *Kularāja*, an officer in the army, who was famed for his skill in military exercises, and whose brothers, *Kalyāṇarāja*, and the rest, falling on the battle-field, had forgotten [to repay] the kindness of King *Sussala*, wished to repay his debt of gratitude at [the risk of] his life, and asked him for the cause of his grief.

2117. He told him of the irremediable danger from the commander-in-chief, who could neither be conciliated nor killed.

2118. "What is this, [a thing] to be accomplished at the mere [sacrifice of] one's life?" Thus he replied to the king, and took the firm resolve to carry out the bold act.

2119. The commander-in-chief did not come out of his apartments for two days, and thus did not let him (Kularāja) have the certainty of death or fortune.

2120. On the third day *S'ṛngāra*, a confidential servant of the king, reported to the latter that he had seen him alone on his couch.

2121. A king in the enjoyment of happiness has ever got servants. But a service in danger can be got only from an outsider.

people are facetiously called *dharma-dānd* in Kasmir.)

bhūmibhṛt must be taken in its double meaning of 'king' and 'mountain.'

2115. See for *Kalyāṇarāja*, viii. 1071. For *Kularāja's* subsequent career, comp. viii. 2190, 3334 sqq.

2118. Correct *mahībhujaṁ* for *mahībhujāṁ*.

2120. For the meaning of *avagaṇa*, compare viii. 2126 and *Harṣac.*, p. 20.

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2122. The club is ever attached to the hand of Kāma's foe (S'iva) as a mark of beauty. But in the fight with Tripura, the Mandara mountain which had come just on that occasion, had to act as his bow.

Kularāja sent to kill Sujji.

2123. The king then despatched *Kularāja*, whose natural courage did not allow any agitation to be noticed in him, under the pretence of sending betel [through him].

2124. He did not take any betel in the golden dish, saying: "Death is certain. I am not to return. Then who will take it from this [dish]?"

2125. Other followers, too, endeavour thus to relieve their king's distress at the expense of their life; but they fail in the execution.

2126. "Whether he be in company or alone, he must for certain be killed by me. May your Majesty keep awake thereafter." With these words he left.

2127. One might have thought when he had gone, that flight was possible for him if he did not succeed in his bold enterprise . . . .

2128. Going to serve his lord he took behind him two soldiers with their swords hidden (?) . . . .

2129. After the doorkeeper had announced that he had been sent by the king himself with betel, he proceeded before *Sujji*, while those who followed him had to remain behind.

2130. He saw him surrounded by a few attendants of various sorts, as a lord of elephants is attended by small elephants.

2131. After he (Sujji) had taken and respectfully acknowledged the betel from his lord, he inquired with a smile what the king did, and the like, and then after a short time dismissed him in kindness.

2132-2133. Fearing that [more] people might enter, he (Kularāja) said quickly, pretending to use a natural opportunity. "A soldier of the Kaivarta (fishermen's) caste, who is under me, has committed a fault. Now you may show regard for us by ordering off your subordinates who are preparing to seize him."

2134. From conceit he refused this request as if [there had been] presumption in it, and said to him rudely: "I shall not do that."

2135. As he (Kularāja) was going away as if in anger, the attendants [of Sujji] said to the latter in a soothing way: "That man ought to be treated with esteem," and stopping him made him turn back.

2124. The last words put into Kularāja's mouth are doubtful, and the text uncertain.

2127. The second half of this line is missing, and the translation of the first hence doubtful.

2128. I am unable to make out the meaning of the last words of the line which are probably corrupt. For *punaḥ* we have evidently to emend *puraḥ*.

2132-33. Kularāja's request appears natural, as Sujji as commander-in-chief has disciplinary power over the soldier whose cause Kularāja pretends to plead.

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2136. He then said: "Order my two servants who are present, to be admitted inside so that they may give an account of that matter."

2137. He (Sujji) then unwillingly had them admitted, and when the murderer saw that he had got his assistants [by his side], he prepared to strike him.

2138. *Sujji* said to them: "Go to-day. To-morrow I shall attend to your affair." Turning his back he then let himself down on a couch to sleep.

Murder of *Sujji* (A.D. 1133).

2139. After going a few steps [towards the door] *Kularāja* turned back, drew out his dagger in haste and struck him quickly on the left side.

2140. While he was passing his hand to the dagger, with the cry: "Fie, treason," they all struck at him.

2141. The onlookers had not yet comprehended that he was in danger, when he was dead already, as it were, for a long time.

2142. Among the followers [of Sujji] who from fear cast away their honour and took to flight, only the single *Piñcadeva* drew out his sword then.

2143. He rushed about striking, and being wounded by the three who equally gave back his strokes, and streaming with blood was forced out of that hall.

2144. While they kept inside the hall, which they bolted, they were surrounded by *Sujji's* servants who blocked the doors and windows, and were eager to slay them.

2145. Resisting at the windows (?) they drew away the cotton-couch from below the corpse, and raising the latter, put it into the door which their assailants were battering.

2146. The latter were pouring in showers of swords, arrows, spears, axes, daggers and stones, and by endeavouring to enter from various sides were throwing them into confusion.

2147. When hard pressed they then cut off the head of *Sujji*, and threw it into the courtyard behind their assailants in order to dishearten them.

2148-2152. When his followers saw the head they ran away anywhere, raising tumultuous cries. Its eye-holes and ears were intensely brilliant with the flowing blood; the depressed nostrils were covered with the hair of the upper lip, the pupils of the eyes were protruding, and owing to the reflection of the rushing people seemed to exhibit some slight movement; the flesh of the neck was rough owing to the uneven cutting, and in its folds were masses of coagulated fat which seemed as if moistened with turmeric; the hair of the beard was covered with dust. The saffron-drop on the forehead alone showed that it was really [the head of Sujji], and owing to its having fallen sideways, the teeth showed breaks in their compact.

2142. For *Piñcadeva*, see viii. 1577 sqq

2145. The words *tamoripratikurvāṇā* at the commencement evidently contain some corruption.

2153. The king, who after despatching the murderers had been in great mental anxiety, knew that the desperate act had been done when he saw outside the commotion of the people.

2154. Thinking this measure necessary, whether *Sujji* was dead or wounded, he quickly got the troops in readiness and ordered them to surround his house.

2155. When the king heard from the people the false report, that *Sujji* had escaped, he himself caught the excitement of a contest.

2156. The king's men when learning for certain that *Sujji* was killed, made a prisoner of *S'ivaratha* who was hated by everybody, and was stopping there.

2157. This, my song, earns merit to-day by describing the distinguished conduct of *Kalaśa*, the son of *Hilla*, who was the brother-in-law of *Sujji's* brother.

2158. *Bhikṣu* and the rest behaved like heroes at their end, when attacked. He, however, clung to a noble conduct though in safety.

2159. For he, after hearing in the royal palace of that event, did not run away, but proceeded to the slain master eager to leave his life there.

2160. As he was banging the door with kicks, he was driven away by the murderous soldiers of the king, and only just saved from a miserable end.

2161. When he without having been wholly discomfited retired to another hall, *Kularāja* and the others breathed again and proceeded before the king.

2162. After forcing an entrance, he (Kalaśa) killed there a strong soldier, and was then with difficulty slain from afar by the opponents' arrows.

Attack on *Sujji's* partisans.

2163. While the land fell into an uproar, the king sent in haste *Sañjapāla* who had arrived, and *Rilhaṇa* to slay *Ulhaṇa*.

2164-2166. By the time that *Rilhaṇa* arrived, after hurrying as far as the bank of the *Kṣiptikā* in the belief that he (Ulhaṇa) might have fled leaving the road,—*Sañjapāla* having come earlier had been blocking the way before *Ulhaṇa*, as he was passing from the gate of his house, and had struck many in the fight. But the sword of one cut through his (Sañjapāla's) right arm, so that the joints of the bones and sinews were severed and only the skin remained.

2167-2168. After his family had fallen into insignificance, he by his eminent qualities had again obtained renown abroad as well as in his own country. When the time of the reward was at hand he was deprived of that arm which was the surety of his valour. Shame upon the perverse will of fate!

2169. If, as before, he had remained uncrippled when he had attained the rise of his fortune, the people might have learned by the result the astonishing [nature of his] aspiration.

2157. For *Kalaśa*, see viii. 1090; for Sujji's brothers, *Prajji* and *Lakṣmaka*, compare viii. 1043, 1046, 2177.

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2170. If, indeed, Rāhu had not had his body crippled after he had drunk of the Amṛta, then the world would have learned the aspiration which that powerful [demon] had long fostered.

2171. The son of *Sahadeva* (Ulhaṇa) who suffered from a wound, saw with envy his old uncle *S'īla* slain . . . .

2172. As he was passing into the house in pain, there was killed *Jajjala*, a valued servant who had protected him, two soldiers and a Caṇḍāla watchman (*yāmika*).

2173. As he did not leave the house, but stopped there seated in the courtyard and looking at his young son, *Rilhaṇa* had it set on fire.

Murder of *Ulhaṇa*.

2174. Disabled by his wound and blinded by the smoke he was being carried [outside] in fetters by soldiers of note, when some low persons killed him in the gate of the house.

2175. The king's angry feelings were not appeased even when he saw the head of him (Ulhaṇa) who had caused the ruin of his chief ministers.

2176. Various followers of *Sujji* did noble deeds while attacked with fury by the soldiers the king had despatched.

2177. *Lakṣmaka*, the younger brother of *Sujji*, suffered the disgrace of being thrown into fetters, and after seeing the king was slain by some merciless persons in the palace courtyard.

2178. *Saṅgaṭa*, his energetic cousin, the son of [Sujji's] paternal uncle, after rushing about in the royal courtyard as if on a stage, nobly gave up his life.

2179. The mad *Mummuni*, the brother [of Saṅgaṭa], had fled for safety to his house, and was killed there by some wicked persons of the *Bāṇa* family.

2180. *Citriya*, too, *Sujji's* brother-in-law, who was a man of high descent, found a noble death after living a frivolous life of amours.

2181. His doorkeeper *Saṅgika* was wounded and subsequently died. Also other followers of *Sujji* found their death in various places.

2182. Two or three like *Vīrapāla* owed their life to the swiftness of their good steeds, and escaped the danger of death by reaching *Koṣṭheśvara*.

2183. *S'āradiya*, *Saṅgaṭa's* brother, on the way had his horse stopped at the *Subhaṭāmaṭha* by a concourse of vile people and fell into captivity.

2184. *Sajjala*, a son of *Sujji*, *S'vetika*, the son of his elder brother, and *Ulhaṇa's* son, were thrown into prison.

2170. Compare note viii. 2025.

2171. There is a lacuna of two syllables in the text of this line.

2175. Compare regarding Ulhaṇa's conduct, viii. 2066.

2178-79. Regarding *Saṅgaṭa* and *Mummuni*, see note viii. 1090. For the *Bāṇa* family, comp. viii. 528.

2183. *S'āradiya* is probably the same person as the *S'āradbhāsin*, mentioned along with Saṅgaṭa and Mummuni, viii. 1090.

Regarding the *Subhaṭāmaṭha*, see vii. 180.

2184. The elder brother of Sujji was *Prajji*, see viii. 1046, 1110.

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2185. Thus happened the catastrophe on the fifth day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] nine (A.D. 1133), owing to king and minister having fallen under the influence of calumnious persons.

2186. To this day even, the king, though surrounded by such [excellent] servants, remembers with regret that minister, whose energy had not failed before any task.

2187. In truth the service of kings is more dangerous than the raising of a Vetāla, the leap over a precipice, the chewing of poison, or the fondling of a snake.

2188. Who does not come to grief if he stands unsuspectingly before sovereigns whose character (*guṇa*) is dependent on others, or before carts [whose ropes (*guṇa*) are attached to others]?

2189. The king thought *Sujji's* murder a wrong act. But the subjects thought it right and saw in it the king's extraordinary energy.

2190. The king put *Sañjapāla* in office as commander-in-chief, and gave to *Kularāja* the post of City-prefect.

2191. *Dhanya* and *Udaya* who had left *Mallārjuna* and returned to the City, were again as before prominent as the king's confidants

2192. Fortune abandoned its unsteadiness since deprived of other abodes and abided in all respects permanently with *Citraratha*.

2193. Though distinguished by exceptional power and unrestrained even by the king, he was not able to pacify the land which he oppressed by his inflictions.

2194. The commander of the fort (*koṭṭeśa*) at the village called *Gandharvāṇa*, killed *Ṭikka* and sent his head to the king at *Pārevīśoka*.

Incursion of Loṭhana.

2195-2196. Then King *Loṭhana* appeared suddenly at night in *Hāḍigrāma*, with a few followers. He had been repeatedly encouraged through messengers from *Koṣṭheśvara* who was by nature hostile to the king, and who at that time was still further mortified on account of the renown the latter had gained.

2197. As the king was on all sides in close union with the other [Ḍāmaras], the *Lavanya* (Koṣṭheśvara) made peace, and after telling him (Loṭhana) a great tissue of lies (*mahākathitakantha*) sent him away as he had come.

2186. Correct with Durgāpr. *kvāpyaviparyasta*°.

2188. °*nistīrṇa*° which does not seem to give any suitable sense has been left untranslated. Possibly it is a mistake for °*vistīrṇa*°.

2190. For *Kularāja's* administration of the City, see viii. 3335 sqq.

2191 Compare viii. 2045.

2192 Correct with Durgāpr. *vicchedād*.

2194 The position of *Gandharvāṇa* cannot be traced. For *Pārevīśoka*, comp. note iv. 5, vi. 180.

Regarding *Ṭikka*, compare note viii. 612.

2195. For *Hāḍigrāma* (*Ārigōm*), see note i. 340.

2197 The interpretation given above of *mahākathitakantha* is based on the passages viii. 2491, 2526, 2900, 2934. These prove clearly for the word *kantha*, the meaning 'patchwork of lies,' 'tissue of lies,'

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2198. As he showed a foolish desire to gain the throne as *Uccala* and the rest, he was laughed at by the people when his persistence bore no result.

2199. The king then thought of destroying *Koṣṭhaka* by employing bravos, winning over his soldiers, and by various other devices.

2200. He (Koṣṭheśvara) in his anger had the bravos' eyes torn out and did not seek to conciliate the king, but prepared to fight him as if he were his equal antagonist.

Koṣṭheśvara attacked by the king.

2201. He (Jayasiṁha) then ordered the leaders of his army to move forward [against Koṣṭheśvara] from their respective positions while he himself attacked him with various troops.

2202. The powerful [Lavanya] drawing near to the king, of whom he knew that he had marched on impetuously with a small force, tried to outmanœuvre him, but was not successful.

2203. *Citraratha*, though having a large force, was defeated, as fate willed, by a detachment of his (Koṣṭheśvara's) troops in an encounter which ensued.

2204. Owing to this defeat which acted like an unauspicious introductory word (*oṁkāra*), he lost henceforth every day [more and more of] his courage.

2205. After fighting *Rilhaṇa* and others, the *Lavanya* spread out all his troops in battle array and fell in the evening on the force of the commander-in-chief (Sañjapāla).

2206. The latter with less than a hundred men,—the other soldiers having fled—withstood the onslaught of his troops, just as a rock [withstands] the rush of the elephants.

2207. What need be said of that tiger of men, whose body does not keep within his own mail and other armour, as the battle grows fiercer?

2208 While he thus broke the enemy's impetuosity by his firmness, there joined him *Trillaka* and other *Lavanyas*, accompanied by their troops.

2209. Though from regard for their relative they did not join in the fighting, yet they were of some small use to him in his difficult position, and by his own valour he repulsed the enemy.

2210-2211. Timely preparation, inducing by kind words his troops to keep watchful at night, judgment in using at the right time the various methods of

'intrigue.' This use of the word is easily derived from its usual meaning 'patched garment'; comp. the use of the root *grath* in connection with *kanthā* in the passages quoted.

2200. *saṁprasādayat* for which the emendation *saṁprāsādayat* has been proposed in Ed., may be an unaugmented form; comp. note i. 285.

2207. Add in footnote of Ed. the conjectural emendation *māti* for *mānu*, omitted by misprint.

2209. *Trillaka* is named as a relative of Koṣṭheśvara, viii. 1707. From viii. 2746 sqq., it appears that he was the son-in-law of Koṣṭheśvara's younger brother Catuṣka.

occupying and abandoning [positions], retention of places once taken—these merits alone would [have sufficed to] put the enemies to flight before this victorious [leader]. What [need then of] praising his attack on the enemy?

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Koṣṭheśvara defeated by Sañjapāla.

2212. *Koṣṭhaka* feeling dispirited, betrayed by his followers, and shaken by such impetuosity, then descended from the hill and turned to flight.

2213. As the routes were blocked by an unseasonable fall of snow, the pursuing enemies defeated the effort of his horses to get away.

2214. Driven by the king from the country he proceeded with a few followers to bathe in the *Gaṅgā*, smarting with pain at his humiliation.

2215. *Somapāla*, who was troubled by his son *Bhūpāla*, and afflicted by the miseries of the long contest for the throne, came at that time to the king for protection.

2216. After he had given two sons of *Nāgapāla* as hostages, the king, kind to those who sought his protection, promised him safety.

2217. In view of his misfortune the king, whose character was distinguished by its guileless generosity, did not recall to his memory that this deceitful [prince] had been the cause of *Bṛhadrāja's* (Lakṣmaka) discomfiture.

2218. The king gave his own troops for his assistance, and after humbling the pride of the enemy restored him to power.

Alliance of Mallārjuna and Koṣṭheśvara.

2219. In the meantime, however, *Koṣṭhaka* was on his way back after bathing in the celestial stream (Gaṅgā), and taking up [the cause of] *Mallārjuna* was endeavouring to raise a rebellion.

2220. The prince who had come to *Kurukṣetra* on occasion of the solar eclipse, met there the *Lavanya* and abandoned from necessity his former enmity [against him].

2221. *Loṭhana* who had arrived earlier upon the Ḍāmara's invitation, felt distressed, and left as he had come, when he heard of the latter having allied himself with him (Mallārjuna).

2222. The base *Somapāla*, though he had taken an oath by sacred libation before the [Liṅga of S'iva] *Vijayeśa*, did not pay attention to the invasion prepared by the king's enemies.

2223. His son (Bhūpāla), on the other hand, in order to propitiate the king,

2216. Regarding *Nāgapāla*, compare viii. 619.

2217. Compare regarding the name *Bṛhadrāja*, viii. 1893.

2220. Compare regarding the sacred district of Kurukṣetra near Thāneśvar, note viii. 540. The great pilgrimages to the Tirthas of Kurukṣetra take place on solar eclipses; see Mr. J. M. DOUIE'S *Gazetteer of the Ambala District*, 1892, pp. 42, 139 sq.

From the date given, viii. 2185, we must conclude that the defeat of Koṣṭheśvara, and his subsequent departure for the Gaṅgā, fell in the autumn of A.D. 1133 (Laukika era 4209); comp. viii. 2213. The solar eclipse, on the occasion of which he met on his return Mallārjuna at Kurukṣetra, was probably the one, which according to Dr. Schram's *Eclipses of the Sun in India*, p. 122, took place on the 23rd July, 1134. It was visible at Thāneśvar.

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Exactions of Citraratha.

induced the various Ṭhakkuras to plunder *Koṣṭhaka* as he reached their respective territories.

2224. In the meantime the Brahmans at *Avantipura*, who did not like *Citraratha*, owing to the wicked obstinacy he showed in increasing the imposts, held a solemn fast.

2225. As this [minister] who, in his conceit did not care [even] about the king, paid no heed to them, many in their grief burned themselves in the flaming fire.

2226. When his servants confiscated even the grazing land (*caraka*) of the sacred cows, one cow-herd also overcome by compassion burned himself.

2227-2228. A youth called *Vijayarāja*, the son of *Pṛthvirāja* from the family of *Bhaṭṭa Uabhaṭa*, being in great straits, was preparing to go abroad along with his younger brother. Seeing that distress there he spoke thus to his younger brother, while shedding tears of compassion :

2229. "Look, how the subjects are ruined in their helplessness by a rogue of a minister, while the king, imperturbable in his kindness [to him], pays no regard to them.

2230. "Where the king from complaisance to the ministers takes no care of the subjects in their misery, who else is there to relieve their sufferings?"

2231. "Or, perhaps, that is the correct way that he who deserves to be chastised, should be punished by the chastiser, and the latter again, if he gets into trouble, by someone else in mutual emulation."

2232. "Sometimes in concussion the unwieldy stone is overcome by the thoroughly hard steel, sometimes, however, the steel by the stone."

2233. "The king who is distinguished by all good qualities, does not deserve hatred for one single fault. Nothing else appears to me indicated but the murder of *Citraratha*."

2234. "The destruction of one wicked person is called lawful when all are helped by it. Even the Jina (Buddha) slew a great snake which killed living beings."

2235. "If punishment has been meted out by us to that wicked man, then no official will again oppress the people, owing to the dread of [being punished by] a man of energy."

2236. "If by the sacrifice of this body numberless people may be rendered happy, then, O brother, is this not the greatest bargain?"

2224. Judging from viii. 1964, 2254, we must assume that Citraratha held at this time the double offices of Pādāgra and Dvāra. It was evidently in the first-named capacity that the complaints indicated were made against him

2226. For *caraka*, see note viii 674

2227. Regarding *Bhaṭṭa Uabhaṭa*, the Sabhāpati of King Jayāpīḍa, see iv. 495.

2234. I have not been able to trace the Buddhist legend here alluded to

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2237. When his younger brother had expressed his agreement, he made him take an oath by sacred libation, and then returning followed *Citraratha* in order to kill him.

2238. Even in this time of the Kali age which is sullied by the weakness of the sacred law, there manifests itself brilliantly to this very day the irrepressible power of the gods of the earth (Brahmans).

2239. No one, until all his merits [from a former existence] have been exhausted, enters upon an obstinate course against the Brahmans before whom the destructive arts of the wicked break down.

2240. *Sujji*, who had exasperated the twice-born, found his death from the hand of a twice-born, and *Citraratha*, who had slighted the Brahmans, was slain by a Brahman.

2241. Surely that [youth], sacrificing his own life without immediate cause, planned his death, because his mind was seized by a charm which the Brahmans had sent forth.

2242. When those Brahmans were burning themselves, just then he (Citraratha), the object of their hatred, had followers killed in a quarrel amongst themselves.

2243. His destroyer was kept awake for many a night as he was not able to get day or night at *Citraratha*, who was accompanied by a strong force.

2244. When he (Citraratha) was going about, the roads were covered far away with numberless great persons, and he in the midst of the crowd came in sight and disappeared [again in a moment].

Vijayarāja's attempt against *Citraratha*.

2245. He (Vijayarāja) unshaken in his extraordinary persistence, on one occasion ran quickly after him when he had ascended the stairs in the royal palace.

2246. As he was stopping before a pillar surrounded by nobles, he then in fierce boldness struck him with a dagger on the head.

2247. He thereupon, as if he were dying, lost consciousness from exhaustion, his eyes were rolling and his energy left him.

2248. In this state he was deserted by his frightened followers, who thinking that he had been murdered by the king's order, lost their courage.

2249. The murderer in the belief that he was dead, did not strike him again, and kept back his brother who had arrived by another staircase.

2250. Though the ways were open to him everywhere he did not flee, but shouted loudly and repeatedly: "*Citraratha* has been put to death by the king."

2241. Compare for *dvijotthāpitayā kṛtyayā* the legend told i. 130 sqq.

2242. The purport of the second half of this line is not certain.

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2251. Thereupon, all the wretched followers of *Citraratha* who had enjoyed [with him] the fried meat dishes and other pleasures of regal state, disappeared in fright.

2252. His elder brother *Loṭharatha*, fled in his terror to a dancing girl for protection, and hid his face on her breasts.

2253. When *Citraratha* was brought in this condition before the king, the latter in person cheered him up, and said: "Have no fear. Who has struck you?"

2254. When the soldiers were searching by the king's order for the person who had wounded the lord of the Gate, the murderer presented himself, saying: "I am that person."

2255. He then bravely slew twenty or thirty soldiers, and after displaying a praiseworthy prowess in defying them through his resolute bearing, was struck in the leg and killed.

2256-2257. On his arm was found a leaf upon which was written the reason of his deed, in these words: "From Yuga to Yuga I come into existence to protect the righteous, to destroy the evil-doers, and to restore the sacred law." The desire [which he expressed] in his death by this verse, sanctifies him.

2258. *Citraratha* then, though his wound healed, fell, owing to the lesion of the joints of his forehead bones, into disgust [of food], madness and misery.

2259. For five or six months he lay day by day on his couch rolling his suffering and emaciated body about

Irruption of *Koṣṭhaka* and *Mallārjuna*.

2260. In the meanwhile, *Koṣṭhaka* preparing for a rebellion betook himself together with *Mallārjuna* to a mountain-fastness [surrounded] by a dense forest.

2261. Roving about in his endeavour to collect those who belonged to his party, he caused excitement among the people. They had not yet forgotten their [former] sufferings, and were apprehending a fresh contest for the crown.

2262. The people quickly felt pained by the appearance of the hostile force, just as [if it had been] a chill produced by an untimely cloud, and became benumbed in their energy.

2263. He (Jayasiṁha) then had this forest-fastness which extended over many Kōs (*krośa*), surrounded on all sides by his ministers who occupied the neighbouring forest-hamlets.

2254. Compare for Citraratha's official designation, viii. 1964.

2256. This verse is quoted from the *Bhagavadgītā*, iii. 8, where it is spoken by Kṛṣṇa.

2260. The 'mountain-fastness' (*giridurga*) here referred to was probably a high plateau, difficult of access, situated somewhere on the northern slopes of the Pir Pantsāl range. These are covered to this day with magnificent pine forests; see the map.

2261. The text of the first half of this line is corrupt. The translation is based on the conjectural emendation proposed in the Ed. For °*grasuno*°, read perhaps °*grahaṇa*°.

2264. When *Sañjapāla* went into camp with the *Yavanas*, the enemy became motionless, as trees keeping still in a calm.

2265. *Dhanya*, too, threw his force into *S'ilikākoṭṭa*, and showed aversion even to the smell of the enemy, just as the lion to that of the elephant.

2266. *Rilhana*, whose force was posted by the king at *Govāsa*, scoured the forests and made the enemies hide themselves before him as the owls [hide] before the sun.

2267. Checked by these measures of the energetic king, *Koṣṭheśvara* was for three or four months prevented from roving about.

2268-2269. He had been in distress abroad, and had been disregarded by the chiefs of the neighbouring territories. His own followers had fallen off, and the king's officers had baffled his efforts. Not comprehending from want of judgment the ways of kings, having lost his footing, and forgetting his guilt, he wished to conciliate the king.

2270. *Sañjapāla* in his thorough devotion thought it idle to reproach him (Koṣṭheśvara) now that he was eager to remove the king's anger, and agreed to his wish.

Surrender of Koṣṭheśvara.

2271. In his eagerness to make peace with the king's enemy he (Sañjapāla) did not punish him, though he himself had thus suffered [from him]. That the sons of *Pṛthvīhara* showed good-will to [Koṣṭheśvara], is not astonishing.

2272. When he sent the enemy of the king [before the latter], he could not appease the king's anger even by cutting off the finger of his own hand.

2273. He (Sañjapāla) was unable to allay the anger of the king though he bound his head-dress round his neck, carried a shoe on his head, and used [favourable] moments.

2274. He (Koṣṭheśvara) had refused [to recognize] two or three royal prerogatives (? *lāñchana*), opposed several royal orders, and in his conceit behaved altogether like a king.

2264. By the *Yavanas* are meant here undoubtedly Muhammadans. Such had found their way into the service of Kaśmīr already under Harṣa; see vii. 1149.

2265. For *S'ilikākoṭṭa*, a hill village, see viii. 1486.

2266. *Govāsa* is mentioned only in this passage. It can scarcely be the present *Gūs* (the *Gusikā* of *S'rīv.* iv. 532, 592, etc.), about two miles to the north of Ramuh, as this place lies too far away from the mountains.

2270. It appears from this and the following lines that Sañjapāla accepted on the king's behalf Koṣṭheśvara's proposals for peace. The king, however, was not prepared to pardon the latter, and hence dissatisfied with the arrangement.

2271. K. evidently refers to the attack made upon Sañjapāla by Koṣṭheśvara; see above, viii. 2205 sqq.—By 'Pṛthvihara's sons' must be meant *Catuṣka*, *Loṣṭhaka*, *Chuḍḍa*, and perhaps other brothers of Koṣṭheśvara, who had kept by the king's side, but were secretly sympathising with their rebel brother; see regarding Koṣṭheśvara's descent, note viii. 1261, 1524; for his brothers, viii. 2318, 2496, 2451.

2272. Compare regarding the cutting of a finger as a symbolic act, viii. 1594.

2273. The meaning of *bhuktavela* is doubtful; comp., however, vii. 369; viii. 522.

Mallārjuna detained at Sāvarṇika.

2275. In the meanwhile the king received the report that *Mallārjuna* who had got away, was captured. For fortunate persons one success follows the other.

2276-2278. He, not being quick on his feet and hence unable to bear the fatigues of marching, was being carried on the shoulders of his servants. When after escaping from various dangerous situations, he had reached the village of *Sāvarṇika* which belonged to [the territory of] *Lohara*, he had been stopped by the Ṭhakkura *Jaggika* who put guards over him. The king now heard that this faithful servant had come before him.

2279. He (Mallārjuna) who had with difficulty escaped from the fastness and had nearly been caught, was now captured again by that opponent. Who is able to escape his destiny?

2280. The Gaṅgā rolling forth from her celestial course had scarcely escaped from the belly of one great Ṛṣi (Jahnu) who had caught her up, when she was swallowed up by another (Agastya) after she had filled the hollow of the ocean. Nobody can escape the inevitable.

2281. While *Jaggika* watched the neighbourhood until the captive [Mallārjuna] should reach [the king], the thoughtful king employed *Udaya*, the lord of the Gate [to fetch Mallārjuna].

2282. For the king did not believe that the other ministers would show resolution in a difficult situation, excepting him who was wise and distinguished by vigour, depth of thought and prowess.

2283. He (Udaya) after passing the routes which were made insecure by those who were drawing allowances from both sides, sighted the enemy of the king (Mallārjuna) standing at a window.

Surrender of Mallārjuna.

2284. When he had arrived outside, he (Mallārjuna) said to him various things, praising him and wishing to make a pretence of courage by a resolute bearing which was fictitious, and then again addressed him:

2285. "You, the foremost of the wise, who value above everything full devotion to one's master, hav been brought [here] by persons who have succumbed to enticements."

2277. *Sāvarṇika* can be identified with the present *Sūran*, a large village situated in the upper valley of the Prūnts Tohi, 74° 19′ long. 33° 40′ lat. Its distance from Lohara: Lohrin is about two marches.

2279. The *durga* here referred to is the mountain position which Mallārjuna had previously occupied with Koṣṭheśvara, viii. 2266.

2281. See regarding this *Udaya*, note viii. 1832.

2283. The hill regions, situated between the southern frontier of Kaśmīr and Rājapurī territory, are evidently alluded to. These parts were occupied by Khaśas, to whose reputation as great plunderers reference has already been made in note i. 317. Their strong position on the routes connecting Kaśmīr with Rājapurī, would allow them to levy subsidies or rather blackmail from both sides, even in times of peace. The position of the Afridis in the Khyber Pass has offered until quite recent times an exact parallel.

2286. "Because I had not a supporter like you, who resemble a protecting gem, I have, as a bad ruler, suffered in my youthful reign by many intrigues."

2287. "Kings who are difficult to face [in their power], can ordinarily be examined by the eyes of the people at the fall of their fortune, just as the sun [can be easily examined] on a winter day."

2288-2289. "That king is to be praised who spreads lustre at his rise as well as at his end, just as the sun which puts forth its blood-red disc [at its rise as well as its setting]; [that king] whose appearance was rendered auspicious by the emotion of the citizens' wives at his access, and also by the violent love shown for him by the band of the Apsaras at his grand end."

2290. "After securing nobly a position (*pada*) and accomplishing something (*artha*) I have become perplexed at the end, like a great poet, [who has found his words (*pada*), has also got some subject-matter (*artha*), but finds himself perplexed about the completion of his verse]."

2291. "Now you should give assurance to my mind by promising me one wish which is not beyond what is feasible."

2292. After these words he had then a crystal Liṅga with its base (*pīṭha*) put before the lord of the Gate that he might touch it for the sake of assurance.

2293-2294. He (Udaya) thought: "Surely, this proud [prince] asks me [to grant] the wish that he may fight warriors who use their darts, spears and arrows in an honest contest," and touching the S'iva-liṅga promised the desired wish. Thereupon he (Mallārjuna) addressed him again thus:

2295. "I ask you that I may come before the king such as I am now, without my eyes being taken out, without being killed, without being wounded."

2296. On hearing these words demeaned by cowardice, all were benumbed with shame, and turned their heads to the ground like twigs dripping with rain.

2297. Then they thoughtfully remembered the last moments of *Bhikṣu*, and this made their hearts again expand in cheerfulness.

2298. As he was being taken away by him (Udaya) on a litter carried by men, he looked without shame and without emotion also on those people whom he had cared for.

2299. As he was being carried along on the way, wholly absorbed in eating abundantly, sleeping, etc., just like an animal, no reflection of any kind occupied his mind.

2293-94. Udaya thinks that Mallārjuna asks for the favour of being allowed a soldierly death in open combat.

2295. Emend with Durgāpr. *akṛta°* and *prāpnomi*.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

2300. When the people saw him taken along in this condition by his guards, their hearts were moved by compassion, and they did not approve of the king's [action].

2301. And they said: "It is not right that the king, as the elder brother, should show such cruelty towards the younger brother who is deprived of his father and deserves compassion."

2302. "Who could be so cruel-minded as to disfigure by torments the charming body of this [youth] whose look is like that of a dark-blue lotus?"

2303. Thus the people, unable to connect the preceding facts and their consequences and forgetting his guilt, reproached the king in various ways as they saw him on the road.

2304. But what account need be taken of young boys, blockheads, and the like? Even the thoughts of great men do not ever keep the same direction.

2305. When the hearers listen to the [story of the] gambling, the dragging of the Pañcāla princess (Draupadī) by the hair, etc., their anger against Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons is greater than against the Pāṇḍu sons.

2306. When they hear of the drinking of the blood of the Kurus and the shattering of the head of him (Duryodhana) who had his thigh broken, one sees the very same people enraged against the Pāṇḍavas.

2307. Nobody but he who is in the midst of the events, can understand their cause and their result. How should not the sentiments of the onlooker change at various incidents?

2308. Carried in a litter he reached the City in the evening, moving the citizens to tears, and holding an earthen vessel in which lay his cut off finger.

Mallārjuna imprisoned (A.D. 1135).

2309. On the fifteenth day of the bright half of Āśvina in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] eleven (A.D. 1135) the king placed him under guards in the *Navamaṭha*.

2310. When he had passed in distress five or six nights [and days] without taking food and was asking to be allowed to touch the feet of the king, the latter from compassion came to him.

2311. When the king had promised him the desired safety, he told him that *Citraratha* and *Koṣṭhaka* were nothing but [embodiments of] perfidy and deserving to be killed.

2302. For the rare word *asecanaka*, compare *Harṣac.*, p. 30.

2305-6. Compare *Mahābh.*, II. 1, lxvii.; VIII. lxxxiii.; IX. lvi.

2308 In note viii 1594 it has already been shown that the cutting-off of one's finger was a sign of submission on the part of persons who acknowledge their guilt and ask for mercy; comp. also viii. 1738, 2273, 3300.

2309. Regarding the Navamaṭha, compare viii. 247, 1052.

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2312. The king thereupon wished to imprison *Koṣṭhaka*, who had gone to his own place, and despatched [for this purpose] five or six councillors, among them *Rilhaṇa*.

Capture of *Koṣṭhaka* and *Catuṣka*.

2313. When the courage of all drooped, the king took up the enterprise in person, whereupon *Rilhaṇa* caught him (Koṣṭhaka) with his arms, as the shark [catches] the fish.

2314. Deprived of his sword he remained motionless in the net of that strong man's arms, as a person who, while blinded by sleep, is beset by a goblin.

2315. The fierce *Bhiḵkharāja*, *Kularāja's* brother's son, in obedience to the king pierced his neck with a dagger.

2316. When the Rājaputra *Pṛthvīpāla* was hitting him with a hatchet on the head, the king angrily forbade him.

2317. Vitally wounded at the neck-bone and incapable of action, he rolled on the ground, covered with blood.

2318. *Kamaliya*, and other men of great strength threw also his (Koṣṭheśvara's) brother *Catuṣka* to the ground, as elephants [throw down] a log of wood.

2319. When the Brahman *Mallaka* saw his two masters thus struck down in helplessness and captured, he stepped up with drawn sword.

2320. The king, himself, noticed him as he was rushing unexpectedly into the tumult and striking at several of the royal servants.

2321. While this man of great strength was cutting down several brave soldiers who were running towards him from near the king, *Kularāja* rushed at him with a dagger.

2322. He (Kularāja) skilled in the use of arms, pressed him against the wall, but was unable to kill him as his (Mallaka's) hand was rapid at counter-strokes.

2323. He (Kularāja) was unable to get away, or to keep still, or to strike, but parrying frequently he kept him at his place without, [however,] wounding him.

2324. *Mallaka*, who made a great noise by dashing down his foot and throwing out his arms, then took a glance at *Padmarāja* who was running up.

2325. *Kularāja* at that moment got his opportunity and struck him in the breast, but as his hand withdrew after the stroke, he (Mallaka) cut off his thumb.

2326. While *Bijjarāja* full of hot conceit struck at him and he (Mallaka) was striking back, the two (Kularāja and Padmarāja) hit him rapidly.

2327. He (Mallaka) got away even from these three assailants and ran towards the king, whom he had sighted entering the door of the pavilion (*catuṣkikā*).

2316. Regarding *Pṛthvīpāla*, compare viii. 1093.

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2328. As he was striving to reach the king, *Kularāja* ran after him in haste and excitement and stopped his rush by wounding him in the bones of the buttocks.

2329. Then he was surrounded by all the soldiers, and after slaying cowards as well as brave men, fell down quickly upon the hero's couch, a stream of blood serving for its upper covering.

2330. He deserved to be counted among the heroes for having displayed a laudable prowess under the eyes of his masters who had fallen into misfortune, and were yet alive, and for having found a death worthy of envy.

2331. The servants of *Koṣṭhaka* had run away outside, and only the Ḍāmara *Janakacandra* showed that he was not lacking in courage.

2332. For he though unarmed, took from one of the royal servants his battle-axe, and fighting sent many into the presence of Yama to herald his [approach].

2333. The battle-axe which was in his hand while he endeavoured to make his way to the disc of the sun, was as eager to sever the carotid vein (*suṣumṇā*) of the enemy, as the crescent of the moon [is eager to receive its share of sunlight by the Suṣumṇā-ray].

Koṣṭhaka's wife becomes a Satī.

2334. We have neither seen nor heard [of another such deed as done] then by *Koṣṭhaka's* wife, who, when her husband was thrown into prison, nobly followed him as a Satī.

2335. Not heeding the words of her relatives who said that she might yet get back her husband alive, she entered the fire.

2336. By the feet of her who was proceeding to the world of virtuous women, the fire was purified from the sin by which it had been sullied on account of its desire to embrace the wives of the Seven Ṛṣis.

2337. She, a daughter of *Vasanta*, the brother of *Dhanya* and *Udaya*, and proud of her noble descent, did not cherish the customs of Ḍāmara-wives.

2338. Let the wives of *Lavanyas* yield up in widowhood their beautiful bodies from lust of money even to village officials, [common] householders, and the like.

2339. She and the two followers (Mallaka and Janakacandra) made *Koṣṭhaka* raise [again] proudly his head, after mental confusion had caused him to become despondent.

2340. *Koṣṭhaka*, though his wound healed, became a prey to worms owing to some sins, and after many nights died in his prison.

2333. The light of the sun is supposed to be carried to the moon by the ray called *Suṣumṇā*; see *Nirukta*, ii. 6, and *Viṣṇupur.*, ii. p. 297. Dead heroes go to the world of Sūrya.

2336. The legend here alluded to is found *Mahābh.*, III. ccxxiv. 30 sqq.

2337. Dhanya and Udaya are said, viii. 1083, to be descended from a *rājanya*, i.e. Kṣattriya family.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

End of Citraratha.

2341. *Citraratha* who was withered up and emaciated, became from fear most distressed, when he heard that the king had been incited against him by *Mallārjuna*.

2342. His beloved and only wife, the virtuous *Sūryamatī*, who was the surety of his power, had already before gone to the other world.

2343. As his body was broken in health by an incurable disease, his house without his consort and his lord rendered averse by enmity, he found no cheer whatever.

2344. Thinking that notwithstanding his guilt he would not suffer anything unkind from the king, if he stopped at a Tīrtha, he went to *Sureśvarī* under the pretence of wishing to die there.

2345. Thereupon the king confiscated in various places the great riches of all kinds which he, wealthier than Kubera, owned.

2346. His gold, clothes, equipment, horses, jewels, arms, and other [valuables] displayed, as [if it were] in rivalry, greater and greater splendour.

2347. The tree of the royal fortune which was withered up by the hot blast of the *Lohara* treason, was strengthened when watered by the hill-stream of his (Citraratha's) fortune.

2348-2350. In the residence of *Vijaya*, the son of *Bhava*, there was a regal fortune, imprisoned [as it were] and ever awake, which from the paleness of cares appeared as if touched by the glitter of white parasols. Though the troubles had long passed away, he, filled with apprehensions such as are natural for one living in the forest, did not leave the splendid *Kalyāṇapura*, as the S'ālva[-prince did not leave] Saubha. When he recognized the murderer sent by the king, a man called *Ānanda*, he slew him and was himself killed by him.

2351. Thus passed for King *Jayasiṁha*, who was so anxious to protect his subjects, that time full of energetic enterprise.

2352. While *Citraratha* stopped at the Tīrtha, his two servants *S'ṛṅgāra* and *Janaka*, well-known intriguers, were exerting themselves to secure the Pādāgra office.

2353. *S'ṛṅgāra* got the better of *Janaka* by winning over the king through the offer of abundant bribes, and obtained the enjoyment of his master's fortune.

2344. Regarding the holy site of Sureśvarī (Iśᵉbar), see note v. 37.

2348-50. *Vijaya*, son of Bhava, has already been referred to, viii. 1268 sqq., as a great noble resident at *Kalyāṇapura* (Kalampōr), and a supporter of Bhikṣu. As K. does not state any special reason for Vijaya's murder, we must suppose that it was caused by the king's desire to confiscate the great property of this Ḍāmara.

The *S'ālva* prince is Hariścandra who, according to the legend related in the Mahābhārata and elsewhere, rules the mythical city of *Saubha* which is suspended in the air; compare for references, *P.W.*, s.v. Saubha.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-40).

2354. The king restored to *Udaya* the long-lost charge of the 'Gate,' just as the rainy season [brings back] the water to the river banks.

2355. Then after eight months *Citraratha* died, having long suffered vital pains caused by his evil deeds which had by necessity to receive their punishment.

2356. Praise be to that familiarity inconceivable [in its effects], the power of which overcomes previous feelings and makes a ridiculously deformed person appear normal, also a bad smelling person an acceptable companion, and makes one take the advice even of a thorough fool.

S'ṛṅgāra made prime minister.

2357-2360. *S'ṛṅgāra*, the son of *Sajjaka*, had, when the king was a young boy, spoiled and full of curiosity, gained his favour by gambling [with him] and by other reprehensible practices. Then when the king had obtained sovereign power, he had undergone fatigue owing to his having been sent by him day and night with betel to *Citraratha*. By the messages he had carried, he obtained a full knowledge of affairs and became a trusted adviser. When it came to [Citraratha's] end, he brought to the king those servants who showed [Citraratha's] treasures Then, as the throne was devoid of all noble persons and all advisers, he obtained the position of prime minister.

2361. Though he was short-sighted in his narrow mind and displayed only a shallow liberality, yet his riches were not turned to evil use as his gifts went to worthy persons.

2362. He, indeed, was liberal to his Gurus in gifts of rice. [Before] he had thought himself rich, even [when he got what was needful] for the food and dress of his women-folk.

2363. He deserves final communion [with the deity], since he put up, with his own silver-pieces, a silver pedestal (*pīṭha*) at *Sureśvarī* which is still extant.

2364-2365. He spent great sums to make at *Nandikṣetra* such ample provision for the [celebration of the] full-moon day of Aṣāḍha, as in recent times even kings could not have imitated. He had been first directed there by *Campaka* and others. Thereby he obtained subsequently prosperity for five or six years.

2354. We must assume that *Udaya*, already before mentioned as lord of the Gate (see note viii. 1832), had lost this charge when Citraratha received the two offices of Pādāgra and Dvāra; see viii. 1964.

2360. This *S'ṛṅgāra* must be distinguished from the S'ṛṅgāra, Citraratha's servant, mentioned viii. 2352, 2368.

Two *Sajjakas* have been previously mentioned; see viii. 578, 1459.

2361. The translation of this line is based on conjectural emendations indicated in Ed.

2363. Probably a base for a Liṅga is meant; comp. note v. 46 on the term *pīṭha*.

2364-65. I have not been able to trace any special festival held at *Nandikṣetra* (Bhūteśvara, see note i. 36) on the Āṣāḍhi day.

Campaka is Kalhaṇa's father, whose connection with the shrines of Nandikṣetra has been noted in vii. 954.

The *Nīlamata*, 317-321, knows of a festival called *Devasvāpana* celebrated during the last ten days of Āṣāḍha.

2366. He who as a play-companion had been held a worthless person, did, while in office, extraordinary deeds through the strength of his lord's attachment.

2367. That snake (Vāsuki) of which the enemy of Tripura (S'iva) thought, when it formed his neck-ornament, that it might come to grief by the playful fingernails of his young consort (Pārvatī),—it did not break even when upon S'iva's order it stretched itself on the bow formed by the mountain [Mandara]. How should not another, too, display energy through the strength of his master's order?

2368. Attaching themselves to him (S'ṛṅgāra) on the one side and *Rilhaṇa* and *Dhanya* on the other, *Janaka* and *S'ṛṅgāra* ousted each other from office by means of bribing.

2369. On one occasion *S'ṛṅgāra* had *Janaka* imprisoned along with his wife and children, and made him drop tears as well as the pearls of his jewelry.

2370. He (Janaka) again in disgust cast dishonour on him (S'ṛṅgāra) by putting money as a bribe into the hands of the rough jailors and asking them [to secure from S'ṛṅgāra] sexual indulgence.

2371-2372. When, again, one of the two was in office, he made the people laugh by rubbing and moving with the thumbnail the ring on the ring-finger, by talking with the left upper-lip drawn up and his eyes contracted, and by moving to and fro in frowns wrinkles which made his forehead [appear] low and [again] high.

2373. The other was seen in the time of his good fortune talking indistinctly, using harsh words, closing his eyes, shouting a great deal, laughing and clapping his hands.

2374. Is not the recollection of such fools sufficient to serve as an object of amusement, if one recalls their real nature in the imagination of one's mind?

2375. In this whole debased period which knows no fitness, and in which men are no better than straw, methinks, it is in reality [only] *S'ṛṅgāra* who does not deserve to be despised.

Pious acts of Jayasiṁha.

2376-2380. The king whose mind is all-pervading and steadfast, has obtained fore-rank among the virtuous by his pious actions. As if he possessed perfect enlightenment (*bodhi*) [like a Buddha], he has helped the enemy in distress, just as the sandal-tree while burning, gives delight to the person who has set the forest on

2367. The Nāga *Vāsuki* acted as string to the bow which Indra formed of the Mandara mountain, when fighting the demon Tripura; comp. viii. 2122.

2375. *S'ṛṅgāra*, the prime minister, viii. 2360, is meant.

2376-80. By *Gurus* are meant here in all probability Purohitas of various sorts.

Regarding restorations of Kaśmir temples (*jīrṇoddhāra*), see vi. 307; viii. 78, 3355, 3388; also note viii. 77.

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fire. Paying proper regard to Gurus, scholars, Brahmans, the helpless and others, he has bestowed gifts on the households which deserved them. Being of pious thought and rich, he has raised the temples of [S'iva] *Vijayeśa*, and of a host of gods to equality with *Kailāsa* by the stucco he put on them; and as he was passionately fond of restorations (*jīrṇoddhṛti*) his care was ever directed towards the putting into order of Maṭhas, temples, gardens, tanks, canals, and the like.

Conduct of King Jayasiṁha.

2381. Notwithstanding that he is of such character, yet, because he has once committed acts of enmity against persons equal [in respectability] to religious students (*brahmacārin*), he is said by dull persons to be altogether an embodiment of cruelty.

2382. The noble deeds of the celestial river (Gaṅgā), such as the nourishing of the universe, the filling of the seven oceans, the delighting of Brahman and the other [gods], are reduced to irrelevance by the fault committed at one single occasion, when she touched the ashes of the host of Sagara's sons. Hereby she has become known to the people as fit for the deposition of bones, as [if she were] like a burning-ground.

2383. About that time there died by strangulation that rogue of an official (*kāyastha*), the Brahman *S'ivaratha*, who had been a great intriguer.

2384. By thus exterminating the various enemies, the king who was bent on doing good, freed the country from obstacles [to its prosperity].

2385. Kings obtain intense power chiefly by removing the obstructions of enemies, just as the sun-rays [attain power] on getting free of the clouds.

2386. This jewel of a king attained a pleasing character in the course of his development, just as the vine [attains] greater sweetness as it grows to maturity.

2387. He continually celebrated sacrifices at which considerable Dakṣiṇās were distributed, and gave splendour [by his presents] to marriages, pilgrimages, and other great festivals.

2388. He gave from his own the materials [required] for the sacrificial performances of pious persons, just as the moon [gives] her light to the herbs of the high mountains.

2389. With attentive mind he undertook to furnish the proper paraphernalia

2381. K. probably alludes to the murder of Sujji, and throws a veil over the other acts of violence of Jayasiṁha, which he may have considered justified by political necessity.

2382. The context requires necessarily the emendation proposed in the Ed., of *sagaraja°* for A L *saragaja°*. The restoration of the following corrupt words *°sparśanā . . tā yena janāḥ* into **sparśanāj jñātā yena janaḥ* is more doubtful.

The Purāṇa legend relates that the Gaṅgā was brought down from heaven by the prayer of Bhagīratha to purify the ashes of the sixty thousand sons of Sagara, who had been burnt by the angry glance of the Ṛṣi Kapila.

2383. This *S'ivaratha* is probably the person referred to, viii. 2156.

2388. The powerful herbs of the mountains are supposed to give light at night; comp. iv. 169.

to the citizens at the marriages of their sons, consecrations [of images, etc.], and similar occasions.

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2390. The wood-supplies [the revenue from] which benefited the royal treasury, he placed at the free disposal [of the citizens] and thereby got the whole City built anew.

Piety of Jayasiṃha.

2391. Sensible persons notice with wonder the intentness with which he devotes himself, like a perfect Muni, to the worship of S'iva, though merged in affairs of state.

2392. From morning to evening one does not see him do one act for which men of experience do not give the direction.

2393. In the black darkness of ignorance, learning had shown forth at intervals in the passing lightning-flashes of fortune [coming] from such clouds as *Jayāpīḍa* and other [royal patrons].

2394. He, however, has given permanent brilliancy to the picture of his virtue which is of wondrous variety, by bestowing wealth which lasts like the radiant light of a jewel.

2395. He has made scholars and their descendants owners, as long as the planets, the sun and moon should last, of villages possessing an abundance of unimpaired fields . . . . . .

2396. The houses he has constructed for men of learning, raise their terraces to such height that the Seven Ṛṣis (the Great Bear) come to see them as they are towering above their heads.

2397. Safe is the journey for scholars who follow him as their caravan-leader on the path on which his intuition guides, and which has been found by his knowledge.

2398-2399. Just as *Āryarāja*, while lying on his bed, had chiefly found delight in [listening to] the sound arising from the flow of the water with which the Lingas were being washed, so he, when about to go to sleep, dispenses with flutes, lutes and other [music], and finds his pleasure in reflecting over the talk of guileless men of learning.

Consecration of temples, etc., under Jayasiṃha.

2400. What had not been accomplished in regard to the consecration [of

2390. This passage shows that the sale of wood from the great forests of Kaśmir formed then, as at the present time, an important source of fiscal revenue. We also see from the passage that wood played that great part in the construction of private houses at S'rinagar which it does nowadays. Free distributions of wood for building purposes were resorted to also on recent occasions when great portions of S'rinagar had been burned down by conflagrations.

2391. Connect in Ed. *kāṣṭhāmuner* and compare *Harṣac.*, p. 84.

2395. Expressions similar to *āgrahārkendu* occur frequently in land-grants conveying permanent ownership; comp. the grant-formulas of the Lokaprakāśa. There is a lacuna of three syllables in this line.

2398. Compare for Āryarāja's pious predilection, ii. 126.

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shrines, etc.], and other [pious works] during the time of the illustrious *Lalitāditya*, *Avantivarman* and other great monarchs, that has now been achieved.

2401. Thus he established for all Maṭhas and temples which were raised in his own time, a permanent endowment for their maintenance.

2402. First, the Vihāra of *Ratnādevī* who was the firmly-established object of her lord's love, attained pre-eminence among all foundations.

Pious acts of Rilhaṇa.

2403. *Rilhaṇa* then, a friend of many virtues, became the leader of the whole line of ministers on the road of piety.

2404. This pure-minded [minister] was unable to deprive himself of [the society of] ascetics, learned men and those versed in sacred law, even when he stopped in his private apartments.

2405. His whole life was employed in pious works, such as presenting [to Brahmans] skins of black antelopes, cows with calves, and the like, and in marrying out girls for the sake of religious merit.

2406. He, by providing large-mindedly the complete sacrificial apparatus, enabled all who maintained [sacred] fires, to carry out their rites without hindrance.

2407. He whose mind was never sullied by looking at evil, treated sixty-four castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast which excited astonishment.

2408. He adorned the Cities of both *Pravarasenas* with great Maṭhas and bridges (or embankments) which were richly provided with numerous Agrahāras [for their maintenance].

2409. The [shrine of S'iva] *Rilhaṇeśvara* which he erected at the first town of King *Pravara[sena]*, excited wonder and became pre-eminent among pious foundations.

Foundation in honour of Sussalā.

2410-2411. This man of merits had a Vihāra constructed at the place called *Bhalerakaprapā* ('fountain of Bhaleraka'), in honour of his deceased wife *Sussalā*. This [Vihāra] became known by the name of her cat which had followed her dead [mistress] into death, instead of forgetting her attachment as is the wont of animals.

2412. This pet cat would go before her to great distances and keep before her like a woman-friend, when her husband from jealousy had fallen out [with her].

2401. Regarding the term *vyayasthiti*, comp. note v. 37.

2405. Compare note vii. 955.

2407. Sixty-four is the conventional number indicated for caste-subdivisions; comp. e.g. Kullūka on *Manusmṛti*, x. 31.

2408. As explained in note iii. 99, reference is made here to *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* (Pāndrēṭhan), the residence of Pravarasena I., and to *Pravarapura* or S'rīnagar, the capital founded by Pravarasena II. Compare also the next verse.

2409. *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* is meant; see preceding note.

2410. The place here referred to is undoubtedly the same which is called *Balerakaprapā* in vii. 1239. Regarding the confusion between aspirate and unaspirate sonants in the spelling of Kaśmir local names, compare note viii. 1861.

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2413. From the day that she (Sussalā) had started for the Tīrtha [to die there], this cat had been wailing, and [subsequently] she died from grief refusing the food put before her.

2414. As *Diddā* among queens, so *Sussalā* among ministers' wives has secured the foremost rank by means of manifold religious foundations.

2415. She (Sussala) had now built [afresh] the illustrious *Caṅkuṇavihāra* of which nothing but the name remained, by erecting a stone shrine (*prāsāda*), residences, and other [structures].

2416. She accomplished all kinds of pious works by constructing water-wheels, wells, halls for students, and the like.

2417. Her Vihāra, which covered the whole ground of the residence (*sthaṇḍila*) of former royal dynasties, made the whole City a joy to look at.

2418. As soon as she had consecrated [this Vihāra], she being attacked by consumption, found her death at the illustrious *Sureśvarī*, whereby her full communion [with the gods] was indicated.

Foundations of ministers.

2419. The Maṭhas and Agrahāras which *Dhanya* established under the name of his wife, did not get [known by] the desired appellation. Whence should fame [come] without merits?

2420. *Udaya*, the commander-in-chief, who also established in this fashion Agrahāras and Maṭhas, heard ever his name [mentioned] in connection with them.

2421. The splendid Maṭha which *Udaya*, the lord of the Gate, constructed along with numerous Brahmapurīs, embellished the shore of the *Padmasaras*.

2422. His elder brother, *S'ṛṅgāra*, too, who was a judge (*tantrapati*), and a man of virtue, constructed a Maṭha, a garden, and an oblong tank by [the hill of] *S'rīdvāra*.

2415. Regarding the *Caṅkuṇavihāra*, see note iv. 215. By the *prāsāda* possibly the Caitya attached to the Vihāra may be meant.

2416. Regarding the use of *araghaṭṭas*, compare note iv. 191. Correct with Calc. Ed. °*prakārā* for A L °*prākārā*.

2417. The site once occupied by the royal residence and abandoned on the construction of the new palace by Anantadeva, vii. 186 sq., is referred to. This site has already been mentioned as *purāṇarājadhānī*, viii 837. For the meaning of *sthaṇḍila*, comp. viii. 243, 248.

2418. Correct *pratiṣṭhayaivāsu*.

2419. Compare viii. 247.

2420. *Udaya* might have received back his former charge as Kampanāpati (viii. 1624) from Sañjapāla, who is not mentioned with that title after viii. 2906. But it is more probable that K gives him this his former title merely to distinguish him from the other Udaya, the lord of the Gate, as viii. 3322 mentions in connection with Sañjapāla's death that his son Gayāpāla was appointed commander-in-chief. Compare note viii. 713

2421. The *Padmasaras* is the Vulur lake, see note iv 593; for *brahmapurī*, see note viii. 628.

2422. The name *S'rīdvāra* is given in several passages of the *Sarvāvatāra* to the hill-range which stretches along the E. shore of the Ḍal lake. In v. 46 the Sureśvarī Tīrtha (i.e. Is'bar) is said to lie to the W. of S'rīdvāra, and in iv. 91, Mount Mahādeva (see note v. 46) to face S'rīdvāra. Other passages are iii. 14; iv. 68; v. 42. In all these S'rīdvāra is spoken of as a hill (*parvata*, *giri*).

S'ṛṅgāra is undoubtedly the eldest brother of the poet Maṅkha, who refers to him, *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 45-51. Maṅkha informs us that S'ṛṅgāra had received 'the garland of the

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2423. *Alaṁkāra*, the superintendent of the great treasury (*bṛhadgañja*), embellished the land by constructing bathing-huts (*snānakoṣṭha*), Maṭhas, Brahmapurīs, bridges, and the like.

Praise of *Alaṁkāra*.

2424. He, a man of wisdom (*budha*), was born from one who was versed in the arts, and was ever giving relief by medical herbs [*or*, he was like the planet Mercury (*Budha*) who was born from the moon which ever gives comfort to the herbs]; he known as a poet (*kavi*) surpassed all liberal persons by his liberality [*or*, he was famous like the planet Venus (*Kavi*), which has freed itself from connection with the demons (*dānavatva*) by renunciation].

2425. He, being a worshipper of Viṣṇu, like none before him, was attached to the king (*nṛsiṁha*), distributed gold, food and clothing which was without harm, and presented cows at the festival of [Viṣṇu Adi-]Varāha.

2426. The Maṭha which *S'ṛṅgārabhaṭṭa* erected by the side of the *Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha*, did not enjoy particular fame, being like a well by the side of the full ocean.

office of *Bṛhattantrapati* from King Sussala. Jonarāja, in his comments on iii. 50, explains the otherwise unknown term Bṛhattantrapati as *dharmādhikārin*, 'judge.' The single *tantrapati* of our passage is clearly the same title Maṅkha praises in particular the learning of S'ṛṅgāra.

2423. *Alaṁkāra* figures in the subsequent narrative in the high office of Rājasthānīya or Chief-justice; see viii. 2557, 2618, 2671, etc. As K. names Maṅkha as his brother, viii. 3354, it is certain that the Alaṁkāra of the Chronicle is identical with the third eldest brother of the poet, whom the latter frequently refers to in the *S'rīkaṇṭhac.*; comp. iii. 56-62; xxv. 37-61.

This identification was first made by Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 52. Maṅkha speaks of his brother as *Sāṁdhivigraha*, or minister of foreign affairs under Sussala and Jayasiṁha (iii. 62; xxv. 61). In this office Maṅkha himself seems subsequently to have succeeded him, comp. Rājat viii. 3354. When Maṅkha wrote his poem (according to Prof. Bühler about A.D. 1135-45) Alaṁkāra had not yet attained the higher office of Rājasthānīya. Maṅkha represents his brother as deeply versed in grammatical science, and gives his familiar name as *Laṅkaka*.

The term *snānakoṣṭha* corresponds to the present Kś. *srān^ukuṭh*, the designation of the bathing huts on the river. The latter have in viii. 706 been referred to as *saritsnānagṛha*. The Snānakoṣṭhakas of Kaśmīr are mentioned already by Kṣemendra, *Samayam.* ii. 38.

2424. The puns contained in this line necessitate the double renderings above indicated. The moon as King Soma protects the plants. It would appear from our passage that Alaṁkāra's father practised also as a physician. Maṅkha in his *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 35-44 does not mention this fact about his father *Viśvavarta*, but describes him generally as a man of learning and devout worshipper of S'iva.

Alaṁkāra is praised by Maṅkha as a liberal patron of learned men, and the Sabhā of scholars which is described in the xxv. Canto of the S'rīkaṇṭhacarita, takes place in his house.

Of *S'ukra*, the planet Venus, the Purāṇic legend holds that he was the Guru of the Daityas, and that after their destruction by the gods he accomplished a great penance. To the latter allusion is made in the text.

2425. A series of puns permits this line to be interpreted also as referring to *Viṣṇu*: "He before whom there were no Viṣṇu-worshippers (*apūrvavaiṣṇava*), taking the Avatāra of *Nṛsiṁha*, destroyed [the demon] *Hiraṇyakaśipu*, though averse to killing (*nirhiṁsa*), and at the time of his Boar incarnation (*varāhasamaya*) recovered the earth (*dattagaus*)." The word °*pradaḥ* must in this case be derived from √*dā*, 'to cut,' with the preposition *pra*, i.e. *prakarṣeṇa*.

2426. The *Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha* which has left his name to the present quarter of *Bruḍ'mar* in S'rīnagar, was evidently a building of great size; compare note vi. 40.

2427. *Jaṭṭa*, the Sāṃdhivigrahika of the ruler of *Dārvābhisāra*, who was devoted to pious works, consecrated a [Liṅga] of S'iva.

2428. Singly among trees the Karavīra (fragrant oleander) enjoys that happy privilege of producing in abundance those flowers which are rendered blessed by that peculiar Liṅga of S'iva which has come to light by itself.

2429. *Bhuṭṭa*, the younger brother of *Jalha*, deserves alone the highest distinction among all the ministers whom the king has raised to power.

2430. The [Liṅga of] *Bālakeśvara* which is natural (*svayaṃbhū*) and has come to light by itself, receives from him worship as the [Liṅga of] *Jyeṣṭharudra* [received worship] from *Vasiṣṭha*.

2431. There he founded a town called *Bhuṭṭapura*, which is adorned by great houses with Vihāras and Maṭhas.

2432. Also in the City he consecrated a [Liṅga of] S'iva called *Bhuṭṭeśvara*, and in *Maḍavāgrāma* a tank which was like the reflection of the beauty of piety.

Foundations of Queen *Ratnādevi*.

2433. *Ratnādevī* invested her wealth to a great extent on the site of her own Vihāra, by establishing there the *Vaikuṇṭhamaṭha* and other [pious buildings].

2434. Her faultless Maṭha at *Ratnāpura*, which is a place of importance and has many gates, appears like an extensive cage for the swan of 'pious work.'

2435. Her [image of the] Death-vanquisher (S'iva) shines forth amidst buildings resplendent with stucco, and creates the illusion of a S'vetadvīpa [produced] for removing the transitoriness of human beings.

2427. By the ruler of *Dārvābhisāra* is evidently meant here the chief of Rājapurī: comp. note viii. 1531. Mankha mentions, *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* xxv. 7., *Jalhaṇa*, a minister of Rājapurī, as one of the members of Alaṃkāra's Sabhā.

2428. A somewhat obscure reference is made here to the *svayaṃbhū* or natural Liṅga named in viii. 2430 as *Bālakeśvara*. This mysterious stone might be supposed to have been first found or worshipped near a Karavīra bush.

Regarding the worship of natural stones which for pious eyes take the form of a Liṅga, see note i. 113.

2430. In note i. 113, it has already been shown that the *Jyeṣṭharudra* Liṅga here referred to is the emblem worshipped from early times close to Bhūteśvara or Buth'śēr, above the village of Vāngath. The latter has received its ancient name *Vasiṣṭhāśrama* (given in the Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāh. and Nandikṣetramāh.) from the Ṛṣi *Vasiṣṭha*, who is supposed to have resided here. In the *Nīlamata*, vv. 1133 sqq., the consecration and first worship of the Jyeṣṭharudra Liṅga is distinctly attributed to the Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha.

2431. A village *Buṭ'pōr* which may correspond to *Bhuṭṭapura*, is said to exist in the Mach'pōr Pargaṇa. I have, however, not been able to ascertain its exact position. It may possibly be the place shown as 'Batpoora' on the map, 74° 19' 30" long. 34° 26' 30" lat.

2432. *Maḍavagrāma* can no longer be traced.

2433. Regarding the Vihāra of Queen Ratnādevī, see viii. 2402.

2434. *Ratnāpura*, the place named after the queen, is in all probability the present *Ratanpōr*, a large village in the Chrāṭh Pargaṇa, 75° 1' long. 33° 55' lat. (map 'Ratimpoora').

2435. *S'vetadvīpa* (literally 'the white isle') is a residence of blessed beings which know not death. It was created for King S'veta, who by a penance induced S'iva to vanquish and expel from his land the god of death. The legend is told at length in *Haracar.* ii.

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2436. When she had erected her Gokula, *S'ūravarman*, and others who had erected Gokulas [before], were held to be no better than those who eat [anything, even] grass.

2437. At that Gokula which is provided with meadows for the cows' unobstructed free grazing, and which has an abundant supply of water from the *Vitastā*, the cows' bodies rest free from sickness.

2438. The [image of] Viṣṇu *Govardhanadhara* [erected] there displayed the perfection of wonderful beauty, [and was such that] *Viśvakarman* could not have fashioned it (?).

† 2439. She, after making a Maṭha . . . . resided at *Nandikṣetra* and . . . . beautiful (Maṭhas ?) at *Jayavana* and other places.

2440. She built also in *Dārvābhisāra* a town called after her, which was the home of kings' noble generosity, and which rivalled the City of Indra.

2441. This queen, who was kind to her attendants, made also various foundations in honour of her chamberlain and other worthy servants who had died.

2442. Then when the land had been embellished in all parts, the lord of kings built his own Maṭha which resembled the forehead mark [put on after affixing all other ornaments].

Foundation of *Siṁhapura*.

2443. This [Maṭha] which the modest king endowed with many villages, was raised by persons of intelligence to prominent celebrity under the name of *Siṁhapura*.

2444. The daughter's son of the lord of *Kārapatha* settled here Brahmans from the Indus-region and numerous *Draviḍas* who lived before in *Siddhacchattra* (?).

2445. But what use is it to praise the construction of Maṭhas and other

2436. Regarding the *gokula* erected by S'uravarman, and the significance of the term, see note v. 23

2437. For *caraka*, compare note viii. 674.

2438. The text of the second half of this line is certainly corrupt, and is altogether missing in L. The above conjectural translation is based on the correction of *na* for *nā*. The word *aśvā*, which I am unable to bring into connection with the rest, I have left untranslated.

Viṣṇu is often represented in sculptures as the 'upholder of Mount Govardhana'; comp. also note iv. 198. *Viśvakarman* is the artist of the gods.

2439. This verse has been subsequently added in A in this mutilated form. It is not found in L. No certain restoration is possible. Regarding *Nandikṣetra*, see note i. 36, and for *Jayavana*, note vii. 607.

2440. I have not been able to trace a locality bearing a name resembling *Ratnapura*, in the hills to the south of the Pīr Pantsāl.

2443. The name *Siṁhapura* is based on the abbreviated form of the king's name, *Siṁhadeva*, used, e.g. viii. 1287, 1349, 1488, etc.

There is a village named *Simpōr* on the right bank of the Vitastā, 74° 58' long. 34° 2' lat., which possibly retains the name of this Maṭha of Jayasiṁha. It is close to Jayavana.

2444. A passage of the Vāyupurāṇa quoted by Wilson, *Viṣṇupur.*, iii. p. 319, places *Kārapatha* with its capital *Aṅgadī* in the Himālaya regions. The Raghuvaṁśa, xv. 90, gives this territorial name as *Kārāpatha*. The local name *Siddhacchattra*, of which I am unable to trace any mention elsewhere, is doubtful.

[buildings] by him who gave back again to the whole of *Kaśmīr* its villages and its City?

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2446. He restored to this land which owing to the baseness of the times was like a decayed forest, wealth, population and habitations.

2447. As the king from the beginning had prepared himself to grant whatever was desired, [it came about that] Maṭhas and temples were in many instances erected even by artisans and the like.

2448. The citizens celebrated all kinds of great festivals, the king willingly sharing with them his available treasure, clothing, jewelry and other [possessions].

2449. Abundance of food did never cease there, even when the rice-crops were destroyed by premature snowfall, floods and other calamities.

2450. And a wonder it was that at night were heard voices of demons, and that comets and other kinds of portents were seen, and yet the subjects did not perish.

2451. *Chuḍḍa*, a younger brother of *Koṣṭheśvara*, who had raised a rebellion, was driven by the king through [open] fights and secret persecutions into the presence of the god of death.

Jayasiṁha's affairs abroad.

2452. The king uprooting King *Vikramarāja* at *Vallāpura* put in his place King *Gulhaṇa*, and did thus with other rulers in other [territories].

2453. This sun of princes made the rulers in *Kānyakubja* and elsewhere who were powerful owing to the possession of excellent territories, proud by his friendship.

2454. While he ruled thus in glory without his resolutions meeting with opposition, there died at one time *Yaśodhara*, the ruler of the *Darads*.

2455. Though this neighbouring prince had shown discrimination [during his lifetime] and had been greatly attached to him, yet cares arose for the king on his death owing to his descendants falling under the power of ministers.

Darad troubles.

2456. *Viḍḍasīha*, [Yaśodhara's] own minister had gained the love-favours of his widow, and, as his son was not yet of mature age, possessed himself cunningly of the regal power.

2457-2458. While he was gradually making the territory subject to his will, and was endeavouring to destroy the boy who was the nominal king, in order to reign himself, another minister, *Paryuka* by name, raised opposition to him by putting up a second son of *Yaśodhara* [as a pretender].

2449. Compare ii. 18 sqq.

2458. We possess interesting evidence of the friendly political relations with distant foreign kingdoms here alluded to. Maṅkha in his description of Alaṁkāra's Sabhā (see note viii. 2423), mentions among the persons present, Suhala, the ambassador of Govindacandra, king of *Kānyakubja* or Kanōj (*Śrīkaṇṭhacar.* xxv. 102), and Tejakaṇṭha, the ambassador sent by Aparāditya, lord of *Koṅkaṇa* (*ib.* xxv. 110 sq.). Both these rulers are known from inscriptions; comp. *Report*, p. 51.

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Interference in Darad affairs.

2459-2461. While the latter (Paryuka) was fighting for the throne with *Kaśmīr* at his back, the king whose mind was seized by a misconception which by another name may be called capriciousness, left aside *Sañjapāla* and others who were able to cope with all tasks, and though [himself] versed in counsel, followed the advice of *Sajja's* son [S'ṛṅgāra], who from regard to his friendship with *Paryuka* despatched his own younger brother of immature age. For [the king] believed that he (S'ṛṅgāra) on being raised to the position of prime minister (*sarvādhikāra*) and other [distinctions], had become proud of his own honour.

2462-2463. How [great a difference there is], at the first enterprise against a country, between men of experience who enjoy proud fame, and whose mind is undaunted under all conditions, and people who are like boys or fools, and whose actions are useless. Ah, that self-will of kings which is adverse to success!

2464. They wish to break [their enemies'] haughtiness through their own servants, who are opposed to their objects; they do not take into careful consideration the [state of the] army, country, strongholds, finances and other [factors].

2465. The rulers of adjacent territories accept advice [from their councillors] merely with regard to their precedence. Those who show the face of friends while they are [in reality] enemies, ought to be feared just by those to whom they give assistance.

2466. How [great a difference there is] between those who are fools and also rogues, and men who know the conduct of affairs, when it is [a matter of] gaining over the enemy's allies which can be accomplished only by a politic procedure.

2467. The *Darad* throne which had fallen through [the ministers'] mutual enmity, could not be seized by persons without strength, just as a tree which has fallen by the break of the river bank [cannot be carried away] by a weak current, in which it lies.

2468. Though *Paryuka* in the critical state of his affairs was prepared to take various bribes, yet he (S'ṛṅgāra's younger brother) was too slack in his actions to take from him even *Dugdhaghāta*.

2469. When the son of *Sajja* had gone as he had come, *Viḍḍasiha* became enraged against the king of *Kaśmīr* and made peace with *Paryuka*.

2470. At that time *S'ṛṅgāra* fell a prey to death, having enjoyed the post of

2461. The mention of the Sarvādhikāra in the preceding line shows that *S'ṛṅgāra*, son of *Sajjaka*, is meant; comp. viii. 2360.

2468. Regarding *Dugdhaghāta*, the frontier fort on the route to the Darad territory, see note vii. 1171.

2469. It appears from this line that the Kaśmīr force had been sent with a view to or at least under the pretext of assisting Viḍḍasiha. The latter, when this auxiliary force retires without having rendered any help, makes peace with his former rival and turns against Kaśmīr.

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prime-minister but for a short time, like a tree which a monkey [has visited only for a brief time].

Death of *S'ṛṅgāra.*

2471. Up to the death of *Lakṣmaka* the office of prime-minister had been without a rival, but subsequently it became like the water of a cascade [which is divided] a hundredfold.

2472. Other ministers, too, who enjoyed power owing to their lord's esteem, died somehow about the same time through the will of fate.

2473. How should we [duly] praise that kindliness of the king who puts in the place of the dead minister his boy-son?

2474. But the servants of the minister followed an extraordinary course. Without shame they took their master's fortune as if it were their own wife.

2475. After presenting their dead master's property before the king they stole it under the [pretext of] measures taken for the benefit of the children's position.

2476. Only *Sahaja* alone maintained the dignity of assistants upon the death of the treasury-superintendent *Viśva.*

2477. Though requested by the king he did not occupy his master's post, but helped to instruct the latter's son, *Tiṣṭa* by name, [in his duties].

2478. Alas, those in power raise servants higher and higher, one after the other, though they see that they do not keep steady in their position.

2479. That Gaṅgā-water which served in the creator's (Brahman's) cup to rinse his mouth, and which then relieved the fatigue of the foe of Asuras (Viṣṇu) when his foot was tired from striding over the universe, --S'ambhu (S'iva) received it on his head. If once one [master] has taken a liking for a person, though he be a fool (*jaḍa*), then all [his subsequent] masters too must needs feel deep attachment for him, one after the other.

2480. The tree of bad policy which had obtained growth from [the time of] *Sujji's* exile, and which had been fostered by the foolishness of *Sajja's* son (S'ṛṅgāra), was in due time preparing to bear fruit.

2481. The angry *Viḍḍasiha* was then for two or three years exciting through messengers *Loṭhana's* desire for the throne and the rest.

Fresh attempts of *Loṭhana.*

2482-2483. He, unbroken in his aspirations, was together with his kinsmen living under the protection of King *S'ūra*, [maintaining himself] by agriculture, trade and other means. Full of energy he was from afar intriguing with *Alaṁkāracakra* and other Ḍamaras who had formed relationships with the *Darad* ministers.

2479. The Gaṅgā is represented in Purāṇic legends as having come forth from the Brahmāṇḍa or mundane egg, when Viṣṇu, after his strides over heaven and earth, touched it with his toe. Before descending to the earth the sacred stream passes over S'iva's head.

The word *jaḍa* contains an allusion to the water (*jala*), which forms the subject of the preceding simile; comp. vii. 1108, 1379.

2482. For *S'ūra*, lord of *Bahusthala*, Loṭhana's father-in-law, see viii. 1844 sq.

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2484. When he was first setting out with a view to gaining the proximity of those who held fastnesses in the mountain regions, his friend, the base *Janakabhadra*, died.

2485. Everywhere in *Karṇāḍha* and other [districts] where he was seen after he had set out, some were thinking of rebelling, some of keeping faithful.

2486. While this [foe] of great energy was preparing his invasion with cunning and calmness, the king from indolence remained inactive and paid no regard to him.

2487. When the rising had gained strength by the means supplied by those who were wishing for troubles, then the king sent *Udaya*, the lord of the Gate.

Loṭhana joins Alaṁkāracakra.

2488. While the latter was collecting troops at the town of *S'aṁkaravarman*, he received the news that *Loṭhana* had joined *Alaṁkāracakra*.

2489. He also heard that with him had come *Vigraharāja*, a son of King *Sussala*, and *Bhoja*, the son of *Salhaṇa*.

2490. He thereupon made haste . . . . and got over the distance of many days in a single day.

2491. Checked in his activity by his (Udaya's) attack and not having succeeded in inveigling his class-fellows by his lies, the Ḍāmara became helpless and fled.

Loṭhana goes to S'iraḥśilākoṭṭa.

2492. Thereupon they betook themselves thence to the castle called *S'iraḥśilā*, which is situated between the *Sindhu* (Kṛṣṇagaṅgā) and the [streams of the] *Madhumatī* and *Muktāśrī*.

2485. *Karṇāḍha*, or *Karṇāha* (viii. 2525), is the present *Karnāv*, a hill district which lies immediately to the W. of Kamrāz. It comprises a portion of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley above Muzaffarābād, and the several valleys drained by the Karnāv River. The latter joins the Kiṣangaṅgā from the south at 73° 40′ long. 34° 23′ lat.

The form *Karṇāha* found in the second passage is, perhaps, preferable in view of the modern pronunciation; ढ and ह, as written in S'āradā, do not differ much, see note viii. 2568. For an analogous phonetic change, comp. Skr. *Lauḍha* > Kś. *Lolāv*, vii. 1241.

The district seems to have been held in Hindu times by petty chiefs who were, at least nominally, subject to Kaśmīr. Its inhabitants were Khaśas, see viii. 2756, 3006, 3088.

Loṭhana, who appears to have intended an invasion of Kaśmīr proper, by one of the easy passes which lead from Karnāv into the Uttar or Hamal Parganas, is forced by Udaya's energetic action to retire into the upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley; see viii 2490 sqq., 2525.

2488. By '*S'aṁkaravarman's* town,' *S'aṁkarapura* or *Paṭan* (Pattana) is meant, see v. 156.

2490. The lacuna of the text may be filled, as proposed in the Ed., by reading *athopahatyā utthāna eva* "in order to suppress them at the very rise"; comp. viii. 2513.

2491. For *kaṇṭhagrathana*, comp. note viii. 2197.

2492. The site of the *S'iraḥśilā* castle has been traced by me on the Kiṣangaṅgā, a short distance below the ancient shrine of *S'āradā* (see note i. 37), the modern *S'ardi*. For a full account of this identification, see note *L*.

There, too, the topographical details given by K. in his subsequent narrative of the siege, have been fully discussed.

For A L *madhumatīmuktāśriyarantu°* we have to read, with the slight addition of the superscribed S'āradā *o* vowel sign, *°śriyor anta°*. The correction proposed in the Ed. was suggested before I had made, in September, 1892, the tour which led to the identification of S'iraḥśilā, and the elucidation of the topographical points connected with it.

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2493. The lord of the Gate (Udaya) roaming about in distant tracts, did not ascertain whether he (Alaṁkāracakra) had hidden himself in the thicket of the forests or was keeping in the castle.

2494. Then when it became known that he had ascended to that stronghold, even fate did not believe that the king's power could escape a defeat.

Rising in Kaśmīr.

2495. Upon this rebellion [breaking out] all the other enemies, too, showed themselves prepared for a rising, just as fishes when their pond is broken by the rain.

2496. *Trillaka* then and the others who were secretly disaffected, made *Loṭhana* (?), the son of *Pṛthvīhara*, use in intrigues his skill in deceit.

2497. The latter who was burning towns, villages, and the rest, could not be got at by his pursuers, and though he repeatedly got into sorry plights, those on his side saved him.

2498. Roving about in all directions and disappearing from the horizon as soon as seen, he seemed to be sent by fate like the comet Brahmaputra which rises at the end of the Kalpa.

2499. When the tired ministers were pressing for a compromise from time-serving motives, the people thought that the whole land of *Maḍavarājya* was as if lost.

2500. Then, in the meantime, when the enemy were rising in power without any counter-measures having been found, the king after holding counsel despatched *Dhanya*.

2501. When the task had been put on the latter's shoulders, the people said that the lord of the Gate (Udaya) would feel humiliated and would become indifferent and subsequently disaffected.

2502. "*Bhikṣu* had been alone, and so *Mallārjuna*. But these are three

2494. The context shows clearly that *upālabdha* is here a mistake for *upalabdha*. For numerous instances of the identical error in MSS., see *P. W.*, s.v.

2496. It is doubtful whether *Lothana* is here not a mistake for *Loṭhaka*. From the epithet *Pārthvihari* given to him, it is clear that the person meant is not the pretender Loṭhana, but the son of Pṛthvihara, who is called *Loṣṭhaka*, in viii. 2912, and with a prakritized form of the name, *Loṭhaka*, in viii. 2799. We find, however, this son of Pṛthvihara again named *Loṭhana*, in viii. 3313.

The possibility thus remains that the name *Loṭhana* was used side by side with the forms *Loṣṭhaka* and *Loṭhaka* for the designation of the identical person; comp. Gargacandra, Gaggacandra, Garga and Gagga, and other variations of personal names.

That the defective *pā . . . . harih* of the text has to be restored into *pārthviharih*, as shown in Ed., cannot be doubted in view of viii. 2748, 2759, 2793, 2837.

Loṣṭhaka (Loṭhaka) appears to have taken up the part which his brother Koṣṭheśvara (Koṣṭhaka) had played as a rebel-leader. He seems to have operated chiefly in Maḍavarājya (see viii. 2499), while Loṭhana, the pretender, kept in Karṇāha (viii. 2525).

2498. The same mysterious comet is meant as is mentioned in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, xi. 15, by the name of *Brahmadaṇḍa*. It is to appear at various points of the horizon, and to foretell the destruction of the world.

2499. Correct with Durgāpr. *nirbaddhe* for A L *nirbandhe*.

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in league and thus, indeed, difficult to dispose of." Thus thought all the subjects.

2503. The lord of the Gate, however, whose conduct knew no whims, was desirous of the king's success, though it might not serve his own renown, and heartily exerted himself.

2504. Only for a king whose merits [from previous births] are great, arises such a minister, who alone does not know confusion in his lord's business; who does not fall from anger into indifference when the latter allows himself to be influenced by many [others], and who, with a course of action free from all caprice, endeavours to carry out the set task.

Expedition against the S'irahśilā castle.

2505. *Ṣaṣṭhacandra, Pañcacandra's* younger brother, whom the king had placed on the latter's death in the seat (*upaveśana*), also started for the expedition.

2506. *Dvibāhuka* and other . . . . followed with singers after *Dhanya*, and thus also other royal servants who belonged to the outer court.

2507. While *Dhanya* and the rest occupied *Tilagrāma*, [a place] situated on the *Sindhu* of the castle (Kṛṣṇagaṅgā), the lord of the Gate being posted at the *Dranga*, closed the routes at the back.

2505. For Pañcacandra, see viii. 1121; regarding *upaveśana*, note viii. 1070.

2506. The text shows here a lacuna of three Akṣaras.

2507. Regarding the probable position of *Tilagrāma*, Note *L* on *S'irahśilākoṭṭa* (viii. 2492), should be consulted.

SINDHU 'the river,' as a designation of the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā or Kṛṣṇā, is found not only in viii. 2492, but also used regularly in the S'āradāmāhātmya, vv. 114. 118, etc., by the side of *Kṛṣṇagaṅgā*. This designation is evidently taken from the mouth of the people who, as I ascertained on my visit to the S'āradā Tīrtha and S'irahśilā, know the river only as the *Sind*, i.e. 'the river.' In our passage the word *koṭa* has been prefixed to this designation, in order to distinguish the river meant from other 'Sindhus,' the Sind of Kaśmīr, the Indus, etc.

Of the term DRAṄGA it has been shown in Note *D*, iii. 227, that it designated in Kaśmīr any frontier watch-station closing a route through the mountains. The Draṅga referred to in our passage, and subsequently viii. 2702, can be no other watch-station than the one which has left its name to the small village of *Drang*, situated on the direct route from the Uttar Pargaṇa to the S'āradā Tīrtha (S'ardi), on the Kiṣangaṅgā.

Drang, as marked on the larger Survey map, lies about half a mile to the S.W. of *Hāy"hōm* (*Hāṇāśravaṇa*, viii. 2937), at 74° 18′ 45″ long. 34° 33′ 30″ lat. I have not been able to visit the place myself, but was informed in the neighbourhood that remains of old towers are found on the path, which leads up straight behind Drang to the mountain range in the north.

The route marked by these towers is also shown on the map, and is followed to this day by the pilgrims who proceed to the shrine of S'āradā. After ascending the range forming the watershed, the latter descend to the Kiṣangaṅgā by the Valley leading to Teh'jan (Māh. *Tejavana*, map '*Thajain*'). Drang is known to the local Brahmans as Sun'drang, 'the Gold-Drang,' and hence its name appears in the Māhātmya as *Suvarṇārdhāṅgala*: compare Note *B*, i. 37, §2.

That Drang has retained its character as a guard-station until comparatively recent times, is curiously illustrated by the colony of Afrīdīs settled at Drang-Hay"hōm (see LAWRENCE, p. 309). These warlike hillmen were settled there during Paṭhān rule to guard the routes across the mountains from irruptions of the restless Bombas in the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley, and from possible raids of the Cilāsīs. A glance on the map will show that Drang, where several valleys, running down from the watershed towards the

2508. Avoiding reckless attacks, profitless encounters, and similar acts of caprice, he proceeded with firmness and discretion and harassed the enemy.

Camp formed on the *Madhumati*.

2509. By troops of woodcutters and other workmen *Dhanya* had rows of houses constructed resembling a town on the bank of the *Madhumatī*.

2510. He, strong and capable, cleared the thicket of trees of darkness, turned forest-land into habitations, and provided the camp with all supplies in abundance.

2511. Owing to the king's good fortune, the place to be assailed was overspread with sunshine, [though situated] in a country the winter of which is terrible owing to the heavy snowfall.

2512. The supplies which the king sent in his eagerness to secure victory, astonished the world, and did not fail even at that time when the contest for the crown impaired his power.

2513. But while the danger was [destined] to be averted at its very rise, the wailing of the villagers who were oppressed by the [forced] carriage of loads, served as a kind of expiatory oblation (*kṣānticaru*).

Kiṣangaṅgā meet, forms an excellent position for watching the various tracks by which the enemy at S'irahśilākoṭṭa could effect a retreat into Kaśmīr.

The purport of the verse is clear notwithstanding the lacuna of three syllables in the second half. The latter probably ran *śrāntsrabadhnād dvāreśo draṅgasthaḥ pṛtha-paddhatiḥ*.

2509-13. The *Madhumatī* is the small sacred stream which joins the Kiṣangaṅgā from the south at the temple of S'āradā at S'ardi, see notes i. 37; viii. 2492 (*L*).

The details here given regarding the preparations for the siege of *S'irahśilākoṭṭa* are in full agreement with the actual climatic conditions of the Kiṣangaṅgā valley about S'ardi. The latter place lies approximately at an altitude of 6500 feet above the sea and is surrounded on all sides by thickly wooded mountains. The open ground of the valley is scarcely broader than half a mile at its widest, and generally much narrower. Close above S'ardi the Kiṣangaṅgā passes through almost inaccessible gorges which render the valley practically uninhabited for a considerable distance. The climate is, owing to the heavy rain and snowfall, the extensive forests and the close neighbourhood of numerous snowy peaks, colder than might be inferred from the elevation.

The precaution taken by Dhanya of building wooden huts for the besieging force was, therefore, most necessary. As K. places these huts on the bank of the *Madhumatī*, which offers sufficient level ground only near S'ārdi, it is clear that the camp occupied more or less the same position as the modern Dogrā fort and the wooden barracks of its small garrison; compare Note *B*, i. 37, §11.

The Kiṣangaṅgā Valley below the S'ardi could have furnished at all times but very limited supplies, and above that place it is entirely uncultivated. The high praise which K. bestows on Dhanya's commissariat arrangements, was, therefore, fully justified by the exceptional difficulties which the maintenance of even a small force in such a locality would imply.

The means by which this result was achieved is plainly indicated by viii. 2513. In note v. 172 sqq. it has already been pointed out that the system of forced carriage by villagers, or *Bēgār*, has in old days as up to the present time been the only means available for military transport in and about Kaśmīr. The system is not likely to have been worked with greater leniency in Kalhaṇa's days than in modern times. We may safely conclude from the author's discreet allusion that the success of Dhanya's commissariat arrangements was attained at an expense of human life and human suffering, perhaps not smaller than that which accompanied generally the annual transport of stores for the Gilgit garrison until the construction of the 'Gilgit Road' a few years ago. (Comp. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 413.)

Regarding the *kṣānticaru* referred to in the simile of viii. 2513, see note vii. 15.

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2514. The king put firmness into his troops by showing his wrath to those who fled through fear of the long absence from their homes, and gratified those who held out, by presents.

2515. Though the troops thus stoutly kept their ground for three or four months, yet they were unable to seize those who were in the castle.

2516. Because no such acts of hostility, as the cutting off of food supplies by means of an investment were undertaken, which might have reduced those arrogant [opponents] to straits.

Unrest in Kaśmir.

2517. The Ḍāmaras who were longing to display their power, when the snow had passed, stood like mountains upon which the fresh shoots are preparing to break out.

2518. Everywhere in the villages the cultivators left their work on the fields and the Brahmans their Veda-recitations, and took to the sword, eager for rebellion.

2519. The ambitious *Darads* were waiting for the snow to melt on the mountains over which [lay their] way, with their mounted troops in readiness.

2520. The men of the royal force trembled often from fear that the masses of snow might fall down [upon them] like the cotton-bed of death.

2521. Thus the king, who had in vain undertaken his enterprise without examining the real strength of the enemy, began to feel doubts as to his success.

2522. Deceitful fate likes [to employ] one special course of procedure against those whose minds are filled with acuteness; through it they may become uncertain in their minds as to their own power and through [over-much] deliberation fail in their enterprise even in the face of an enemy who is without resources.

2523. If a person trembles before the enemy's host which exists merely in report, his success is frustrated through his own mind becoming blind with care.

2524. If the elephant feels afraid of the lotus, owing to a false conception of the latter's resources, [thinking:] "It might quickly hit me with its bees (*or* arrows, *śilīmukhaiḥ*); it might assail me with its leaves (*or* chariots, *pattraiḥ*); it might bind me with its threads (*or* ropes, *guṇaiḥ*),"—then he may be prevented, owing to his limbs, enormous though they are, becoming benumbed with fear, from violently uprooting it.

2525. When *Loṭhana* and the rest after escaping with difficulty from *Karṇāha* got to *Alaṁkāracakra*, it was thought that the kingdom had been conquered by them.

2519. The Darad country in the upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley and the neighbouring hill-tracts still possesses an abundant supply of hardy *ponies*.

2520. Avalanches seem to be alluded to, which in the narrow valleys about S'ardi may indeed be dangerous.

2525. Regarding *Karṇāha*, see note viii. 2485.

2526. Yet his associates had woven their intrigues to no purpose. How otherwise should the lord of the Gate have attacked him (Alaṁkāracakra) effectively and in haste?

Alaṁkāracakra retreats to *S'irahśilakoṭṭa.*

2527. Unable to offer resistance he then sent the princes into the castle, and then followed them himself next day.

2528. The castle-hill, narrow below [where it projects] into the stream and with a long stretched ridge, appeared to them like a heron bent on swallowing fishes.

2529. When they (Loṭhana, etc.) saw that there was no strength in it, as [there is none] in an elephant-shed without an elephant, they lost [all] hope of victory, and fear entered their hearts.

2530-2531. "From here the enemies should be harassed with arrows; from here by showers of stones; from here should the stream be guarded, and here the stones for the catapults." As the Ḍāmara was thus giving them explanations with firmness (?), they thought that he was only anxious about protecting himself, without a firm determination to fight [on their behalf].

2532. When then the opposing force at *Tilagrāma* proceeded to frequent attacks, and the robber (*dasyu*, i.e., Alaṁkāracakra) proved unable to meet [the latter], they became thin with care.

2533. *Loṭhana* whose suppleness of intellect . . . . was, however, openly reproaching the Ḍāmara who was fully taken up with the needful work (?).

2534. But *Bhoja* held back his excited uncle, saying: "We might be betrayed," and plied him (Alaṁkāracakra) continually to pretended eulogies.

2535. Towards *Loṭhana* who showed himself unfriendly, he (Alaṁkāracakra) maintained ever his deceitful conduct, while he trusted to some extent in his (Bhoja's) capacity for giving counsel owing to his conciliatory manners, and kept up a friendly understanding with him.

2536. He (Bhoja) kept back his uncle from asking [the Ḍamara] for leave to go, saying: "He will not let us go, thinking that the king might kill him, if we are gone."

2537-2539. He (Bhoja) then represented to the Ḍāmaras: "If you and we are all besieged [together], then the enemies having no hostilities to fear from anywhere in the back, will be bold and firm in their endeavours. Whatever they would

2528. For an explanation of the description here given of the hill on which the S'irahśilā castle stood, see Note *L* (viii. 2492).

2531. The translation and text of the second Pāda is uncertain.

2532. For *dasyu* as a designation of a Ḍāmara, see note viii. 7.

2533. I am unable to give a satisfactory interpretation of the words *cisarāvisrta*°.

2535. The text of this line seems defective, and the purport is not certain.

do, would succeed. Therefore, let me go hence alone. By quickly bringing up other *Lavanyas* or the *Darads*, I shall raise the siege." By these reasonable representations he got him to assent, as it were, in a fashion.

2540. He (Alaṁkāracakra) preserved his outward kindness, yet imposed upon him continually by saying: "To-day, at night, or to-morrow, I shall let you go."

2541. As the communications had not yet been entirely cut off by the assailants who kept at a good distance [from the castle], they maintained themselves with the food-supply obtained from the outlying villages.

Diffidence of besiegers.

2542. *Dhanya* and the other [ministers] then apprehended a disastrous issue [of the expedition], and recommended the king to make peace with the enemy.

2543. The king thought the conclusion of peace impracticable for various reasons, and ordered them to lay siege to the walls of the castle.

2544. And he explained [to them]: "The Ḍāmara on receiving bribes [from them], would let my rival kinsmen go, and they would get off to their own place having acquired renown."

2545. "If we, even in this critical [state of affairs] show no persistent effort and no vigour, then we surely will come to regret it owing to the people reproaching us with lost opportunities."

2546. "Another [prince], too, feels mortified, when he hears it said: 'If King *Harṣa* had but held out for seven days, he might have got the stream of milk.'"

2547. "Everybody attains what is destined for him, by his acts, [be they] good or bad. But a lost opportunity (*kriyātipatti*) is held by the people equal to the three worlds (?)."

2548. "The winged ant, though it has feet as well as wings, cannot move about on the ground or in the air, but only in a hole, as if it were lame and blind. What is the use of attainments when the course is laid down by necessity?"

2549. "*Aruṇa*, though he has no thighs, guides the course of the sun (*sahasrapāda*). Could he have accomplished more, perhaps, if he had had two feet?"

2550. "Therefore cease to remain [mere] on-lookers, and lay siege to the whole castle. Let our lifetime pass, as well as theirs, in this [enterprise]."

2546. K makes Jayasiṁha refer here clearly to the final struggle of Harṣa, in which that king could have saved his throne but for his want of decision

In the expression *dugdhapravāhaṁ prāpsyat sa*, K. seems to produce a Kaśmīrī proverb, similar to the present *sŏray karihe dod hyu*, "he might have turned everything into milk [if he had only done a certain thing]." The latter saying is often used in referring to lost opportunities.

2547. I cannot clearly construe the second half of this line, but the purport seems to be as indicated above. For A *loke* . . emend with Durgāpr. *lokena*.

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2551. "The wind here does not cease to occupy itself with the fire, and it continually shakes the high mountains and the water. A firm devotion to tasks, even if it does not lead to their fulfilment, produces at every turn in this world results of unexpected importance."

Siege of the S'iraḥśilā castle (A.D. 1144).

2552. On hearing this strict order of the king, *Dhanya* and the rest then left that river-bank and ascended quickly to the main-road leading to the castle.

2553-2554. While those in the castle were shooting arrows and watching them with curiosity, [to see] how they would fight and how keep their places, *Dhanya*, though standing below, drove away those who held the position above, and by [constructing block-]houses in unbroken line gave to that locality the look of a town.

2555. Then unceasing encounters ensued at every moment in which both sides lost countless men.

2556. On the following day the son of *Garga* (Ṣaṣṭhacandra) arrived, after visiting the [temple of] *S'āradā*, and added to the population of Indra's city by the fighters he killed.

2557. *Alaṁkāra*, the minister holding charge of the outer royal court (*bāhyarājasthāna*), undauntedly made superhuman attacks and killed many enemies.

2558. How could inhabitants of the plains vie with those who live on the mountains? Yet the large quantity of war engines, which achieve unthought-of results, must be taken into consideration.

2559. Those in the castle were very few, while those in the [besieging] camp many. Hence the former, though they killed many, were easily made to suffer.

2560. After the castle had been harassed with two or three assaults, it appeared with the closed folds of its gates as if shutting its eyes from fear.

2561. Those in the castle lost their confidence when they saw that *Dhanya* and the other [ministers] were trying to win over the guards, create internal dissension and otherwise to take advantage of a weak point.

2562. At night they did not sleep but shouted to each other to keep themselves awake. In the day-time, again, when they slept, they made the castle appear silent and deserted.

2552. The camp on the bank of the *Madhumati*, viii. 2509, is meant.

2553-54. The topographical facts which explain the operations here described, will be found fully set forth in Note *I.* on S'iraḥśilākoṭṭa (viii. 2492). This should also be consulted in connection with the events of the siege subsequently narrated.

2556. The ancient shrine of the goddess *S'āradā* stands at the junction of the Madhumati with the Kiṣangaṅgā, about two and a half miles above the identified site of S'iraḥśilākoṭṭa; comp. Note *B*, i. 37.

2557. For *Alaṁkāra*, see note viii. 2423; regarding the *rājasthāna* office, comp. note vii. 601. Alaṁkāra is referred to as Rājasthāniya or Rājagṛhya in viii. 2618, 2671, 2925.

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2563. Even the sound of the kettle-drums [beaten] by the several corps between the night-watches, made them tremble at night, as the thunder [makes tremble] the sparrows in the hollows of the trees.

2564. The royal troops kept them in excitement day and night by all possible means and blocked [their access to] the water by boats which were moving about.

2565. Cut off from the river they put up somehow with the pain of thirst, but they became disheartened when their food supply became exhausted owing to their inability to get outside.

2566. The king's kinsmen, though lusting for rich dishes such as were fit for princes, were then glad to feed on miserable stuffs.

2567. Their aspirations had passed far away. All the more they daily envied, when pained by hunger, even the king's servants their ample food.

2568. When *Bhoja* then said: "If we are [all] collected [here], nothing adequate can be done," he (Alaṁkāracakra) placed him apart [from the others] in the central keep of the castle.

2569. He held only him (Bhoja) capable of acting as a pretender to the crown, and believed [the other two] unfit for this, because one (Loṭhana) was too old and the second (Vigraharāja) the son of a concubine.

2570. Thinking that his opponents would not exert themselves fully for these two without him (Bhoja), he (Alaṁkāracakra) had the false report spread outside [the castle] that he (Bhoja) had fled.

Intrigues in the Castle.

2571-2572. The son of *Salhaṇa* (Bhoja) who was daily enquiring about everything, had found out that *Alaṁkāracakra's* faithless wife who had fallen deeply in love with *Ṣaṣṭhacandra* from seeing his beauty, was wishing to destroy her husband, and was betraying his secret plans [to those] outside.

2573. Fearing betrayal he informed him (Alaṁkāracakra) whose mind was beset by the blindness of love, of her [doings] and asked to be allowed to go.

2574. He being of a forbearing disposition accustomed to indulgence and delighting in the maintenance of an intimate attachment, found no fault in her though she had sinned, just as a Bodhisattva feels no anger [even against the sinner].

2575. A lover forgets in his heart the hatred of a beloved woman, though it

2565. The castle depended on the river for its water supply. Access to the river could be made difficult by keeping boats or rafts moored below the castle rock; see Note *L*, viii. 2492.

2568. This line receives a proper sense by reading with L *vyūḍheṣu* for A *vyūheṣu;* for a similar clerical error, see note viii. 2485, and for the meaning of *vyūḍha*, *Amara* iii. 4, 47.

Bhoja alludes to his former advice; see viii. 2537 sqq.

2569. For *Vigraharāja*, see viii. 1936.

2575. *Śarabha*, a mythical animal, represented as a dangerous foe of elephants and lions.

may be great and the cause of his death, just as the S'arabha [forgets] the elephant on its back.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

Bhoja's attempts at flight.

2576-2577. *Bhoja* then started. But when he had almost got outside the camp of the sleeping enemy, the son of *Alaṁkāra*[*cakra*] who accompanied him, induced him to return, whether from treacherous design or from fear, because he himself had lost courage, and brought him back to his father who was in the castle.

2578. The latter after reproaching his son, told him (Bhoja) that he should leave the next night, and hid him during the day, telling everybody that he had left.

2579. *Dhanya* and all the others having received information that one (Bhoja) had escaped and got off, and that two (Loṭhana and Vigraharāja) were to start the next day, then kept awake during the [following] night in uncertainty.

2580-2581. When he (Bhoja) was then preparing to start at night, he saw from the tower of the castle that all [the enemies] were awake round about and in their camp the fires blazing. These lit up the castle so much that even an ant could not have moved out by the main road without being noticed by the watchful enemies.

2582. The houses occupied [by the enemy] seemed in the flickering light of the flames to move and to warn the son of *Salhaṇa* (Bhoja) [as it were] by shaking their heads, against a reckless attempt.

2583. This made it impossible for him to leave. Then, when the day broke after that night, the Ḍāmara let him climb down the precipice fastened to a rope.

2584. Accompanied by a Ḍāmara-lord, *Kṣemarāja* by name, he got down to a rock, as large as a raised seat (*vitardikā*) midway on the precipice.

2585. Having got on this rock which just sufficed for them to sit on, they passed there five nights [and days] without sleeping from fear of falling.

2586. There they kept themselves alive with small barley-cakes which they had in their hands, and from there they cleared their bowels like birds from their nest.

2587. There the two kept without being noticed, [motionless] as if painted, and watched with wonder from above the profusion in the enemy's camp.

2583. The narrow north side of the S'irahśilā hill falls off in precipitous cliffs towards the river which flows about three hundred feet below the top of the hill. The following narrative shows clearly that Bhoja's second attempt of escape was made by this side. An inspection of the cliffs showed me that a descent to the river, though perilous, might be effected there by a good cragsman.

2584. K. means by *vitardikā* in all probability the small wooden platform which is often found in the courtyard of Kaśmir houses under the shade of trees. It is raised on four wooden posts and offers a comfortable place for a few persons to sit on during the hot summer days; compare *Harṣac.*, p. 198.

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2588. They benefited by the warmth of the flaming glory of *Jayasiṁha*, which made them forget the great cold.

2589. Then on the sixth day when they had consumed all the food they had, the clouds began to send down snow which was like a caustic put in a wound.

2590. Then their hands and feet became benumbed by the cold and fell asleep, while it would have been proper for them to exert themselves [in accompaniment] with the music made by their [clattering] teeth.

2591. The two were thinking: "Surely to-day, overcome by hunger and cold, we shall fall in the enemy's camp, like two birds caught in a trap."

2592. "Whom shall we call to help? Who knows of us to drag us up from here, as a leader of the elephant-herd [would drag out] two young elephants sinking in the quagmire?"

2593. Then upon their prayers the Ḍāmara had the two who had been in such plight, drawn up by a rope and put them in an empty dwelling.

2594. There they relieved their cold at a straw-fire, and forgot their misery in the sleep they had found at last.

2595. Even greater misery befell *Loṭhana* and *Vigraha*[*rāja*], who did not get a kind word from any one and were looked at with disgust.

2596. They ate cakes made of oats and Kodrava in husks and the like, and their bodies and clothes became discoloured by dirt.

2597. When *Alaṁkāracakra's* food supplies were altogether drawing to an end, *Dhanya* won over equally *Hola* and *Yaśaskara*, two of his [men], by giving them food.

Alaṁkāracakra treats for a surrender.

2598. Thereupon the Ḍāmara, shaken by hunger and fearing to be betrayed, agreed through messengers to sell the king's enemies.

2599. His mind steeped in wickedness abandoned the fear of sin and dishonour, when his courage had been broken by the excess of unbearable sufferings.

2600. He intended to protect himself by keeping back some of the king's enemies and to cling to every straw and grass to clear his honour.

2601. He, accordingly, upon the advice of his servant *Udayana*, thus kept *Salhaṇa's* son *Bhoja* in hiding, but hastened to give up the [other] two.

2602. He thought this arrangement to be good for them all, as he believed that without him (Bhoja), the king would not inflict inordinate punishment upon the two, and would leave him himself unharmed.

2596. *Kodrava*, Paspalum scrobiculatum Lin. (*P. W.*), is an inferior grain, known in Kaśmir by the name of *kudur*. It is only eaten by the poorest, and was cultivated formerly in the Valley merely because the tax-collector would not care to seize it.

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2603. *Dhanya* and the other [ministers] when they wished to make peace, did not know then of the straits in which he was owing to the want of food, nor of that plan of his.

2604. They were anxious to get away from there under some pretence, [thinking]: "What more [is to be done], since he has agreed to give up those two rival kinsmen?"

2605. *Dhanya* then made his brother's son *Kalyāṇa* the surety for the execution of the compact regarding the surrender of those who were to be given up, the withdrawal of the army, and the rest.

2606. If a work has to be composed; if an enemy who hides his wrath, has to be conciliated; a great snake to be caught or some act of crooked diplomacy to be done,—success will fall to him who filled with right zeal for his task will also at the completion display haste with firm vigour.

2607. The royal ministers had then lost their vigour owing to the hardships entailed by a long absence from their homes, and had become slack in their actions.

2608. That minister is, forsooth, difficult to find who is capable of comprehending a complicated affair at its close, just as [it is difficult to comprehend an affair] which survives only in stories.

2609. The moment that the troops knew of the concluded pact, they started for their homes, disregarding the kindness shown to them by the king.

2610. As soon as the *Lavanya* had received the supplies which they sold to him, he made delays about carrying out [the agreement], while *Dhanya's* and the others' minds became alarmed at the small number of the troops.

Delay in surrender of pretenders.

2611. By not giving up those two, he that day tormented his assailants who kept their eyes fixed on the main road [leading to the castle] in the hope of seeing the demanded [princes] arrive.

2612. The night, loud with the cries of the Cakravāka, they passed in misery, seeing no other course before them but suicide.

2613-2617. Many such thoughts occupied them: "Now that the enterprise prepared with much trouble, has failed owing to the weakness of our minds, the other ministers will surely scoff at the various measures [taken by us], pretending to regret with pity the failure, and will incite against us the enmity of the king who will not think of using kind words to greet us. Those who do not examine the state of things with regard to the ups and downs of the expedition, will at once cast shame upon us." Thus some said in distress, [others again said]: "That

2605. The word *avakalya*, found only here, seems from the context to have the meaning of *madhyasṭha* or *sākṣin*, 'surety.'

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robber (*dasyu*) has perpetrated this deception in consultation with the king's enemies (Loṭhana, etc.). Now that he has achieved his object, he surely sits there and laughs at us." Thus passed away the night after causing infinite torment to their bodies.

2618. In the morning then *Alaṁkāra*, the chief-justice (*rājasthānīya*), eager for a bold course, went up to the castle and by diplomatic threats induced the Ḍāmara to agree.

2619. After having allowed one day's delay, he (Alaṁkāracakra) then told *Loṭhana* that day plainly and without courtesy that he would have to go.

2620. Thereupon some self-respecting persons suggested to him what he might do to wipe off his disgrace and to avoid the loss of his renown.

[2621-2626. Verses containing conventional praise of those who die fighting and thus reach the world of Sūrya and the company of the Apsaras without undergoing the pains of a death-struggle. Loṭhana's father and brothers have before him found their death by the sword. His present discomfiture is a penance for the faults committed by him while on the throne. Bhikṣācara, too, had expiated the sins of his reign by a noble death.]

2627. Though thus incited he did not take a resolute course, devoid of spirit (*tejas*) as he was. The 'monkeys' fuel' (*vānarendhana*) which has no substance, does not burn even in contact with fire.

2628. Feeling no self-respect he wished, when terrified by the danger, to cry with a pouting underlip like a little boy who has been roused from his slumber.

Loṭhana and *Vigrahar̄ja* delivered to Dhanya (A.D. 1144).

2629. When the Ḍāmara had surrendered him, the king's officers who were about to conduct him, on seeing him in such a state, said from compassion to encourage him:

2630. "Do not despair. In the heart of the king, which is illuminated by the rising moon of pity, there does not easily rise the blinding darkness of enmity."

2631. "He is an ocean of the nectar of kindness, the divine mountain (Meru) of constancy and a sandalwood-tree for removing the hot pains of those who seek his shelter."

2632. "On seeing his person which is purifying and spotless like the celestial stream (Gaṅgā) in the autumn, your over-excited mind will find comfort."

2633. "He will pay to you equal respect as to the faultless elder members of the family, and will remove the sensation of humiliating shame."

2634. "Full of compassion he treats also others who have done him harm

2627. Regarding the *vānarendhana* referred to in the simile, see note vi. 364.

and have fallen in misfortune, as benefactors, because they give an occasion for testing his pity."

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2635. Cheered by these words of theirs, he then came out of the house resembling, with his waving thick beard and his hanging down cloak, an old bull [coming] out of the stable.

2636. When *Dhanya* saw him arrive carried in a litter, without ornaments, with his faded and worn-out clothes and arms, he was bowed down with embarrassment.

2637. With his eyes which kept long motionless, and his rough and heavy beard, shoulders (?) and body he then appeared to him (Dhanya) like an owl driven out of its hole.

2638. The fire they had put to the camp when marching off, made the hill appear like the touch-stone in which the gold of the king's glory [had been tested].

2639. When the camp had been raised, excessive snow fell from the sky and removed all doubts of the people as to the king's supernatural power.

2640. Had the snow fallen earlier, the troops would have sunk in it and perished at once just as insects (? *gartāṭāḥ*) which have fallen into insect-powder (*piṣṭātaka*).

2641. Thus *Loṭhana*, not quite sixty years of age, fell again into captivity on the tenth day of the bright half of Phālguna in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] nineteen (A.D. 1144).

2642. In order to greet the troops returning after a long absence the king who was free from self-assertion, went up to a high mansion.

Arrival of captives in *S'rīnagara*.

2643. After he had cheered the troops with gifts, honours, kind addresses and looks, as they deserved, he dismissed them and saw *Dhanya* and the other [leaders] arriving.

2644-2651. Then he saw in the court-yard *Loṭhana* who was being announced by the doorkeepers, but was scarcely noticeable owing to the mass of people surrounding him. The soldiers of those [leaders] had put their hands under his arm-pits. His face was covered by his dress whose edge was drawn up to his nose. The white dishevelled hair of his beard reached to his ear-lobes which bore no ornaments, and made appear plainly the emaciated state of his cheeks. From time to time he glanced out of the corners of his eyes, in which the pupils were fixed and gloomy, at the citizens who were shouting various remarks. Struck by the evil glance of fate he [had suffered] from despondency, misery, fear, exhaustion

2637. The emendation °*kūrcāṁsavigraham* for A L °*kūrcaṁ savigraham* is doubtful.

2643. The text has here a lacuna of four syllables. The words missing cannot be restored with certainty, but the context requires clearly: "and his lips were parched by dryness."

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and hunger. His body which knew not sleep, was shaking like that of a cow pained by cold. He felt as if the earth was moving, the mountains tumbling down and the sky falling, and his lips . . . . by dryness. At every step he stopped and thought: "Let there be an intercession from heaven, or may a terrible darkness spread, or may the winds wither up this royal palace now nearly reached. How shall I stand before the king, I who have done him every injury?"

Reception of captive princes.

2652. Upon receiving the order by a movement of the king's brow he ascended to the assembly in which the eyes of the on-lookers seemed like lotuses moving to and fro.

2653. When the king ordered him by a glance to come up close, he then fell on his knees on the ground and touched the king's lotus-feet with his head.

2654. The sovereign put his lotus-hands to [Loṭhana's] forehead which was bent down, and raised up the head of that [prince] who was bowing down in confusion.

2655. The touch of the hands on which were jewels and powerful herbs, was cooling like the moon, and removed the hot pain from his mind and the misery from his body.

2656. Quickly he felt that very moment in his heart confidence in the king who was compassionate, owing to the greatness of his merits [from a former birth].

2657-2659. The king reflected: "'Feel no fear' would be a haughty saying. 'You will yet reach happiness,' these words would fail owing to their shallowness. By saying 'I am not angry with you now,' the former acts of enmity would be effaced. 'You are our relative,' this would be like scorn at the present occasion. 'You are in distress,' would be boasting of the might of one's own glory." Recognizing this, the king did not favour him with any word.

2660. When then *Vigraha*[*rāja*] bent down his head to touch his feet and prayed for safety, he touched the top of his head with his foot.

2661. He forced his uncle to accept the betel which he offered with his own hand, though he remonstrated: "How am I deserving of this honour?"

2662. To the lord of the Gate (Udaya) who was bowing down, he said with a smile: "You have had trouble," and *Dhanya* and *Ṣaṣṭha*[*candra*] who had stood before him he touched with his left arm.

2663. When *Loṭhana* saw this [king] full of cleverness, kindness, discretion, politeness, and other royal virtues, he despised himself.

2664. Addressing to him encouraging words through the mouth of *Dhanya*, he then with politely folded hands dismissed his uncle, who was bent down by shame, to a splendid mansion.

2655. Miraculous herbs are alluded to, which are fastened as amulets into rings, comp. *Harṣac.*, p. 279.

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2665. This [king] who kept his eye [ever] fixed on a politic conduct, showed the same unchanged colour on his face when he achieved his aim, as when he made his attack.

2666. The ocean does not get heated by the boiling of the submarine fire, and does not get cold by the water of the Himālaya which enters into it. Men of deep mind show ever the same expression at the time of trouble as at the time of joy.

2667. The king, by constant kindness and unfeigned marks of attention, such as are proper between relatives, gradually removed the feeling of humiliation from those two [princes] who had survived the discomfiture of their prowess.

2668. He, prudent in counsel (*or*, like a juggler), feared inwardly the tooth of the snake 'rebellion,' on account of *Bhoja* [being yet at large], though he had just extricated his kingdom from between the lips of his kinsmen.

2669. [This was,] because his ministers who had stopped their exertions in haste from fear of the fatigues of a [prolonged] absence from their homes, had in spite of his ambition taken him off his guard, though there remained enemies.

Bhoja's further stay in S'irahśilā Koṭṭa.

2670. The son of *Salhaṇa* (Bhoja), after his rescue from the precipice, was keeping in the empty dwelling and got no news whatever of his uncle (Loṭhana) and *Vigraha*[*rāja*].

2671. When he then saw from above *Alaṁkāra*, the chief-justice (*rājagṛhya*) coming to the Ḍāmara, there arose in him the suspicion of betrayal.

2672. Subsequently he saw the force which had been encamped, stretching its columns far away, beyond the reach of the eye, on the road which led towards the City.

2673. Then he noticed between the litters of *Dhanya* and *Ṣaṣṭha* the one occupied by his uncle, whom, however, he could not recognize from afar.

2674. And he thought to himself: "What can be the reason for the army marching off from here? And who is the third carried in a litter between *Dhanya* and *Ṣaṣṭha?*"

2675. Then a menial whom he questioned, told him with joy that the pact was concluded, and that *Loṭhana* and *Vigraha* were on their way to the City.

† 2676. His doubts ceased, and the fear of betrayal which was rising [in him], gave way for a short time to fond solicitude for his relatives.

2670. Compare viii. 2593.

2671. The emendation proposed in the text, of *rājagṛhyaḥ* for A L *rāja gṛhe*, is necessitated by a reference to viii. 2618, and is confirmed by viii. 2925, where Alaṁkāra is mentioned with the same title. The difference between the two readings is small in S'āradā characters.

2672. The path both up and down the Kiṣangangā can be seen to a considerable distance from the height of the S'irahśilā hill.

2676. The text of the first half line is thoroughly corrupt in A L. The above translation is based on the conjectural emendation proposed in the note of Ed. For *bhajet* read *bhajat;* the big semicircular virāma sign of old S'āradā MSS. is often misread for a superscribed *e*

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2677. When the army had departed and the birds with loud cries met in the solitude, it appeared to him as if the river were wailing over the two who had gone.

2678. Then he thought: "The *Lavanya* (Alaṁkāracakra) might upon [further] thought give me up, and subsequently *Dhanya* and the rest, on hearing that I am here, might again [come and] carry me off."

2679. Again and again on hearing the sound of the torrents, he feared that it was the noise of the king's troops returning to take him away.

2680. Then the world became darkened by clouds and deprived, as it were, of midday, the light [of the latter] being suppressed by midnight [darkness].

2681. From that time onwards until the month of Vaiśākha the clouds were [as it were] consecrating the earth for the performance of a sacrifice in which masses of snow [formed the oblations].

2682. Then the robber (*dasyu*, i.e. Alaṁkāracakra) came to *Bhoja* and reproached himself, saying: "I have wretchedly murdered those who put their confidence in me. I have been merciless and devoid of shame."

2683. *Salhaṇa's* son suppressed his anger from regard for the situation and said to him quietly as if to soothe him: "You have no guilt in this matter."

2684. And he spoke: "You have done this to save your dependants, your children, relatives, and the rest who had got into distress. You deserve blame from nobody."

2685. "If you had wished to commit treachery you would not show pity for me. Hence [it follows that] this [act of yours] was due to compulsion by the necessity of the hour."

2686. "If the king follows the law of kings, he ought not to exterminate us like the descendants of King *Harṣa*, but to keep us under control."

2687. "By keeping me back as the last of them, you have indeed wisely guarded against your own dishonour, against the maltreatment of those two and sinful conduct on the part of the king."

2688. When he had thus spoken, the Ḍāmara, as if freed from an embarrassing load, said to him with praises: "Thus you are my witness for ever and everywhere."

2689. When he (Bhoja) then asked to be allowed to go at once, he told him that he would do that when the snow had ceased to fall, and left.

2678. The emendation of *māṁ* for A L *me* seems absolutely necessary to get any sense into the verse.

2681. Compare viii. 2639 sqq., which shows that the snowfall began in the bright half of the month Phālguna.

2682. For *dasyu* as a designation of Ḍāmaras, comp. note viii. 7.

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2690. As *Bhoja* was told by someone that the robber (Alaṁkāracakra) might take his abstention from food as [an indication of his] anger and might change his conduct, he took his food.

2691. When he touched the food he thought: "At last it has come, obtained by their sale," and felt as if he were feeding on the flesh of his two relatives.

2692. The robber, however, did not let him go for two months, saying [each time]: "Forsooth, I shall send you on your way to-day or to-morrow, as soon as the snow stops falling."

2693. *Bhoja* made haste about his departure because he thought: "The king, knowing that I am here, will start an expedition as soon as the snow has melted, and he (Alaṁkāracakra) will sell me to him."

2694. Whichever pretext he (Bhoja) brought forward for his going, the robber contradicted it and found a fault in it in order to keep him back.

Rājavadana takes up Bhoja's cause.

2695-2698. *Rājavadana* was the son of the *Balahara* called *Tejas*, and born from a noble mother. . . . . Since his youth he wore a long cloak (*kambala*). Serving in *Sussala's* army during the war for the crown, which was the touch-stone for the high qualities of many a brave man, he had gained distinction in his detachment along with conspicuous influence. Subsequently he had been favoured by the king, owing to his father being a councillor, and had in time been put in charge of *Evenaka* and other districts. When *Nāga* of *Khūyāśrama* had turned the king's mind against him, he (Rājavadana) wishing to fight him (the king?) took him (Bhoja) under his care.

2699-2700. All thought that owing to his having been a servant [of the king] he was not in bitter enmity, and that not being a *Lavanya*, he would not be able to oppose the king. Hence when he was then preparing his rebellion

2695-98. The text of verse 2695 is corrupt in several places. For *tejo°* A L read *ojo°*, but the correct form of the name is found in verse viii. 2862, where Rājavadana's father is again mentioned as *Tejas-Balahara*. *Balahara*, as explained in note viii. 2768, is evidently a family or tribal name. Rājavadana himself is often referred to by the designation of Balahara.

The first words of the second half of this verse give no sense, and no translation of them has been attempted.—The wearing of a *kambala* is often referred to by Kalhaṇa as a mark of poverty, comp. e.g. v. 461; vii. 40; viii. 2635.

Khūyāśrama is certainly the modern *Khuy*ᵉ*hōm* Pargaṇa comprising the northern shore of the Volur lake and the valleys opening from the latter. The old name is found again as *Khoyāśrama* in *S'rīv.* iii. 353, in the *Lokapr.* and *Tīrthas.*

Evenaka must be the old name of a small territorial division in close proximity of Khūyāśrama. P Sāhibrām in the *Tīrthas.* speaks of the Volur (Mahāpadmanāga) as situated in the *Khoyahāmākhyarāṣṭra* (Khuy*ᵉ*hōm) and *Evenaviṣaya*. In a subsequent passage he places apparently the village Āḍagrāma, i.e. Ārᵉgām on the Volur, in the *Evenaviṣaya*. From this it might be concluded that the villages on the N.E. shore of the lake formed once a separate small district under the name *Evenaka*. It is highly probable that the Lokaprakāśa which in Prak. iv. mentions twice a Viṣaya of *Ekena* in connection with Khūyāśrama, means the same district. The difference between the forms of the name is, however, curious, as ए and व bear little resemblance in S'āradā characters.

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Alaṁkāracakra did not give up to him the prince (Bhoja), notwithstanding his pressing requests.

† 2701. . . . . the treacherous [Ḍāmara], however, could not let him off.

2702. At that time there arrived at the *Draṅgā Alaṁkāra*, in charge of [that] business (?), having been sent by the king with money to effect a pact about *Bhoja*.

2703. But when the Ḍāmara was preparing to go to him (Alaṁkāra), *Bhoja* said to him: "If you go leaving me behind, I shall commit suicide."

Bhoja's flight to the Darads.

2704. He (Alaṁkāracakra) merely remarked: "To-morrow morning I shall see you," whereupon he (Bhoja) left the castle during the fourth watch of the night without having said anything.

2705. While he (Bhoja) was searching his way impatiently towards the end of the night notwithstanding the heavy rain, [Alaṁkāracakra] heard of his escape.

2706. At day[-break] then he pursued him with a few followers on his flight as far as the shrine of the goddess *S'āradā*, but did not succeed in stopping him.

2707-2709. He (Bhoja) had been kept from the plan of going to (*or*, by the route of) *Durāṇḍa*, because full of kind regard he felt himself unable to show himself before the women of his relatives without the two kinsmen who had started [with him] for the same object, guilty as he appeared, and because he thought of the disgrace to himself [if it were said]: "The old one (Loṭhana) has undertaken enterprises five or six times, while he, though young, is incapable." He, therefore, decided to fight with the help of the *Däradas* and took the route by the bank of the *Madhumatī*.

2701. I am unable to construe the first half of this line (*nītaḥ pratyakṣatāṁ dūrasthite 'pyudayane sa tam*) or to connect it with the rest. There is probably a lacuna in the text here. For *Udayana*, see viii. 2601.

2702. Or does *viṣayādhikṛta* refer to another Alaṁkāra, not the Rājasthānīya? In this case the term might mean 'district-officer.'

For *draṅgā*, see note viii. 2507.

2704-9. The circumstances of Bhoja's flight which K. alludes to but does not describe with the clearness one would desire, seem briefly as follows: Bhoja, afraid of being sold by the Ḍāmara to the king's envoy Alaṁkāra (viii. 2702), resolves to escape from S'irahśilā-koṭṭa. He can retire down the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley and rejoin S'ūra, the chief of Bahusthala, from whose territory Loṭhana and he himself had started (viii. 2482). Or he can flee across the mountains to the east into the Dard territory on the upper Kiṣangaṅgā, where as the references in viii. 2481, 2483, 2519, show, he can expect a friendly reception.

Bhoja shirks the humiliation of appearing before the families of Loṭhana and Vigraharāja after, as it were, abandoning these his associates in the expedition. He, therefore, does not choose the route of *Durāṇḍa* (viii. 2709).

This local name is found only in our passage, and the wording of the latter does not make it clear whether *Durāṇḍa* is the place to which Bhoja might retire, perhaps the chief place of S'ūra's territory, or the route leading to the latter. Supposing the second interpretation to be right, we might think of connecting the name with *Drāva*, the modern designation of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley from below S'ardi as far as Karnāv.

2710-2714. In some places the sharp edges of the frozen stones hurt like the points on the fangs of death. In some the clouds hid the day-light and produced darkness as [if they were] the snares of the death-god. Somewhere the falling avalanches resembled by their masses a herd of elephants. In some places his body was hit by the hissing spray of the torrents as if by arrows. In some place his skin would burst open under the piercing wind, in another again the dazzling reflection of the glittering snow would destroy his vision. At a wide-open place (*prasṛta*) he would expect a deep fall and a clear way at a narrow one (*aprasṛta*). Oftentimes he would think he was ascending even when gliding down.—After thus spending on his way six or seven days, made trying by the snowy season, he reached a village on the frontier of the *Darad* territory.

2715. The commander of the fort of *Dugdhaghāta* removed what was humiliating in his destitute condition, by secretly furnishing him with his own outfit and respectfully gave him an honourable reception.

2716. When *Viḍḍasīha*, who was at a distance, received news of his arrival by a messenger sent by that [commander], he despatched a parasol, musical instruments and other insignia of royalty.

2717. And after having congratulated him [on his arrival] in the land through the commander of the fort, he placed his own treasury at the prince's disposal (?).

2718. When *Bhoja* then had gone to the royal palace and was living like a

There is, however, some difficulty in tracing the phonetic relation between the two forms.

The route actually taken by Bhoja can on the other hand clearly be followed on the map. The valley of the Kiṣangaṅgā above S'ārdi (S'āradā) narrows to an impassable gorge (see note viii. 2509 sqq.). Bhoja is hence obliged to ascend by the valley of the *Madhumatī* to the high mountain ridge which forms the watershed between the Kiṣangaṅgā and the Kaśmīr Valleys. Moving along the height of this range towards S.E. he reaches the frontier of the Darad territory, i.e. the Gurēz district, near the *Dugdhaghāta* fort or the present *Dudakhut* Pass (see viii. 2715 and note vii. 1171).

As the average elevation of the passes over this range is about 12,000 feet, we can easily believe that K.'s description, vv. 2710-14, does not exaggerate the difficulties which Bhoja must have found on his march along the range. His escape falls, as the references made in viii 2641, 2681, 2695 show, in the month of Vaiśākha, Lokakāla 4220, i e. March 23rd– April 22nd, A.D. 1144. The exceptionally late and heavy snowfall of that year (viii. 2681) must have made the route followed by Bhoja still more difficult than it would be ordinarily at that early season.

2710-14. This passage is curious as containing perhaps the only description found in Sanskrit poetry of the difficulties offered by a climb over snow-covered mountains. The details given by K. look as if taken from the recollection of a personal experience. [Classical poetry, equally deficient in mountaineering descriptions furnishes a curious parallel in Claudian's account of Stilicho's march over the Alps, De bello Getico, 340 sqq.]

The rendering viii. 2713 is not quite certain. I assume that K. by *duravarohaṁ prasṛte . . . vidan* wishes to refer to crevices and hidden hollows which make the crossing of open and apparently level snow-fields dangerous and troublesome. For *ūrdhvāvaroha*, comp. the meaning given to *avaroha* by the Medinīkośa, *P.W.*, s v.

2715. Regarding the frontier-fort of *Dugdhaghāta*, whose name is here wrongly spelt in A as *Dugdhaghāṭṭa*, see note vii. 1171.

2717. The translation of this verse is not certain. The context and a reference to viii. 2788 indicate the above interpretation, but the word *avārayat* is scarcely correct.

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king, the son of *Rājavadana* came to pay his respects and induced him to take up his [father's] cause.

2719. He being sent by his father who had [now] fallen off entirely from the king, appeared to him (Bhoja) as if he were placing the ends of a strong net of policy over his enemy.

2720. He sent him back with a message in which were jointly indicated the importance [he attached] to the matter and his want of confidence, thus neither accepting nor refusing.

2721. *Rājavadana* then told him, through messengers: "You will know me in due time, whether I am still a councillor of the king or have completely broken with him."

Rājavadana's rebellion.

2722. In order to show him (Bhoja) his firm resolution, he thereupon began to wage war upon *Nāga* and the rest, under a pretext of a family feud, though the king had declared against their guilt.

2723. Possessed of firm bravery, he gradually acquired strength, though he had no resources. Then he got equal to them in the fighting and in time acquired superiority.

2724. This extraordinary man obtained such a position that the resident relatives of *Nāga* did not feel ashamed of taking service with him.

2725. Liberality, patience, unpretentiousness, absence of greed, and other high qualities distinguished him to such an extent that, though just rising, he secured attachment as if he had always exercised great power.

2726. That *Pṛthvīhara* and the rest who had great resources, showed firm resolution, is no wonder; but praise is due to the great enterprise of him (Rājavadana) who stood without support.

2727. He then gathered a great host of thieves, people from the forest and herdsmen (*ghoṣika*), and putting himself in occupation of villages, waited for *Bhoja* and his people.

2728. The other Ḍāmaras too abandoned a prudent conduct, whether owing to the factions among the ministers who were in mutual rivalry, or from a love of plunder.

2729. Their desire for rebellion, which had been nipped in the bud on *Loṭhana's* capture, then broke out into a hundred branches.

2730. *Trillaka* and *Jayarāja*, though favoured by the king, succumbed to the hot [excitement] and did not keep away from the conspiracy (? *cakramīlana*).

2722. The interpretation of *vidoṣatva* is doubtful.

2727. By *ghoṣika* probably the Gujars of the Kaśmir alps are meant.

2730. The construction of this verse is not clear to me, and the above translation merely indicates the probable purport; *cakramīlana*, a ἅπαξ λεγ., may be connected with

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Rising of Ḍāmaras.

2731-2732. *Trillaka*, who was the gathering place for all robbers (*dasyu*, i.e. Ḍāmaras), just as the pit is for the owls, consumption for diseases, hell for the demons, and the ocean for the sea-monsters,—he, great in deceit, got the prefect of the *Devasarasa* [district] over to his side and raised a rebellion.

2733. Thereupon the Brahmans [of that tract], anxious to preserve their lands and wishing his suppression, held a solemn fast (*prāya*) at *Vijayeśvara*, directed against the king.

2734. They did not accept the representation of the king, who did not think this the right time for uprooting the Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*), whereupon he, from kind consideration, fell in with [the desire of] their assembly.

2735. When the king was about to start [on the expedition], *Jayarāja*, who was the chief among the rebels, died from a dangerous boil.

2736. The fortunate king then started for *Maḍavarājya*, which had thus been delivered of one enemy, to please the Brahmans.

2737. The king dismissed from his presence the minister *Alaṁkāra* upon the petition of the Brahmans who had been excited against the latter by [other] ministers, and who obstinately persisted in their perfidious course.

2738. He had always exerted himself in bringing the Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*) to terms when they were in evil plight, and hence he appeared to his jealous [colleagues] like a promoter of the former's ill deeds.

2739. The king induced the Brahmans to give up their fast by the promise that he would uproot *Trillaka* after he had disposed of the pretenders to the crown.

2740. The frightened *Trillaka* thereupon harassed the king by various acts of hostility, as a hidden disease which, without revealing itself, [causes pain] by producing other affections.

Troubles in *Devasarasa*.

2741. Upon his (Trillaka's) advice *Rājaka* attacked his brother's son *Yaśorāja*, the younger brother of *Jayarāja*, whom the king had put in the latter's place.

2742. *Sañjapāla* went to *Devasarasa* to protect *Yaśorāja*, who was beset by arrogant foes, but his victory became doubtful owing to the small number of his troops.

2743. Upon this news *Rilhaṇa* then proceeded to a mighty fight and attracted first the glances of the goddess of victory.

2744. When he like the churning mountain (Mandara) had stirred up the ocean of the enemies, *Sañjapāla* was enabled, cloud-like, to draw up the water particles of the [small] enemies.

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cakrikā, *cākrika*, see note v. 268. Perhaps the text is defective.

Jayarāja is the Ḍāmara of Devasarasa mentioned viii. 1512; see viii. 2741 sq.

2741. *Rājaka* was the brother of Bhojaka, the father of Jayarāja and Yaśorāja; comp. viii. 1512.

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2745. Even when *Rājaka* had been defeated, *Yaśorāja* was yet unable to remain in his territory without his protector, just as a little boy [is unable to remain] in a solitary place.

Trillaka's intrigues.

2746. Apprehending that the contest with the pretender would come to an end, *Trillaka*, by using various deceptions, caused the king to lose time.

2747. He then made come forth at the opportune time and from various directions enemies whom he had secretly prepared, just as the porcupine [throws out] from its sides its needle-like bristles.

2748-2749. At that time *Catuṣka*, *Pṛthvīhara's* son, and the younger brother of *Koṣṭhaka*, whom the king had imprisoned together with his brother, escaped from his prison. He (Trillaka) being his son-in-law, gave him shelter at his own seat, and then made him invade *S'amālā* in the company of numberless Ḍāmaras.

2750. On hearing his call the hiding Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*) came to the surface, just as fishes in the lake upon the cry of the osprey.

2751. At that time *Ṣaṣṭhacandra*, the son of *Gagga* (Gargacandra), was checking the proud *Rājavadana*, as a rock on the coast [holds back] the ocean when it has risen for annihilation.

2752. These two, whose forces grew and [again] diminished, resembled the slopes of a snowy peak which in the summer display detritus as well as snow.

2753-2755. *Jayacandra* and *S'rīcandra*, the younger brothers of *Ṣaṣṭha*[*candra*], had been put much aside [by the king], though they drew their allowances from the royal palace. They did not think that they could effect their return [into the king's favour] and were apprehending evil from their elder brother, who was liked and esteemed by the king, owing to his excellent services. They fled from the army and joined *Rājavadana*, and thus also two brothers-in-law of the king became his opponents.

2756. He then, lusting for the treasures [deposited] by former kings, had the

2748. *Koṣṭhaka* (Koṣṭheśvara) has been shown above in notes viii. 1261, 1524, to have been a son of *Pṛthvīhara*. The correction of the name Koṣṭhaka into Loṣṭhaka, as proposed in Ed., was therefore erroneous. Compare regarding Catuṣka's imprisonment, viii. 2318.

S'amālā was the home of Pṛthvihara's family; see viii. 591

2750. The gloss of A₂ renders *kurara*, 'osprey,' by *nadhūr*, i.e. the Kś. *nadhar*; comp. for the bird, LAWRENCE, p. 135.

2753-55. *Jayasiṁha* was married to *Guṇalekhā*, the sister of *Ṣaṣṭhacandra* and his brothers; see viii. 460 Perhaps we ought to read *rājamandirānāptavetanau* for A L °*rāvāpta*°, "and did not get their allowances from the palace."

2756. Regarding the temple of *Bhūteśvara*, at the present *Buth'ṣēr*, see note i. 107.

From *Khuy'hōm* (Khūyāśrama) where we must assume Rājavadana's headquarters to have been, Buth'ṣēr can be reached directly over the mountains either by skirting Mount Haramukh on the S. *viâ* Erin Nāla, Malōd, Brahmasar (see map), or by getting round Haramukh on the N. (Bandᵊpōr Nāla) and descending to Buth'ṣēr by the pilgrims' route from the Gaṅgā Lake. In either case the plunderers would be sure to take the Purohitas of the shrine by surprise.

[shrine of] *Bhūteśvara* plundered by numberless *Khāśakas*, who took their way over the mountains.

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2757. The whole land fell into a pitiable condition, as if it had been without a king, as there was no protection from the attacks of robbers, and the weak were slain by the strong.

2758. After giving orders to *Udaya*, the commander-in-chief, and to *Rilhaṇa* to attack *Catuṣka*, the king, in dejection, proceeded to the City.

2759. The son of *Pṛthvīhara* (Catuṣka) was held in check by the troops of the two, but could not be destroyed, just as an incurable powerful disease [can be checked but not subdued] by medicines.

2760. For a short time also *Rilhaṇa's* renown suffered owing to his tolerating time-serving conduct or evil intentions among his followers.

Bhoja supported by *Darads* and *Mlecchas*.

2761. *Viḍḍasīha*, when he had got news of *Bhoja*, despatched messengers to the northern regions to call up many chiefs.

2762-2764. The chiefs of the *Mlecchas* issued forth from the valleys adjoining Mount *Himālaya*,—from those which had witnessed the hidden indiscretions of the wife of Kubera, and those where the cave-dwellings resound with the songs of the City of the Kiṁnaras · from those too which knew of coolness on one side of the hot sand-ocean (*vālukambhodhi*), and those which delight with their mountain-breezes the *Uttarakurus*. Filling [all] regions with their horses they joined the camp of the *Darad*-lord.

2765. While the ruler of the *Darads* was thus gathering the chiefs, their feudatories came from all directions before *Bhoja*.

2766. He was delighted in looking at them as they climbed down from the mass of the mountains talking an unknown tongue and growing familiar by kind treatment just like monkeys.

2767. Also *Jayacandra* and other *Kaśmīrians* [and] *Kīras*, sent by *Rājavadana*, came to the side of the prince.

2758. For *Udaya's* title see note viii. 2420.

2761. Compare viii. 2710 sqq.

2762-64. It is to be regretted that K. has restricted himself to giving us details of the mythical geography of the Himālaya regions. Otherwise we could have hoped here to get the old names of Astor, Gilgit, Skardo, and other regions on the upper Indus from which Viḍḍasīha's auxiliaries were in all probability drawn. If stress can be laid on the term *Mleccha*, we should have to conclude that the conversion of the Dard tribes on the Indus from Buddhism to Islām had already made great progress in the twelfth century; comp. on the religion of the Dards, DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 429 sqq.

Regarding the 'sand-ocean' and the equally mythical land of the *Uttarakurus*, see note iv. 171.

2767. *Kīra* appears in the ethnographic list of Varāhamihira, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, xiv. 29, as the name of a race located in the N.E. along with the Kaśmīrians, Abhisāras and Dards. The lexicographers quoted by *P. W.*, s.v., represent *Kīra* as another designation of the inhabitants of Kaśmīr. But our own passage clearly precludes this identification.

That the name *Kīra* was actually borne by some people or tribe in the vicinity of Kaśmīr,

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2768. The son of *Salhaṇa,* having large treasures at his disposal, helped with gold those who were with him as well as those like *Balahara* who were at a distance.

2769. Then when *Rājavadana* had set the rebellion thoroughly on foot by the intrigues [which he had started] on his own impulse, he came to meet *Bhoja* without apprehension.

2770. They assured each other by a statement of their aims which had not yet been made, and their distrust rapidly disappeared.

2771. While he (Bhoja) did not think that they were prepared to meet the enemy, he (Rājavadana) in over-confidence wished to take only those few horse [present] for assistance without [awaiting] the *Darad* [chief].

2772-2774. *Bhoja* said: "If our enemies stand the first onslaught of this our force, then the balance [of both forces] will result, or a defeat which will again break up our alliance. Therefore I wish to fight only one battle when all will join in the attack, and think that within one day we shall then gain victory or defeat." This he (Rājavadana) derided, and smilingly led on that *Darad* force without waiting for the coming hosts.

Invasion of *Bhoja*.

2775. When the prince had followed those who moved ahead, to the end of the pass, he then heard that the *Darad* ruler had arrived.

2776. While he turned back towards the fort [of Dugdhaghāta] to meet him, *Balahara* led on that force to *Mātṛgrāma.*

2777. The son of *Garga* (Ṣaṣṭhacandra) whose mind was firm by nature, did not lose courage though the [enemy's] horses made all directions appear as if [filled] with roaming antelopes.

2778. All the Ḍāmaras of *Nīlāśva* and his soldiers made common cause with the enemy, and went to attack his forces.

2779. Though he was in so dangerous a position, yet when his own people

a shown by the Camba copperplate-grant of Āsaṭa, published by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, xvii. 7 sqq. This mentions a victory of Sahilladeva over the Kīras, who are named there between the Durgaras, i.e. Dogrās and the Trigartas. It is curious that no other reference to the Kīras is found in Kaśmīrian texts.

2768. *Balahara* is used by K. as another designation of Rājavadana, the son of Tejas-Balahara; see note viii. 2695. A careful perusal of the passages, viii. 2769, 2776, 2857-67, 2971, and others shows that *Rājavadana* and *Balahara* are appellations of the identical person. Balahara is in all probability a family or tribal name.

2775-76. The fort (*koṭṭa*) here mentioned can be no other but the fort of *Dugdhaghaṭa* of which we have shown in note viii. 1171, that it closed the old route to the Kiṣangangā Valley by the *Dudᵃkhut* Pass.

Mātṛgrāma is identical with the modern village of *Mātᵃrgōm,* situated in the Bandᵃpōr valley close to the point from which the modern Gilgit route ascends to the Trāgᵃbal Pass, circ. 74° 43′ long. 34° 28′ lat. The village is marked on the larger survey map and adjoins *Krālᵃpōr* ('Kralpoora' of map).

Mātᵃrgom lies just where the narrow defile of the Bandᵃpōr stream (the Madhumatī, vii. 1179) ends. It is the first place where a force coming from the Dudᵃkhut Pass could conveniently encamp.

2778. Regarding the *Nīlāśva* district, see note vii. 1631.

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asked him to depart, replied: "I am unable to see my lord with a downcast face."

2780. Not one has been born in *Sūryavarmacandra's* lineage who has not rendered good service to those born of *Malla's* race.

2781. *Viḍḍasīha* who was accompanied by the other chiefs, after receiving *Bhoja* with honour, let him go forth to conquer together with all their nobles.

2782. Subsequently he kept moving one march behind him, collecting the troops among which were numerous bands of *Mlecchas*.

2783. As the force which followed him, made the world tremble, *Salhaṇa's* son thought in his valour that he had the whole earth in his hands.

2784. Then the force strengthened by horsemen and the *Mleccha* chiefs, took up its position at a place called *Samudradharā*, which they put in terror (?).

Attack on *Saṣṭhacandra*.

2785. *Rājavadana* at the head of such an invincible noble force thought that *Saṣṭhacandra* was doomed [to fall] between the teeth of death.

2786. Thereupon the land was deluged by a flood poured forth by the clouds of the rainy season, and land and water became level.

2787. When the earth became like a drinking cup filled with water instead of spirit, the trees on it, immersed so that only their tops were visible, seemed like blue lotuses appearing [on the surface].

2788. The king aware of *Saṣṭha's* desperate position despatched then *Udaya*, the lord of the Gate, and *Dhanya* with the remaining forces.

2789. When they were stopped on the road by the river, they followed a track, just as the son of *S'ini* (Sātyaki) and the son of the wind (Bhīmasena) [had done] on the expedition of *Dhanaṁjaya* (Arjuna).

2790. The lightning whose flash and thunder were without interval, appeared as if sewn in between the sky on which the clouds were hanging low down, and the ground which was covered with water far away.

2791. The king there became entirely separated from his army and retained [only] a splendid retinue which was merely for show.

2792-2793. *Trillaka* had previously not been trusting *Rājavadana* as to his honesty or courage. Through messengers he warned the *Dāradas* not to put the

2780. The Ḍāmara *Sūryavarmacandra*, referred to vii. 357, 1264, was, as the last passage in connection with viii. 82 sq. shows, the father of Janakacandra and Gargacandra.

2784. The locality *Samudradharā* I am unable to trace.

The emendation *tarjite* for A *tarjito* is very doubtful.

2789. Compare note viii. 469, where the same simile is found.

2791. For the interpretation of *tatrāvibhaktakaṭaka*, comp. viii. 2785.

2792-93. Trillaka does not wish that the pretender should be entirely under Rājavadana's influence, but hopes to secure him for his own purposes. He therefore plays off *Catuṣka* against the other rebel-leader, see viii. 2747 sqq.

Bhoja is referred to by Trillaka as the 'second prince' with regard to Lothana who had been the first pretender.

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second prince (Bhoja) into his power, and supported the son of *Pṛthvīhara* (Catuṣka). Through the power of one of the two (Rājavadana or Catuṣka) he wished to get him (Bhoja) into his [own] hands.

2794-2796. He (Trillaka) saw that great power of *Balahara* which was, as it were, capable of painting a picture without a wall (i.e. in the air) and [on the other hand] believed that the king, who pressed by the enemies from various sides had his whole army divided in all directions, was in irremediable distress. Knowing no bounds in his wickedness, he thereupon, acting like a big porcupine, threw out also a second dangerous enemy (*lit.* thorn) which he had long kept by himself.

Loṭhaka's fight at S'ūrapura.

2797-2799. Suddenly there appeared at *S'ūrapura*, *Loṭhaka*, the son of *Pṛthvīhara*, whom he (Trillaka) had fully equipped, together with many Ḍāmaras, [and put himself] between the two divisions of his party just as a mass of dust [rises] between the darkness and the great storm [born] from the blinding web of clouds. He was known for his strenuous intrigues, and was ever wakeful to foster extensive mischief wherever the king who had destroyed his (Loṭhaka's) family, was in a grievous plight.

2800. He had long been weaving his intrigues and now his hostility came to light, as when the dam breaks of a tank filled by the rains.

2801. His force seemed to have come forth collected at the rainy season, just as the world had come forth together from the belly of Viṣṇu while he was sleeping [on the ocean].

2802-2803. The followers of *Piñcadeva*, the commander of the watch-station [*draṅga*, of S'ūrapura], would not have sufficed for counting that force; they had no proper provisions, and among them there were but a few soldiers. Yet with such [a small force] he sent in battle his (Loṭhaka's) soldiers to the regions of death and into the river.

2804. By the reflection of the rows of pyres which were burning on the river-bank, those, too, who had found their death in the water of the river, seemed to receive the last honours.

2805. Thus he (Loṭhaka) fought for one day forgetful of death. When his force was beaten, his friends induced him with difficulty to retire on the following day.

2794-96. Compare for the simile of the porcupine, viii. 2747. The second enemy is *Loṭhaka*, mentioned in the next lines; the first was *Catuṣka*; see viii. 2748 sq.

2797-99. *Loṭhaka*, I believe, is the same son of Pṛthvīhara who, viii. 2496, was referred to by the name of *Loṭhana*; see note loc. cit.

Jayasiṃha had caused the death of Koṣṭheśvara, Loṭhaka's brother, and imprisoned Catuṣka; see viii 2311 sqq.

2800. For *kanthā*, see note viii. 2197.

2801. Brahman, the creator of the world, is born from the lotus which rises from Viṣṇu's navel.

2802. The brave *Piñcadeva* had been the commander of the *S'ūrapuradraṅga* already sixteen years earlier; see viii. 1577 sqq.

The river is evidently the Rembyār* flowing past S'ūrapura; see Note *D*, iii. 227.

2806. While he was then in that deserted town [of S'ūrapura] rallying his troops from all sides, he believed that he could take the City with ease in two or three days.

2807. He intended an attack on *Padmapura,* but *Trillaka* held him back from this from fear of *Yaśorāja* and the commander-in-chief who stood at his back.

2808. Though all *Lavanyas* were obeying him (Loṭhaka), yet his followers could not carry out this [attack], since that single Ḍāmara from *Holaḍā* refused his consent.

2809. Even during *Sussala's* contest for the crown there was not seen such distress, as there arose on all sides during that of his own.

2810. The king then neglecting *Catuṣka* who appeared to him only like a disease of the foot, sent *Rilhaṇa* to repulse him (Loṭhaka) who was equal to a swelling on the neck.

2811. When this [minister] had set out to destroy him, he was pursued on the march by the inhabitants of *S'amālā* as Pārtha [had been] by the confederates when he went to slay the king of Prāgjyotiṣa.

2812. Turning back and worsting them he hurried on to get at his enemy, just as the elephant [kills] the bees on his back while rushing to the lotus-tank.

2813. Tired out by the fighting he passed the night at *Rāmaśa* (recte *Rāmuṣa*), where the roar of the rivulets appeared like a preparation for the [battle] shouts of the hostile army.

Battle of *Loṭhaka* and *Rilhaṇa.*

2814. When he was moving in the morning towards *Kalyāṇapura,* he was stopped and attacked by him (Loṭhaka) who had marched to meet him and was again covering the horizon with his forces.

2815. As soon as the opponent's foot-soldiers had arrived in front of him, he (Loṭhaka) attacked and routed them at the mere sight, just as a large snake swallows the goats before him.

2816. Upon his onslaught the foot-soldiers left *Rilhaṇa* as the leaves [fall] from a tree in the autumn on the onset of a storm.

2808. The connection of this line with the preceding account is not quite clear in the original, and the translation doubtful. The Ḍāmara from *Holaḍā* is probably Trillaka. The position of the latter's residence is nowhere clearly indicated, but viii. 3297 shows that it could not have been far from Martāṇḍa. Perhaps it was in the upper Lidar Valley which adjoins Holaḍā or Vular. The circumstances noted in connection with viii 3131 support this suggestion.

2810. For the identical simile comparing enemies to diseases of different grades of danger, see viii. 776.

2811. Rilhaṇa had been fighting Catuṣka who had invaded S'amālā, see viii. 2718 sq., 2758.

The story of Arjuna's fight with the 'confederates' (*saṁśaptaka*) is found in *Mahābh.* VII., xxvii. 1 sqq.

2813. The mention of Kalyāṇapura (Kalampor, iv. 483) in the next verse shows that by *Rāmaśa* is meant *Rāmuṣa,* the present *Rāmuh,* which lies on the direct route from S'amālā to S'ūrapura; see note ii. 55.

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2817. These wretches were not ashamed of fleeing under his very eyes. Whose sense of duty is so lasting as to surpass the eager love of life?

Rilhaṇa's bravery.

2818. When then his friends retiring asked him [to come with them], *Rilhaṇa* spoke these words, which might bring a smile even on the Creator's face from a recollection of his fidelity towards his lord.

†2819. . . . . "Shame on the life of him who, though a servant, fails in his tasks."

2820-2821. "In the service of the king's feet the [dark] beard has come on my face as well as the whiteness of old age, just as the dark-blue lotuses [come] on a lake and then the white ones. If these feet should wither, would then not all the graces of Fortune (Lakṣmī), resplendent as they are with the bees of her [playful] frowns, become a mockery?"

2822. "It is a course for cowards, not for brave men, to turn away from luck from dread of some slight exertion."

2823. "Only when the clothes are taken off there is the fear of cold. Subsequently when the bath is taken in the sacred water (*tīrtha*) one feels delightful comfort resembling the unsurpassed joy in Brahman. Those who give up their life in battle feel dejection only in the beginning, but subsequently enjoy the highest satisfaction of obtaining that happiness which is called absolute bliss (*kaivalya*)."

2824. After saying this he threw himself alone upon the enemy's array, receiving arrows whose hissing resembled the sound of the breath passing from a lion's nostrils.

2825. His sword broke like a high wave upon the scene of battle, and resplendent with the glitter of its golden hilt, resembled a player who has decorated himself with yellow orpiment.

2826. The enemies' lives forsooth clung to his sword which struck down their swords, as if it were a net, just as straws rise and cling to the straw-gem [*tṛṇamaṇi*, which has the power of attracting them].

2827. Those who followed him into the fight, looked upon the enemies like animals; their lives, too, disappeared like the grass [eaten by animals].

2828. From the mouth of death which he had entered, he escaped by some opening, just as the water [swallowed] by a great fish [escapes] through his gills while his mouth is closed.

2818. The text of the second half of the verse is corrupt; the translation is based on a conjectural reading recorded in Ed.

2819. The first half verse shows a lacuna which makes it impossible to restore the context.

2820-21. K. makes Rilhaṇa refer to the fact that he has from early youth served the king and grown old in this service.

2826. By *tṛṇamaṇi* probably amber is meant.

2829. When after making repeated attacks he went aside to rest from his exertions, he looked with haughtiness upon the enemy though he had lost most of his troops.

2830. Then there fell upon his back with mighty forces *Catuṣka*, whom he had previously taken for one of his own side arriving for his assistance.

2831. When he saw this hostile army facing him from both sides, he did not feel excited, but exulted like a peacock at the sight of a [double-faced] snake.

2832. Showing them in turn his face and his back, he wore out in fighting these two arrays, just as the churning mountain [wore out] the sides of the ocean

2833. Riding fast on his horse he moved about again and again between those two [arrays] which kept motionless as if nailed down, just as a weaver moves between . . . .

2834. *Bhāsa* received for him the dashing wave of one army, as on the coast of an island the mouth of a cave [receives] on one side the mass of the water.

2835. He, displaying violent force, playfully made the enemies' weapons shake like [a woman's] earrings, and prevented their hosts from acting as men.

2836. Methinks, he poured afresh the water of the coronation ceremony over the king, when he filled with sweat the cups of the enemies' faces which were white with fear.

2837. During the night he and the son of *Pṛthvīhara* (Loṭhaka) were watching each other for a weak point, just as a sorcerer and a Vetāla.

Defeat of *Loṭhaka*.

2838 He (Rilhaṇa) on the following day forced the enemy to retire into the forest region, and allowed the king's troops which had come to his assistance, to be mere on-lookers.

2839. Then on the third day *Rilhaṇa* was joined by the *Sañjapāla* who knew the baseness of *Trillaka* and the rest.

2840. Worn out by the [heat of the] king's glory, he (Loṭhaka) was then entirely withered by those two in the forest, just as a tree, worn out by wood-worms, [is withered] by the [heat of the months of] Āṣāḍha and Jyaiṣṭha.

2833. The text has here a lacuna of three Akṣaras.

2835. There is a *double-entendre* in this verse which will be understood by taking into account the meaning of *puruṣāyati*, as explained, e.g. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, ii. 6.

2838. Immediately to the W. of *Kalampōr* (Kalyāṇapura) rise the slopes of the Pir Pantsal range which are covered in a broad belt with dense pine forests. The latter are referred to also by S'rivara in the account of a battle fought close to Kalyāṇapura, see *S'riv.* iv. 408 sqq., and Note *A* i. 35.

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2841. *Udaya*, too, repressed *Catuṣka* in successive encounters, without [however] entirely crushing him, just as rain the flames of the funeral pyre [without extinguishing them].

2842. The proud *Dārada* army then descended from the mountain gorges to battle with their horses, which carried golden trappings.

2843. The people feared that the territory invaded by the *Turuṣkas* had fallen [altogether] into their power, and thought that the whole country was overrun by the *Mlecchas*.

Defeat of *Bhoja's* allies.

2844. While *Dhanya* and the lord of the Gate (Udaya) were still at the distance of one march, he (Ṣaṣṭhacandra) who stood without assistance, received the first shock of their swords.

2845. He stopped that hostile army glittering with its golden trappings, just as a mountain with its torrents [stops] the forest fire with its shining lines of flames.

2846. They, filled with confidence on account of the multitude of their hosts, pushed aside *Jayacandra* and others who were against a further advance, and threw themselves on the battle-field.

2847. With twenty or thirty horse the son of *Garga* (Ṣaṣthacandra) impetuously attacked and worsted the thousands of their horse.

2848. Such superhuman prowess he showed to the enemies that he appeared before each one of them like the omnipresent Viṣṇu (*Viśvarūpa*).

2849. Throwing their faces on the pommels of their horses, the cowards fled in a moment and hid themselves in the mountains like Kiṁnaras.

2850-2851. At night, *Rājavadana*, *Jayacandra*, and others said to the *Dāradas*: "You have been defeated owing to your ignorance of the country and by deceit. To-morrow you will, therefore, take us as your leaders and regain victory." To this [the Dāradas] pretended to agree while [in reality] they prepared for flight.

2852. The powerful *Balahara* made *Dhanya* and the lord of the Gate (Udaya) keep at a distance, and blocking the routes to the rear, endeavoured to prevail upon these [Darads to remain]

2853. He then thought of placing the prince together with the camp of the *Darads* at *Tāramūlaka*.

2854. Then while he was preparing to do this, and the robbers (*dasyu*, i.e. Ḍāmaras) were exulting in their blindness, the son of *Salhaṇa* was filled with confidence, and felt sure that he had conquered the whole kingdom.

2844. Here K. takes up the narrative of the contest with Bhoja, and his allies at the point where he had dropped it, viii. 2788 sqq.

2852. The context requires the emendation *aicchat tān* for *aicchat sann* of A.

2853. Regarding *Tāramūlaka* which has not yet been identified, see note vii. 1314.

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2855. Though he had not won a victory yet he was full of assurance, owing to the fact of so many nobles surrounding him, and thought that he was to be favoured by fortune.

2856. The elephants' tusks which oppose the sun by uprooting the lotuses, split of themselves when the moon, their rival [in whiteness], rises, while the sun-stones, full of radiant light, cease then to be heated. At a critical time luck and misfortune may arise unexpectedly.

Conduct of *Nāga* and *Rājavadana*.

2857-2859. Of those two, *Nāga* and *Rājavadana*, the one (Nāga) being a Ḍāmara had been treated with neglect even in the frequent troubles of *Bhikṣu* and owing to his relationship with *Ṭikka* and the rest, had been counted by the king at the head of the traitors. The other (Rājavadana), owing to his not being a *Lavanya*, owing to his astonishing rise unknown in the case of other ordinary people, and through his helpfulness in difficulties, had become foremost in the king's confidence. These two at that critical time displayed, O wonder, astonishing attachments from interested motives.

2860. When *Nāga* saw that the rebellion which he ought himself to have made, had been got up by another, he felt the same mortification as a poet when a theme close at hand is taken up by another.

2861 In order to get the king's enemy (Bhoja) into his own hands, he then addressed him, showing a suitable mien: "Leave *Rājavadana* and side with me."

2862-2863. *Nāga* also said: "Why should you wait until the son of *Tejas-Balahara* comes to you carried in his litter, as the night-watchman [waited] for the woman?" Whereupon they laughed at him, because it is not reasonable to leave one who is like a wishing-cow (*kāmadhenu*) for the sake of embracing the goat.

2864. Everybody turns to friendship or enmity in accordance with his own interests, but does not concern himself in the least about the love or hatred of others.

2857-59. For the interpretation of these lines, comp. viii. 2998, where Nāga is clearly spoken of as related to Ḍāmaras, and viii. 2989, where Rājavadana's "*alavanyatā*" is mentioned. K. wishes to allude to the curious change in the affections of these two personages. Nāga turns to the king's side (viii 2898), while Rājavadana, who owes his rise to the king, becomes the chief support of the pretender.

2862-63. The text of these lines is corrupt, and the emendations upon which the above translation is based, by no means certain. I understand from the preceding verses and 2866 that K. wishes to describe the failed attempt of Nāga to oust Rajavadana from Bhoja's side, and to secure control of the pretender's affairs.

In verse 2862 *nā:īsevatām* of A L gives no sense. I have nothing better to suggest than Durgapr.'s emendation *nārim eva tām*, though I am unable to trace the story to which allusion is made here.—In verse 2863 the context speaks for the emendations of the Calc. Editors, *vyahasan samrihāya*, instead of the senseless *vyasahan sa vihāya*, and *vidhir na* for *vidhi* . . . The simile of this verse is clearly the same as above, vii. 1268.

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2865. The moon injures the pair of tusks of the elephant whose beauty threatens [to outshine] his light. The bees attach themselves with love to the elephant's front, hoping to taste his temple-juice. The lotus shows no pleasure at the moon though it knows that she is the enemy of the elephant (?), and [on the other hand] the bees are not his (the elephant's) enemies, though they know that he harms that [lotus] which gives their nourishment.

2866. Thereupon in order to overthrow *Balahara's* position, he (Nāga) began a feud for life against him taking the side of the king.

2867. Thus he told the defeated *Dāradas* through his own people: "*Rājavadana* has not broken with the king, and wishes to destroy you together with *Bhoja*."

2868-2869. The two generals (*kampanāpati*), the renowned *Kṣemavadana* and . . . . , who led the forces brought by the *Darad*-chief, and *Ojasa*, the commander of the fort, who felt apprehensive, related secretly to *Bhoja* this warning, but he full of insight laughed at them.

2870. Then the light of the sun-like king being concentrated by the army in front as if by a crystal lens fell upon *Viḍḍasīha*, and proceeded to burn him like fuel.

2871. For he (Viḍḍasīha) was attacked by consumption which his evil intention of harming the king had brought on, and became like the waning moon of the dark fortnight.

Retreat of *Daradas*.

2872-2873. When then their lord, who was leading their front in battle and protecting their rear, was attacked by illness, and their position exposed to attacks became undermined by terror, they all fled on the next day, deserting *Balahara* while he was taking his food, and retired into the mountains on their horses.

2874. As they had seen how much *Salhaṇa's* son (Bhoja) was esteemed, they induced him by their requests to come with them, after telling him that they would return in the morning.

2875. As he had before taken an oath by sacred libation, he was against his wish obliged to follow them; but seeing his aims frustrated he felt desperate like one who falls over a precipice.

2865. This verse contains the illustrations of the maxim given in the preceding verse. The interpretation of the second half is rendered difficult by the lacuna in the first word, which A L write *rā . . syaiṣa*. The context requires a word for 'elephant,' but I am unable to find one which agrees with the written syllables. The elephant's relations to the lotus and the moon are alluded to above, viii. 2856. The bees live upon the lotus-flower.

Connect °*pyāyakṛto 'hito*.

2868. Of the name of the second general only the first syllables *Mattā-* (or *Mamu-*) are found in A. By *Daradrājānaka* is meant in all probability Viḍḍasīha, who elsewhere (e.g. viii. 2775), is also designated as Daradrāja. The fort is probably Dugdhaghāta; comp. viii. 2778.

2876-2877. As he moved along the road his eyes could not be seen from shame. Sometimes his face would flame up filled with the blood which rushed in excess to his head. Sometimes it resembled the stones of a staircase when dirty water flows down over them. Sometimes it was level with the ground when he felt as if the sky were falling.

2878. And he thought: "Fie upon us fools, who even after having on repeated occasions observed such greatness in the king, do think that he is of mortal kind."

2879. "Only the head of great poets, strong in imagination and clearly perceiving the truth, is able to describe the shining glory of such [a king]."

2880. "If the sparks from the fire of the king's glory did not fall on the land, then why should we have lost suddenly our courage just when we had put down our foot?"

2881. "Without the heat of his flaming glory how could the bodies of so many brave men have been withered in the tumult [of battle] where the water of the sword-blades (*dhārāmbu*) is drunk?"

2882. "How, without the blindness created by the dense smoke [of his glory], could one with open eyes err in distinguishing the right from the wrong way?"

2883. Then on his arrival there he kept the *Darads* on the other side of the *Madhumatī*, and camped by the bank of the latter, enjoying privacy by the curtain of its waves.

2884. When his dejection had worn off in time, they took him into their own camp, and seized by their growing desire for treason, endeavoured to win [back] his confidence.

2885. For they intended with cunning sharpness to make a bargain of his safe custody, and to draw allowances [for this] from the king whose liberality was unlimited.

2886-2888. "This is not the season for war. The winter is close at hand. In the month of Caitra we shall again undertake a great expedition. If, however, you are unable to be idle, then we shall take you now by the route through the *Bhuṭṭa* territory to the seat (*upaveśana*) of the powerful *Trillaka*. *Rājavadana* is on the king's side." Thus these lowest of men spoke to him cunningly wishing to imprison him in their own territory.

2883. The *Madhumatī* is the stream draining the Band*pōr Nala, a side valley of which leads to the Dud*khut Pass. It is evidently towards the latter that the fleeing Dards retired; comp. note vii. 1171.

2887 *Bhuṭṭa*, as shown already in note i. 312, is a designation used, like the modern Kś. *Buṭ*, for the population of Tibetan origin in general, which inhabits the mountain regions to the E. and N.E. of Kaśmīr. In this sense the term is found, *Jonar.* 168, *Śrīv.* i. 71, 82; iii. 32. 401, 445 sqq.; Fourth Chron. 25.

By *Bhuṭṭarāṣṭra* in our passage probably

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2889. They (the Darads) surpassed, indeed, the deceitfulness of the inhabitants of *Rājapurī*, just as the days of separation [surpass] in wearisome length even the days of the summer heat.

2890. *Balahara* then reproached him through messengers for having gone, saying: "I am like a man put into a well with the rope broken."

2891. Notwithstanding this, he met the eldest son of *Garga* (Ṣaṣṭhacandra) full of vigour in battle, and did not feel alarmed at the approach of the king's army.

2892. It is, indeed, a mark of his high courage that he was not overpowered by the news of the sudden flight of the *Darad* chief, *Bhoja* and the rest.

2893. Who else but a superhuman being could have fought on bravely without breaking off the war, when the strongest support failed?

2894. Then, in order to gain time, he kept putting off *Dhanya* and the lord of the Gate (Udaya) who wished to come to terms, in the hope that *Bhoja* might rejoin him.

Bhoja restored to Alaṁkāracakra.

2895-2896. *Alaṁkāracakra* then arrived to take away the son of *Salhaṇa* (Bhoja). Approaching the *Dāradas* on the score of his relationship he made his request. When, notwithstanding his insistance on this [request], he found that their councils offered opposition and showed persistent malevolence, he declared his resolve to stop until he died, before the bridge on the way.

2897. When the troops of the *Darad* chief saw him preparing to die, together with his followers, who were mostly young men, they became alarmed and felt pity for him.

2898. The *Balaharī* stream seemed to separate with its arms those quarrelling, and to scold the *Darad* force with the sound produced by the breaking of its waves.

2899. Insulted by his own women-folk, by the jealous *Mleccha*-chiefs, and by his troops who were afraid of destruction, *Viḍḍasīha* then let him (Bhoja) go.

the *Drās* territory is meant which adjoins the upper Sind Valley, and is easily accessible from the Darad territory on the Kiṣangaṅgā.

The Darads propose to Bhoja to take him to Drās, which lies on the great route connecting Kaśmīr with Ladākh. From there he could gain in safety the mountains enclosing Kaśmīr on the N.E. and hence the castle of Trillaka. Where the latter's seat was, K. does not exactly tell us. Supposing that it was in *Holaḍā* (Vular), as suggested in note viii. 2808, the route proposed by the Darads would have had distinct advantages.

2889. Compare viii. 1531, and for a modern estimate of Dard double-dealing, which closely agrees with the one indicated by K., DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 442.

2895-96. Regarding *Alaṁkāracakra*, see viii. 2483, 2488, etc. The following verses show that this Dāmara undertakes a kind of *prāyopaveśa*, in order to get Bhoja back into his power.

2898. *Balahari* was, perhaps, the name of the stream which flows from the Dudʰkhut Pass, and after draining the neighbouring valleys joins the Madhumati at Atʰvath (map 'Atawat').

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2900. Thereupon he (Alaṁkāracakra) crossed to the other side, making the defeated guards of the bridge his heralds, and filling the regions with the sound of his kettle-drums.

2901. *Viḍḍasiha* in view of his own and his army's weakness wished to make peace, and after inviting an envoy of the king, spoke to him.

2902. "With your lord, whose power is superhuman, [even] a fisherman might vie as long as he thinks him like one of the feudatories on any of the borders (i.e. as long as he does not recognize his might)."

2903. "Having experienced his incredible [greatness] *Jayarāja* and I go before the god of death to announce his might in heaven."

2904. "To be vanquished by that [king] of divine power is for me as much as victory, [just as] a wanderer who, owing to the break of the bank falls into [the sacred water of] Tīrtha, is thereby elevated."

Viḍḍasiha's return and death.

2905. Then he (Viḍḍasiha) returned to his own town, and after living on there for some time, passed into the kingdom of Yama, where his own disgrace was displayed as his garland of welcome.

2906. *Rājaradana*, too, who did not know that *Bhoja* was coming, made peace that very day with the lord of the Gate (Udaya) and *Dhanya*

2907. After letting him who had come on horseback, return, these two then proceeded before the king, taking along *Sasṭha*, the foremost of the thoughtful.

2908. Forgetting prudence, whether from self-confidence or through delusion, they neglected to take into account the fact that prince *Bhoja* was yet unbroken.

2909. *Rilhaṇa*, though called repeatedly by his lord, who was filled with an obstinate desire [to greet him], did not return, as he had not yet exterminated the enemies.

2910. Until he had accomplished his task he could as little stand before his master as a cook could take his food [until he has obtained] his master's approbation, for which he is eager.

2911. Cut into two by him in battle the pair of *Pṛthvīhara's* sons were as incapable for action as the body of the lord of *Magadha* [when split into two halves] by *Bhīma*.

2912. Worsted by him in that fight, *Losṭhaka* retired to his own territory as

2900. I have left the word *vidrāvitāni*, which I am unable to interpret or to emend satisfactorily, untranslated.

2903. K. makes Viḍḍasiha politely refer to his own approaching death as due to the desire of acting as the proclaimer of Jayasiṁha's greatness in heaven! For *Jayarāja's* death, see viii. 2735.

2908. Read for *'bhajatā* in Ed. which is a misprint, *'bhaja'āh* and divide *mohad vā vimarśana*.

2911. *Losṭhaka* and *Catuṣka* are meant: for the fight referred to see viii. 2830 sqq.

The lord of Magadha is *Jarāsaṁdha* who was formed of two halves, separately born, see *Mahābh.* II., xvii. 12 sqq.; II., xxiv. 1 sqq.

2912. Compare *Mahābh.* I., ccxxvii.

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if it were his mother's womb, just as the serpent [did] which Arjuna had cut up in the *Khāṇḍava* [forest].

2913. *Catuṣka* made himself small, and abandoning his pride retired into the strong residence of *Trillaka*, as the tortoise [draws itself] under its shell.

2914. When he (Rilhaṇa) had thus, with valour, completely accomplished his task, he went before the king to take the glitter of his foot-nails for his head-dress.

2915. After the rebellion had thus been withered up by the king's glory, it put forth its shoots again, owing to the ministers' errors of judgment.

2916. For *Rājavadana* who, while deserving punishment, had been encouraged by grants, heard that *Bhoja* was coming back in safety.

Bhoja is taken to *Dinnāgrāma*.

2917. He then put him with a view to [levying] blackmail [from the king] into a place called *Dinnāgrāma*, a seat of *Khāśakas* (Khaśas).

2918. Thus he spoke to him (Bhoja): "If you had come but yesterday, the lord of the Gate with his few followers would not have escaped from my pursuit."

2919. Shaken like a boat which has got into a violent current, he (Rājavadana) obtained steadiness by the prudent advice which *Trillaka* held out to him, and which resembled a rope [for fastening a boat].

2920. That villain (Trillaka) again took up the leadership in disturbances, thinking that he could thereby make the king sink helplessly under the rising distress.

2921. Though *Alaṁkāra* and the other ministers let him keep at ease, yet he did not abandon his intrigues, as a person who has no control over himself, [cannot abandon] his foolish whims.

2922. The king disregarded him as a physician the disease which is not yet ripe, and then set about to destroy the other enemies which resembled ripe boils.

2923. *Alaṁkāracakra* started, prepared to raise a rebellion after telling *Bhoja*: "You should come from behind if we get into a dangerous situation."

2924. The Ḍāmara (*dasyu*) *Jayānandavāḍa*, son of *Ānandavāḍa*, and other [Ḍāmaras] from *Kramarājya*, distinguished by prowess, followed him.

2925. *Alaṁkāra*, the chief-justice (*rājagṛhya*), who stood in front of them with

2917. *Dinnāgrāma* cannot be identified at present. From this and the other passages mentioning the place, viii 2935, 2951, 3308, it may be concluded that it lay not far from Kramarājya, probably in the hill region to the W. of the Valley.

2918. It is clear that K. wishes to make Rājavadana say that he would not have made peace with Udaya and Dhanya (see viii. 2906) if he had known before of Bhoja's return from the Darads. The correction of °*bravid dhyaś ced* for °*bravic chvaś ced* of A is, therefore, indispensable.

a few troops, appeared to them no more than a dam of sand before the current of a river.

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2926. He, however, took up singly the fight with the many, and thus made the people think of the battle fury of Rāmacara (Balarāma) and others.

2927. For him whose [intoxicating] drink was blood, the battle, as it were, became a tavern, in which he showed his skill in overthrowing the demon-like [enemies] shaking with the excitement of their carouses.

2928. What more [need be told]? He drove away quickly the foes' formidable army anywhere, just as the wind [drives] a heap of cotton.

2929. He killed in battle *Ānandavāda's* son with an arrow and left him a prey for the swarm of vultures, herons and other birds.

2930. Between *Bhoja* who wished to rise up and the king who wished to catch him, things went on as between the partridge running in the bog and the hunter.

2931-2932. As the partridge unable to fly gets tired in its run, thus, too, the hunter who pursues it daily and stumbles in the bog. Thus *Bhoja* got exhausted over these continued violent efforts, and the king, too, who was eager to catch him, fell ever again into fresh bewilderment.

2933. While *Bhoja* was keeping at *Dinnāgrāma*, *Rājavadana*, too, gave occasion to the king to say: "What, are these thievish Caṇḍālas again in luck?"

2934. For the Ḍāmaras whose league had been broken, were again full of courage, weaving intrigues greater than [those they had] before on repeated occasions.

2935. Though they were unable to withstand the single lord of the Gate when he attacked with irresistible onslaughts, yet in reality they wore him out.

Bhoja returns to Kramarājya.

2936. Then there arrived, to protect these and to make others rise, the son of *Salhaṇa* whom *Alaṁkāracakra* had called in after giving him a hostage.

2937. When he was making repeated endeavours to join them with his tired troops the next day at *Hāyāśrama*, the lord of the Gate got news of him.

2938. After he (Udaya) had made under some pretext a false truce with them,

2926. For *Rāmacara* (conjecturally restored for A *Rāma* . *rā*), as a name of Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, comp. *P.W.* s.v. The following verse contains an allusion to Balarāma's love of intoxicating drinks for which he is called *Madhupriya*.

2937. *Hāyāśrama* is the present village of *Hayahōm*, adjoining Drang on the pilgrimage route to the Śāradā shrine; regarding its position, comp. note viii 2507. Hāyāśrama is referred to by Abū-l-Fazl as *Haskāmūa*, on the way to the Śāradā temple. *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 365.

It appears from the following narrative that Bhoja coming from Dinnagrāma (in the west?) wishes to join Alaṁkāracakra and the other Ḍāmaras at Hāyāśrama. Udaya, thereupon to block his way, takes up a position at *Tāramūlaka*, which lies across (*tiryakasthita*) Bhoja's route: see next verse. From there he attacks the village in which Bhoja had taken up his quarters for the night.

Alaṁkāracakra, who searches for the prince, does not find him, and turns back before *Dinnāgrāma*, which is, perhaps, the place occupied by Bhoja. It is unfortunate that the position of *Tāramūlaka* (see note vii. 1314) has not yet been fixed.

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as if he did not know [of Bhoja's coming], he proceeded to *Tāramūlaka* which lay across [Bhoja's route].

2939. While he stood there, *Bhoja* heard in the evening shouts coming from a distance, [one did not know] whence, and expressed his alarm.

2940. Though his followers laughed at him for this groundless fear, yet he did not cease to be alarmed, and got his horses ready.

2941. *Alaṁkāracakra*, who had been inquiring after prince (Bhoja), became then frightened, and fled in haste from before *Daśagrāmī*.

2942. Then at nightfall there arose from the middle of the village a great noise of drums, and the shouting of troops which announced an attack.

Flight of Bhoja.

2943. *Bhoja* escaped unnoticed in the midst of the darkness, while *Alaṁkāracakra* employed himself in preparations to fight the next day.

2944. The fire which the lord of the Gate had put [to the village], lit up the hill-path and thus helped those (Bhoja and his men) who would have lost themselves in the darkness.

2945. The Ḍāmaras who, while waiting for *Bhoja*, had kept the truce with the lord of the Gate, broke it off then when they heard of that event.

† 2946-2947. *Bhoja* retaining his firm mind did not abandon that ill-omened war with *Alaṁkāracakra* (?) . . . .
There, too, *Bhoja* did not find comfort in his food and the rest, as he suffered from thirst.

2948. The lord of the snakes (Vāsuki) had never enjoyed comfort while he was connected with the churning-mountain. On the occasion of the burning of Tripura, he was heated by the fire on [S'iva's] arrows, and on that of the churning of the ocean by the submarine fire.

2949. The sons of *Alaṁkāra*[*cakra*], when *Bhoja* came to their own territory to allay the hunger and thirst from which he suffered, endeavoured to make him again a prisoner.

2950. They wished to do this either on their father's advice or from their own notion. After frustrating their various [attempts], he got away and proceeded then to another tract.

2941. *Daśagrāmī* is only here mentioned: the village lay probably near *Tāramūlaka*.

2946-47. The text has here a lacuna which extends probably over more than the half-verse marked as missing in the Ed. This lacuna makes the interpretation of the extant text of these lines very doubtful.

Uccala, wrongly printed in Ed. as a proper name, is probably to be taken in the sense of 'mind' given for the word in Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, vi. 5 (see *P.W.*).

2948. K. compares the privations which Bhoja suffered each time he acted in concert with Alaṁkāracakra, with the hardships of *Vāsuki* when employed by S'iva in combination with Mount Mandara. At the burning of Tripura Mandara, made for S'iva the bow and Vāsuki the string on it: see viii. 2122. At the churning of the ocean Vāsuki was twisted as a rope round the churning-mountain.

2949. Probably the neighbourhood of *S'irahśilākoṭṭa* is meant.

2950. For *abhusaṁdhāya*, compare note vii. 1255; viii. 1933.

Bhoja retreats to Diṇṇāgrāma.

2951. From there he prudently proceeded again to *Diṇṇāgrāma*, recognizing that only through *Balahara* his affairs could succeed, and having lost confidence in the rest, the *Lavaṇyas*.

2952. In the meanwhile the lord of the Gate, though firmly resolved upon the extermination of the enemies, was rendered helpless and disabled for attack by a sudden eye-disease.

2953. The Ḍāmara who had intended to give his two daughters to *Bhoja*, gave them, when he was defeated, to *Parmāṇḍi* and *Gulhaṇa*, the sons of the king.

2954. The lord of the Gate, being disabled by his serious illness, had there recourse to friendly negotiations, since no opportunity offered itself for meting out punishment.

2955. At that time of great efforts there died also the strong *Ṣaṣṭhacandra*, the son of *Garga*, worn out by a hemorrhoidal ailment.

2956. During the very time he was prostrated with illness, his two younger brothers (Jayacandra and S'rīcandra), full of arrogance, brought misery on the land by making attacks and causing other troubles.

2957. *Trillaka*, who was wholly bent on war, and who was strengthening his alliance with other powerful persons, did not accept even the conciliatory overtures of the king.

2958. When *Ṣaṣṭha* had died and the lord of the Gate was suffering from illness, the king employed *Dhanya* who marched out to *Tārapīṭhaka*.

2959-2960. The king feared that *Bhoja* might after getting detached from that [supporter] fall into the hands of other powerful persons, and thus acquire a firm position, or that he might leave the country and go to [some place] where he could not be got at. He, therefore, wished to secure him by negotiations or other means, and made him (Dhanya) show vigorous zeal in his efforts.

2961. This false policy, whose evil results were not foreseen, fell back upon the king and injured him, just as a snake would when it is dragged out [of a hole] without having his tail cut.

Rājavadana in power.

2962. Both those of the inner and outer court became disaffected when they found that *Rājavadana* held the power while the king was powerless.

2963. In the practice of government as on the way through the gorges of hell, there are found, indeed, always many kinds of holes. A person who has entered

2951. *Balahara-Rājavadana* is not a Lavaṇya, see viii. 2858.

2953. *Parmāṇḍi* has been mentioned above, viii. 1606; for *Gulhaṇa*, comp. viii. 3301.

It is not clear who the Ḍāmara here referred to is, perhaps *Alaṁkāracakra* is meant.

2956. Compare for *Ṣaṣṭhacandra's* brothers, viii. 2763.

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upon it, and frequently follows it, may, by an incalculable dispensation, find his way out or he may come to his fall.

2964. When the king asked *Balahara* (Rājavadana) to give up *Bhoja*, he replied that he (Bhoja) might leave owing to his destitute condition, and thus induced him (Jayasiṁha) to provide for his (Bhoja's) maintenance.

2965. Seeing that this fraud found currency on the king's side, he (Rājavadana), skilled in intrigue, found [other] opportunities for employing his cunning.

2966. *Dhanya* who went and came making everywhere compacts with *Balahara* and the rest, became ridiculous before the people.

2967. The state-business was sliding back again and again, without his seeing the end, just as [if it were] the rope on which the pots of the water-wheel are fastened.

2968. His diplomacy, though sharp, was unable to strike or to reach at his object, just as [if it had been] an arrow [aimed] at a revolving wheel.

2969. The king, though he had taken two kings (Loṭhana, Vigraharāja), was helpless and perplexed about the attack on the remaining one, just as a player at chess [who has taken two kings and is perplexed about taking the third].

2970. He had then no hidden plan [of game] to give up for its sake [his figures]. Yet he did not pay regard to his antagonists who were taking his horsemen, peons and the rest.

Feud of *Rājavadana* and *Nāga*.

2971. While the Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*) who had patched up their league, were waiting for the end of the winter, *Balahara* (Rājavadana) feared that *Nāga* would destroy his own people.

2972. As the latter who had shown himself a powerful and active enemy, was preparing to harm him, and as *Dhanya* was on the move, he was often trembling in alarm.

2973. After taking counsel with *Bhoja*, he (Rājavadana) then sent word to *Dhanya* : "Give me *Nāga* as a prisoner. Then I shall deliver to you *Bhoja*."

2974. *Dhanya* in the worry of his difficult situation, did not recognize that his (Rājavadana's) intention was to give him much work and to secure the imprisonment of his own enemy (Nāga).

2975. It is nothing new that kings should commit wrongs owing to their mind departing from the right way in their haste to achieve their object.

2964. For °*tyāgorthito* correct °*tyāgārthito*.

2969. The similes of this and the following verse are taken from the Indian chess (*caturaṅga*) played by four persons at a time. This game is fully described by Albērūni, *India*, i. p. 183 sqq. Regarding its antiquity, by the side of the bilateral chess, comp. the remarks of Prof. JACOBI, *Z.D.M.G.*, l. pp 232 sqq. "The name *Shāh* or king applies here to the queen (*firzān*)"; ALBĒRŪNI, *loc. cit.*

2971. For Rājavadana's and Nāga's old feud, see viii. 2698, 2722, 2860 sqq.

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2976. *Kakutstha's* brave descendant (Rāma), too, when he searched for his wife (Sītā), committed a wrong act when, wholly bent on winning *Sugrīva's* friendship and blinded by his own advantage, he killed *Vālin*.

2977. The Pāṇḍu king (Yudhiṣṭhira) too, devoted to piety as he was, yet, when his mind was obscured by the pride of royal power, forsook his ever virtuous conduct and killed his own teacher (Droṇa).

2978-2979. Sensible persons did not blame the king for attacking, for the sake of his own advantage, *Nāga*, who, though keeping neutral for the time being, had ever since the war with *Bhikṣu* been a traitor. But they were somewhat angered at the king imprisoning him without having [previously] taken some surety for the delivery of *Bhoja*.

2980. If, however, the king acted in this manner from a knowledge that this action was to be for his benefit in the future, in that case his intellect was superhuman.

2981. *Bhoja*, then, as if he were in enmity [with Rājavadana], sent word to *Nāga*: "*Balahara* intends to deliver me to the king, if you are given to him as security."

2982. He told him this because he did not believe in his (Nāga's) capture, and thought that he (Nāga) on knowing this [plan], would, from fear of the king, hold himself neutral.

Nāga imprisoned.

2983. After the death of *Ṣaṣṭhacandra* the king had gained over *Jayacandra*, and through him then he had *Nāga* brought before himself.

2984. *Bhoja*, apprehending that he (Nāga), if won over by the king, might kill them, sent him, while he was on the way, that [previous] warning.

2985. *Nāga* replied through messengers: "I know that it is so [as you say]. Alas, dragged along by these, I have somehow become helpless."

2986. The ears of the person who sinks into the current of fate, can, forsooth, not hear what is being said by a bystander.

2987. When *Nāga* had been imprisoned, and his relatives in fright had turned to the deceitful *Balahara* for protection, the latter became hard to look at [from pride].

2988. *Dhanya* then, together with *Rilhaṇa*, hastened to *Balahara*, taking along him (Nāga) who was to form the payment for *Bhoja's* sale.

2989. He (Balahara) laughing inwardly, confused them by saying deceitfully: "First you give me *Nāga*. Then I shall deliver you *Bhoja*."

2976. Comp. *Rāmāy* IV. xvi. 27 sqq.

2977. Compare *Mahābh.* VII. cxcii. 12 sqq.

2984. The context shows that we have to read for A *mantriṇam*, as suggested in Ed., *mantritam*: the reference is to viii. 2982.

2987. Nāga's relatives had already before once taken Balahara's protection; see viii. 2784.

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2990. Being unassailable in the firm position he had gained, he made the whole force of the two [ministers] which had come to fight, accommodate itself to his own objects.

2991. Then he said to the two who were worn out by the rain, the fighting, their low employ, and the rest: "If you move away from here, I will do your desire."

2992. When the two stood at a distance of one day's march, he so beguiled their minds that they could not help defeating their objects.

2993. *Balahara* possessed a certain natural perfection of resolve and character, which nowadays is rare indeed [even] among brave men.

2994. He thus did not act treacherously against *Dhanya* who had come to him inconsiderately and had lost his journey, nor against *Bhoja* [as he might have done] from greed.

2995. He thought in his mind: "If the ministers, from an error of judgment, should give up to me *Nāga* at my request, then I should put him [again] in his seat."

Nāga killed in royal camp.

2996. *Loṣṭhaka*, a brother's son of *Nāga*, bore him secret enmity, and induced *Dhanya* and the other [ministers] to destroy him (Nāga) in order to assure [for himself] possession of the wealth which he (Loṣṭhaka) had got hold of during [Nāga's] absence.

2997. When the ministers, deceived by the enemy, killed *Nāga* without cause, the king was blamed for the ill-advised [act] both by those on his own and on the enemy's side.

2998. Thereupon *Balahara* became powerful, being joined by all the Ḍāmaras who turned hostile from anger over the murder of their relative, as well as by the followers of *Nāga*.

2999. Infallible fate can accomplish the object of a person even if he errs on his way and does the wrong thing, deprived of his will by sudden disaster.

3000. If fate is kindly inclined, it makes a person whose mind is absorbed by the thought of his growing wretched poverty, lose his way, helplessly fall suddenly over a precipice and drop upon a treasure stored away by somebody else. Thus, look, fate removes from him his poverty [in return] for a broken limb.

3001. *Bhoja* who did not know that the ministers had thus put *Nāga* to death without proper consideration, became alarmed and thought thus:

3002. "It cannot be believed that this dishonouring (*avarṇāvaha*) act should have been committed by the learned king (*labdhavarṇa*) to achieve his aim, when the pact had not been concluded."

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†3003-3004. . . . .

3005. "Why should not *Rājavadana*, too, under the influence of greed be supposed to share in the treachery which has continued to be rife since the rebellion of *Bhikṣu*?"

3006. Then the *Khāśakas* (Khaśas), in order to dispel his fear and distrust, took an oath by sacred libation, placing their feet on a blood-sprinkled skin.

3007. As he showed his fear at being kept under the custody of guards, *Balahara* came to him singly to assure him.

Jayasiṁha's endeavours to secure *Bhoja*.

3008. When the enterprise had failed through the ministers' deficient intellect, the experienced king himself turned to right it and calmly exerted himself.

3009. Is it not that the grove of trees is put right by the month of Caitra? the water of the river by the rainy season; virtue and dignity by respectful treatment; love at sight by close intercourse; royal power by great energy; conquering might by firm undaunted perseverance, and a business which is on the point of failing, by King *Siṁhadeva*?

3010. By going against the stream one cannot get across an affair which carries off what comes in its way, by its obstinate course resembling the current of a river.

3011. Thus, while the king's enemies called him falsely a cheat and a fool, he endeavoured to defeat them by exhibiting an artless demeanour.

3012. His plan was to bestow whatever was asked on those who were about *Bhoja*, and thus to make them all around distrusted by him.

3013. Even the rivers will appear to the elephants as if on flames, if their flat banks smell with the lion's scent.

3014-3015. Like a bird which feels afraid everywhere in its nest full of holes, and knows that on leaving it will fly into the net stretched out before the opening, —thus was *Bhoja* who distrusted those about him and felt also afraid to depart owing to the routes outside being blocked by the king.

3016. In the wretched state he had then fallen into, he did not see for a moment before himself any task which could divert his mind or be useful for this world or the next.

3017. A misfortune which smites heavily another person, pains mightily a

3003-4. The text of these two lines is preserved in so defective a form that no translation can be attempted. They seem to have contained the reasons which induced Bhoja to suspect Rājavadana of designs against his safety.

3006. Regarding the ceremony accompanying the *kośapana* here referred to, see note v. 326.

The mention of the Khaśas shows that Bhoja is still at Dinnāgrāma; see viii. 2917, 2951.

3008. Correct with Durgāpr. *uttambhanaṁ*.

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much wounded heart. The bee caught in the calix of the lotus becomes more dejected when it hears the cries of the Cakravāka bewailing its separation.

Bhoja and the Brahman.

3018. He (Bhoja) saw once a Brahman whose wounds received in fighting were still full of coagulated blood, his hair was torn out, his mouth was foaming, and loud his lament.

3019. Asked by him he related that rebel Ḍāmaras had carried off all his possessions and had wounded him, and then he reproached him (Bhoja) as unable to afford protection.

3020. Suffering daily in his mind from his own misery, he felt pained by the misfortune of that [Brahman], as if he had a fresh wound touched, and spoke thus, trying to conciliate [him]:

3021. "I do no deserve blame, O Brahman, but rather sympathy, such as I am [now] in distress." Thereupon he replied:

3022. "Say then, O prince, what advantage does this obstinate persistence bring to you who are a youth capable of distinguishing what is true and what is not, born of a noble race and honourable?"

3023. "What object do you see in risking your life, bowing before base persons, and troubling the people with afflictions?"

3024. "And he whom you believe conquerable, do you not know that like the spotless deer which cleanses itself in fire (*agniśauca*), he [purifies himself] by throwing himself into the fire of his enemies' bravery?"

3025. "Can the crystal against which the point of a sword proves useless, be split by the hollow leaf of a blue lotus?"

3026. "Will not such tiny enemies be worsted in the contest with him who has vanquished *Pṛthvīhara*, the 'Incarnation' (Bhikṣācara), and other [powerful] opponents?"

3027. "How can you feel pride, though knowing the ways of those who live as pretenders? Their minds are engrossed by [mere] subsistence like those of the snakes caught by snake-charmers."

3028. "O shame upon those little snakes, born from the race of the earth-supporting serpent (S'eṣanāga), which gladly receive a food morsel in their mouth-cavities when the snake-charmers open them. They wish to make their living by them, not indeed to spread their fame, when they make them jump into the bag and out again to frighten the people."

3029. When the Brahman had thus spoken, *Bhoja* dismissed him with kindly words, and at that very time his judgment quickly expanded.

3024. For *agniśauca*, see note v. 15.

3026 *Avatāra*, the 'Incarnation,' was an appellation given to Bhikṣācara by his Ḍāmara adherents; see viii. 858.

3030. The possession of a noble soul causes the greatness of mental quietude to appear. Otherwise, indeed, the beings display their natural softness or hardness. An [ordinary] object when touched by the rays of the moon whose light is nectar, may be hard, while the moon-stone, O wonder, becomes moist and soft [under the moon's rays].

3031. Though he was born in a Kṣattriya family, he had not learned to be impudent, and again and again he reflected upon the great distance between himself and the king.

3032. "Before the prowess, wisdom, liberality, truthfulness, kindness and other virtues of this ruler even the kings of old are cripples. How can we wretches compete with him?"

[3033-3039. Verses expressing the belief that the king would relieve the troubles of his opponent if he came to him as a supplicant. The king is compared to the sandalwood-tree which gives coolness even to him who has set the forest on fire to burn it, etc.]

Bhoja treats for his own surrender.

3040. While he was searching for a way to propitiate the king, he saw one day a single royal messenger who was proceeding to *Balahara*.

3041. He (Bhoja) had seen him before when he was going to the *Darad*-country, and knew him well. As he was making his bow he called him into his presence and then spoke to him with a smile.

3042. "What is the use of the king treating with others? Let him make a pact with me. Sensible persons have the food for a patient given by the physician."

3043. When the knowing messenger who did not believe in it smiled [as if it were] a joke, he talked to him repeatedly and convinced him to some extent.

3044. In the course of their conversation he came to feel confidence in the honesty of *Bhoja's* words, and then going up close to him spoke thus praising the king:

3045. "O prince, the shade of the feet of this [king] who is noble and of an auspicious nature, is obtained like that of the Golden Mountain (Sumeru), only by those who possess merits."

3046. 'His hostility can be removed even by a very slight compliance [with his wishes], just as the warmth of the water due to the heat of the autumn sun, [is removed] by the moonlight."

3047. "And you remember that I, employed by the king as a spy, had once been before you when you were going to the *Darad*-country."

3048. "When I had returned from there and had reported the main facts about you, I said to the king while extending the story to pass the time:"

3039. The word *dhanyaḥ* in Ed. should have been printed in small type.

3049. "'O king, when his followers exhausted by hunger, thirst and fatigue were reviling you, *Bhoja* who had seen me, scolded them and said:'"

3050. ""He is as it were our divinity, the ornament of our race, that ruler whose feet we cannot serve owing to our evil deeds.""

3051. ""Worthless altogether as we are, we receive respect owing to our connection with him. The wood which is perfumed by the sandal-wood's scent is mistaken for it.""

3052. "On hearing this he showed that he was moved to compassion with you, and asked me again as if he were your father: 'What is it, the young man says?'"

3053. Upon hearing this, *Bhoja's* heart melted, and with tears in his eyes he looked upon the messenger who stood before him and seemed to console him.

3054. If a person is so simple-minded that he grasps only what is quite plain, he fails to comprehend the disposition [of another] owing to his not knowing the motives [guiding] his judgment.

3055. When this messenger came back with *Bhoja's* message, *Dhanya* did not believe in the latter's desire, as he was not [at the time being] in a difficult position.

3056-3057. *Bhoja* fearing that *Balahara* might take offence, told the latter with feigned openness: "It will be a game as it was in the case of *Nāga*. I am using playful cunning to deceive the king." Secretly, however, he (Bhoja) hastened to complete the pact [with the king].

3058. He quickly employed for carrying his message the son of a foreigner (*daiśika*), who was fit to give assistance on that occasion and who was clever in intrigues.

3059. *Balahara* had no suspicion against *Bhoja*, as he thought that that [messenger] being a mere boy and always quite unconnected, might be carrying on an intrigue on his own account.

3060. On his return this [youth] told *Bhoja*: "The king whom I have approached, expects a person of confidence as the envoy for effecting the compact."

3061. As he (Bhoja) had no other trusted person about him there, he sent to the king his own nurse, *Nonā* by name, though as a [mere] woman she had not [much] intelligence.

3062. This worthy woman had attended him when he was left without father or mother, and had been as a mother to him during his boyhood.

3054. The meaning of this line is doubtful. It seems to refer to Dhanya's inability to comprehend Bhoja; see next verse.

3056. Connect °*vṛttāntena*.

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Bhoja asks Queen Kalhaṇikā to mediate.

3063-3069. He wished the queen *Kalhaṇikā* to mediate [between himself and the king]. She was free from jealousy and used, in order to please her husband, to help her co-wives as a friend in getting up finery which would keep, and other [means of attraction]. The king never sees this noble Kṣattriya lady perplexed whether affairs are in a straitened condition or prosperous, owing to [her following] the opinion of capable advisers. When the king was inaugurated, she had received the diadem of chief-queen (*mahādevī*) desired for her by her father-in-law (Sussala) and the people. Her mind does not rush into wrong actions notwithstanding the incitements offered by the love of her children, the desire for pleasures and the wish to gratify her husband. Her mind is at one with that of her husband in regard to friendly relations with their own people and others. In luck she is without arrogance and her virtuous conduct unsullied. She knows her lord's way of thinking since her youth. Carefully safeguarding her honour and noble descent, she would not engage in affairs leading to an ignoble course. [In compliance with Bhoja's wish] she arranged for his journey from his starting place until he should reach the frontier.

3070-3071. In full accordance with the agreement (?) the queen thereupon made ample provisions for the safe keeping of the mediating sureties (*lagnaka*), and [sent] for his (Bhoja's) expenses on the way plenty of gold, etc., from her own treasure chest, and further, for his protection, eight Rājaputras of particularly high descent.

3072. *Dhanya* on receiving that message came himself and made the king assure the nurse of the fulfilment of [Bhoja's] wish.

3073. The king though he immediately put trust in her, yet was filled with doubts in his heart in regard to [the effects of] this policy (?).

3074. For he thought: "From weariness or cunning he shows no hostility [now]. He ought therefore to be helped out of his difficult position. Yet in time he may turn into an enemy."

3075. "While the net of the clouds has not disappeared entirely, the sun, though appearing, cannot shine long, nor can judgment [display itself long] while there remains a rest of troubles."

3076. "Or perhaps, thinking us fools on account of the murder of *Nāga*

3069. The expressions used by K. in the second half of this verse are obscure, but the following account of Kalhaṇikādevī's preparations for the journey speaks for an interpretation as above.

3070-71 These verses too, along with those immediately following, show defects and obscurities in their wording which can scarcely be put down entirely to the account of the copyist's negligence.

3072. The double *sa* shows that the text is not in order.

3073. *rājadharmasya ca vaśaṁ* evidently contains a corruption. The translation is conjectural.

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which was thoughtless, he has set this fraud on foot to promote his own objects?"

3077. "Such judgment in a youth, who has made his mark, who is not weak, is capable, supported by many, and is a Kṣattriya, is not to be seen elsewhere."

3078. "The saffron-flower, however, has no stem, the fruit of the Kṣīrin plant [comes forth] without a flower, and in great men the indifference to worldly ambition is not bound to the passing of a certain age."

3079. "The prince ought not to be abandoned, however deep his cunning may be, and however great his power of transforming himself. What is the use of our eyes if we do not look at him?"

3080. "The queen and these Rājaputras expect that he (Bhoja) will lose his prestige (? by his surrender), and think that there is plainly no other course open but to act with straightforwardness and energy."

3081. "A stream which follows a crooked course, cannot plainly be seen by all; it is the regular thing as when a drop of water falls from the locks of a beloved woman."

3082. After thus considering the policy indicated by proper wisdom, he confided the course to be followed to the ears of *Dhanya* and *Rilhaṇa*, after dismissing the other [ministers].

Dhanya proceeds to Bhoja.

3083. "The son of *Salhaṇa* wishes to see you to assure his object." Thus invited by [Bhoja's] messengers, *Dhanya* proceeded to meet him.

3084. In order not to frighten by a [display of] armed force [the prince] who was wishing to make peace, he (Dhanya) kept with a few followers on an island in the stream while awaiting his arrival.

3085. The stream whose water [before] had only reached to the knee, became when the snow melted under the heat, terrifying by its waves, which reached to the sky.

3086. The stream then, [as if it had been] seized by jealousy, became unfordable even for elephants, and thus blocked he was in the power of the enemies who were waiting for their opportunity

3087. As they huddled together in their white clothes within that [island] which was washed on both sides by the waves of the river, they resembled the sea-foam.

3081. The translation of the first half of this verse is based on the conjectural readings of the Calc. editors; the text is corrupt.

3084. K. has forgotten to give us the name of this river or any other indication which might help towards its identification. From the subsequent reference to *Pāñcigrāma* (see note viii. 3124) it appears however probable that the Kahmil River, flowing from the mountains to the W. of Uttar, is meant.

3086. Emend with Durgāpr. *arāptayerṣyayā.*

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3088. Thousands of *Khāśakas* (Khaśas) stood prepared to kill *Dhanya*, thinking that under these circumstances he was in *Bhoja's* power.

3089. The guileless son of *Salhaṇa* seemed to touch his ears with his eyes which [looked] pitiful from anxiety, and threatened them with these words to ward off the mischief.

3090. "If he were killed who has hastened up in trust and without evil thought, then verily our descent to hell would be inevitable."

3091. "Nor would his murder diminish the power of the king who has many servants. Tārkṣya (Garuḍa) does not lose his swiftness owing to the destruction of one wing."

3092. "Thus otherwise kings earn blame by harming those who trust them. Why should the equal harm the equal if he remembers his task ? (?) "

3093. "Because just as he serves the king with whole devotion for his maintenance, so it is also my desire to obtain service with that [ruler]."

3094. When after his speaking to them these and other proper [words] they stood by their intention, he prevented [its execution] by persistently threatening to kill himself.

3095. Then in order to forestall this danger, he induced them at night, as many as they were, to swear an oath by sacred libation [for his safety], and informed him (Dhanya) hereof.

Queen Kalhaṇikā sent to receive Bhoja.

3096-3097. When he (Dhanya) had reported [Bhoja's] straightforward conduct, the resolute and clear-minded king who did not feel assured as to the success, carefully thought over how to complete the compact, and then despatched the queen [Kalhaṇikā] together with the ministers to *Tāramūlaka*, without letting his resolution be known by others.

3098. She agreed to her lord's request as to her journey, and then fearing lest reasons of policy might render harsh acts unavoidable, spoke thus :

3099. "O my noble lord, after having once witnessed false conduct in distinguished ministers, should we not reflect before putting trust in enemies ? "

3100. "How should the corporeal nature of human beings be capable of fathoming what rises in the solitude of others' minds ?"

3101. "I am prepared to protect your person at the cost of my life, but the rule of conduct for a virtuous woman does not allow [all] what policy sanctions."

3089. To touch the ear with one's hand is a sign of prohibition.

3092 The purport of the second half of this line is not clear. For *badhyate* we have probably to correct *bādhyate.*

3099. The allusion seems to be to the murder of *Nāga* by Dhanya and the other ministers ; see viii. 2896 sqq.

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3102. "In contentious business virtuous conduct is displayed by words only. With you as his enemy, O king, *Bhoja* has begun to sell snow on the Snowy Mountain (Himādri)."

3103. "The people nowadays, being mostly of base character, do not keep peace, know no difference between what is their own and what is others', and are completely spoiled by conceit."

3104. "Even a virtuous king rushes in his anger into harming a confiding person, when his mind is perverted by sons, ministers, women or others."

3105. "Your majesty, whose word is true and faithful to engagements, drinks forsooth glory along with me in the single cup formed by the three worlds."

3106. "If on the other hand I should have to sacrifice my life for those who are to be protected [by me] from destruction, then I alone should enjoy the glory and should thus come into the society of the selfish."

3107. When the virtuous queen had stopped after these words, the king whose intentions were right, took leave from her and sent her to her task without relieving her scruples.

3108. All the people, too, thought inwardly: "What? Does the king in his rashness intend to afford protection to [him who is the embodiment of] all misfortune and ruin, and to appoint [him] an allowance?"

3109. "Because if he has exhausted all expedients [and has gone] so far as to despatch the queen, there remains nothing else whatever to be tried."

Intrigues of Ḍāmaras.

3110-3111. Those Ḍāmaras who owing to differences with their own party or from a wish to await whether the king would show strength or weakness, had somehow retained a neutral position, they all, whether small or big, threw off the fetters of respectful attention and entered into intrigues with those of *Bhoja's* household.

3112. They quickly abandoned their neutral attitude, as they thought that it was owing to their having remained mere onlookers in the struggle for the crown, that *Bhoja* had got into such a situation.

3113. *Trillaka* sent quickly his son to *Bhoja*, and made *Catuṣka* invade *S'amālā* with strong forces.

3114. The Ḍāmaras of *Nīlāśva* who had even during *Bhikṣu's* insurrection kept a friendly attitude towards the king, also joined the enemy.

3102. The verse contains evidently a proverb, corresponding to the 'taking of owls to Athens.' But its application in the present case is not clear.

3104. For °*mantryavirodhā*° correct °*mantryavarodhā*°

3106. The extant text is undoubtedly corrupt and gives no sense. The above translation is based on the conjectural emendations *anyadā yaśaḥ* for *anyadāśayaḥ* (see *yaśaḥ* in preceding verse) and °*svādayantyāḥ syād* for °*svādayantyādād*.

3108. I believe that an allusion to Bhoja is intended. The wording is obscure.

3114. Regarding the *Nīlāśva* district, see note vii. 1631.

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3115. There remained [faithful] three Ḍāmaras from *Lohara*, *Devasarasa* and *Holaḍā*, and one Ḍāmara-lady from *Nīlāśva*.

3116. The snow did not cease to fall upon the force of *Salhaṇa's* son which contained the various *Lavanyas*, [as little] as the noise of the streams swelled by the rains [ceases] to rise from the ocean.

3117. *Bhoja*, on hearing of the coming of the queen, said then openly to *Balahara*: "Truly I am filled with the wish to make peace [with the king]."

3118. "For so many days one man has deceived the other. Who could remain separated from his family when his female relatives become sureties?"

3119. "Where the crest-jewel of the family (Jayasiṁha) shows such affection, how could persons of small import like myself display harshness?"

3120. "And as to your saying that this is a stratagem, be it so, that I am duped. I shall not become disgraced by merely having shown confidence?"

3121. "And you should not hope for victory, saying: 'Now we are all united.' Such arrays we have seen [before], and yet we have climbed down from our exaltation."

3122. This and more said *Bhoja* that was advised by prudence, and *Balahara* and the rest could not make him turn from his resolution.

3123. The chiefs said to him: "Why have you changed your mind when the time of seeing the fruit [of your efforts has come], and when the complete destruction of the enemy is [achievable] within two or three days?"

3124. While the queen remained at *Tāramūla*, *Dhanya* and *Rilhaṇa* accompanied by their troops proceeded from there to *Pāñcigrāma* along with the Rājaputras.

March to *Pāñcigrāma*

3125. When *Bhoja* learned that those two had arrived and had taken up a position on the near (southern ?) bank of the river, he also approached them keeping in the thicket on the opposite side.

3126. Some in the king's force did not trust in the compact when they saw soldiers coming continually from all directions into his (Bhoja's) camp.

3127. *Rājavadana* (Balahara) thought often of slaying *Dhanya* and the rest who had persisted in proceeding there with few troops and were unable to get away.

3128. Some who were eager to fall upon the king's army, kept in hiding on boats on the *Mahāpadma* lake, after cutting the bridge from *Suyyapura*.

3121. K. makes Bhoja allude to the previous discomfiture of the allied Darad and Ḍāmara forces, see viii. 2842 sqq.

3123. Emend with Calc. Ed. *saṁvṛtta iti* for *saṁvṛttam iti*.

3124. *Pāñcigrāma* is probably the present *Panzgām*, a large village in Uttar, situated close to the left bank of the Kahmil River, circ. 74° 8′ long. 34° 28′ 45″ lat. (not shown on map). The village lies on the route which leads up the valley of the Kahmil River and over the 'Nattishannar' Pass (Bates; map 'Naschau Galli') into Karnāv.

3128. For *Suyyapura*, the present *Sōpūr*, see note v. 118; regarding *Mahāpadma*, the name of the Volur lake, comp. note iv. 593.

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Preparations for Ḍāmara rising.

3129. Others who were disaffected against the king, were awaiting the news of a bold action on his (Rājavadana's) part, in order to rise, and occupied various positions on their respective routes.

3130. The Ḍāmaras of *Bhāṅgila* and other [neighbouring districts] planned an attack on the town of *S'aṁkaravarman* and those of *S'amālā* to get at the *Kṣiptikā.*

3131. *Trillaka* and others counted upon reaching the banks of the *Mahāsarit*, and the Ḍāmaras of *Nīlāśva* were to make an attempt (? *viśā*) on the centre of the City.

3132. What more [need be said]?. All were together preparing to slay those belonging to the royal court, like ducks surrounded in the water.

3133. The affair, the plan of which was jeopardized on every side, then appeared [uncertain], as when rain [is doubtful] owing to a season of drought being interfered with by a conjunction of planets.

3134. *Bhoja* became perplexed, having to hold back *Balahara* who wished, at every step, to rise and destroy the royal army.

3135. Wishing to frustrate the peace-negotiations, he (Balahara) raised every moment some obstacle to the arrangements in preparation.

3136. Whatever misunderstanding there arose between the two camps *Bhoja* himself. full of firm resolve, hastened to put it down.

3137. The flatterers of the king, who were boisterous when sent as envoys and when things stood well, became despondent from fear in the critical state of affairs.

3138. What has been proclaimed in the land under the beating of drums, that they say into his (the king's) ear. With their bodies bent down and in a doleful

3130. A comparison of this passage with viii. 732, and other passages where Ḍāmara attacks against S'rīnagar are referred to, shows clearly that we have to correct *S'amālāḥ kṣiptikā°* instead of *S'amālakṣiptikā°*. The *Kṣiptikā* canal to the south of S'rīnagar is regularly mentioned as the point of attack for the S'amālā Ḍāmaras under Pṛthvīhara's leadership; see viii. 732, 955, 1006, 1061, 1116, 1126, 1164. (For Pṛthvīhara's home in S'amālā, see viii. 591.)—*S'amāla*, like Devasarasa, is used as an adjective, 'an inhabitant of S'amālā' (Hamal); comp. vii. 1022; viii. 1517, 2811; also note viii. 1136.

The 'town of S'aṁkaravarman,' the present *Paṭan* (see note v. 156; viii. 2488), is situated in the Pargaṇa of Bāngil (Bhāṅgila): regarding the latter comp. note vii. 498.

What is intended by the gloss *S'eāl* written by A_1 over S'amālā I am unable to say.

3131. The bank of the *Mahāsarit* is elsewhere referred to as the place from which the rebels from Holaḍā (Vular) and other parts of Maḍavarājya besiege the city; see viii. 733, 753, 1158. In the note on viii. 2808 it has already been suggested that Trillaka's seat was in Holaḍā.

The word *viśā* is unknown, and possibly corrupt.

If the suggestion made in note vii. 1631 regarding the position of *Nīlāśva* is correct, we should expect the Ḍāmaras of that tract to attack the city towards its centre, i.e. from the north.

3134. Instead of A *rājacamūpathāyo°* which gives no proper sense, read, perhaps, *rājaçamūmathāyo°*.

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fashion they tell that which makes him feel ashamed. They boastfully say hard things which cut to the quick, such as an enemy even would not say. Verily, whoever are embodiments of roguery and foolishness, they are the king's flatterers.

3139. The buffoon on the dancing stage; the patchwork poet (*kanthākavi*) in the streets, where pungent stories [circulate]; the dog which guards the cow-pen in the courtyard of his own place; the *khaṭāku* (?) in his hole on the mountain; and the parasite in the royal palace,—they all verily display skill in acting as heroes [in attacks] on cakes (i.e. as cowards). Elsewhere, O wonder, they behave like the tortoise when it is dragged out of the lake.

Night preceding *Bhoja's* surrender.

3140. The daylight then quickly took rest upon the height of the lofty mountain (*kṣmābhṛt*) whose heat had ceased when the force of the sun passed.

3141. The sun showed his red disc while his rays were mingling with that of his brother Anūru (the Dawn), and were resting on the top of the mountains.

3142. The goddess of the dawn (*Saṁdhyā*), appearing as mediator in front of day and night, received worship from the people who stood with hands folded.

3143. As the moon (*rājan*) was about to rise (*or*, as the king was about to be successful), the tusks of the elephants showed blisters, the pores of the moon-stones opened [to emit moisture], and the ocean began to swell [in tide].

3144. The bees deprived of their double sustenance (the lotus-honey and the elephants' temple-juice) took their place [for the night] only on the elephants' temples as the lotuses were [closed] in dejection.

3145. The ministers who did not see the end of the affair, and who were in a critical situation, stood in anxiety with their troops on the river bank.

3146. Nowhere there appeared to them a firm foothold. As to those who are carried off by a current, everything seemed to them unstable and moving.

3147. In *Balahara*, who was stopping on the other bank, there rose again and again the desire to attack, but the son of *Salhaṇa* stopped him.

3148. The small force which the ministers had [brought thinking] that the affair was got over, could have been easily destroyed by the powerful [Balahara].

3149. As in the City on occasion of the pilgrimage to the confluence of the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu*, thus the people there kept moving about at night untired.

3139. The word *khaṭāku*, unknown to the dictionaries, evidently designates some animal.

3140-41. These verses permit of a second interpretation in which the word *kṣmābhṛt* must be taken as 'king.' The version given above is the one intended in the narrative. Similar double meanings are contained in the other verses, giving a conventional description of the nightfall.

3142. There is a lacuna of two syllables in this line. An allusion to Queen Kalhaṇikā is intended.

3149. People who are about to visit the Kaśmīr Prayāga (see Note *I.* v. 97-100), start in boats during the night from S'rīnagar, so as to reach the Tīrtha in the morning.

For *tathā tathā°* correct *tathā tatra°*.

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3150. The Rājaputras had been intricated by letters which [officials] of the outer and inner courts, led on by various persons, had sent to break up the combination of the Ḍāmaras.

3151. His deceitful followers could not make the brave [Bhoja] abandon his courage or firm resolve, though they raised tumultuous scenes.

3152-3154. *Bhoja* did not trust the assembled chiefs, and calmly reflected: "If this [Balahara] is treated with neglect then he might, in his anger, make a sudden attack and cause a great misfortune; and if he has once begun the slaughter, then the Ḍāmaras (*dasyu*) would gather from all sides like Brahmans [assembling for a Prāyopaveśa]." Therefore he pretended to be prepared for acting treacherously and conciliated *Balahara* by saying: "Let us carry out the attack when the night has passed."

3155. From kind consideration for the fact that the chiefs who had come for his sake, had no food, this scion of a noble race also did not eat.

3156. The ministers, however, full of diffidence, did not know that his opinion did not differ from theirs, and thought that he was acting perfidiously.

3157. Even the darting of the fishes, when the birds were stretching out their wings, made them think that the enemy was rushing forth to a close attack.

3158. Absorbed in [thoughts over] their discomfiture they believed that on the other side of the river there was no one in trouble but the Cakravāka-birds.

3159. As Rāma's monkey-spy (Hanumat) was helped to cross the ocean by his father, the wind, so the wind enabled their spies to cross the stream.

3160. These [spies] passed the night awake, keeping close to the enemies, whose ears were deafened by the sound of the trees on the banks [moving in the wind].

Bhoja's arrival in royal camp.

3161-3165. At daybreak, when the ray-bundles of the rising sun had not yet removed the illusion of a golden lotus [placed] on the top of a mountain, and when the night-dew had not yet dried up from the eye-like buds of the plants which thus seemed to lament the solitary sight of the Cakravākas,—they saw a youth who had arrived on the river-bank, carried in a litter, and was coming towards them, beautifully dressed, and carrying a battle-axe. Accompanied by a few men on foot, he had just got out from the edge of the forest. He was driving on the litter-carriers by touching their heads with his foot. The Ḍāmara-soldiers who

3150. The purport of this verse is not certain.

3153. There is a small lacuna in this verse, as also in 3158, 3161.

3155. In order to get some sense into this corrupt passage, it is necessary to adopt the correction of the Calc. Ed., as shown in note of Ed.

3156. Correct, perhaps, *svamatyavaimatyaṁ* for A *samatyāvaimatyam*.

3157. The text of this verse is not in order, but the purport must be as above

3163. The comparison of verse 3165 shows that A *yuddhyavāhān* is a corruption for *yugyavāhān*.

wished to hold him back, he was driving off on all sides in ignominy, by his glances.

3166. When they saw him, with his forehead bearing a mark in sandal-ointment and smeared with saffron, they knew that this was *Bhoja* though they had not seen him before.

3167. He had passed the night beguiling *Rājavadana* (Balahara), and after taking sudden leave from him in the morning, had thus come before them.

3168. When his litter had got into the water, *Dhanya* and the rest hastened towards him, from the other side, urging on their horses, and joyfully surrounded him.

3169. Then there arose tumultuous noise in both camps, in the one of loud laments, in the other of joyful shouts.

3170. The Ḍāmaras rushed forth from all directions on hearing the shouting, in the belief that there was fighting. When they saw that he was siding with the opponents they beat their heads.

3171. *Dhanya* and the other [ministers] gave him an honourable reception, which was accompanied by laudatory addresses, in which there was nothing embarrassing, and in which all kept their proper places.

3172. Restraining the heart's joy which was overflowing with might on all sides, *Dhanya* then praised him in various ways and said:

3173. "O prince, this earth is purified by you who are of a firm character, and are the abode of the wise (*sumanas*), as it is by Mount Meru [which is firm and the abode of the gods (*sumanas*)]."

3174. "Your word (*gau*) which remains of all words unaltered, surpasses the milk of the milk-ocean which is subject to changes."

3175. "Who but you has succeeded in escaping from the midst of the base and joining those of his own race, like a male Kokila?"

3176. "After you have first opened up the road of righteous conduct, it is no wonder, if in [your] wake we move further."

3177. When he had given replies to these and other lengthy addresses, they put him on a horse which was proudly capering, and led him away with praises.

3178. The *Lavanyas* then followed him with shouts for some Krośas, just as the crows [follow] croaking the Kokila which is being taken away by his own kind.

3166. See regarding the use of saffron-paint, vi. 120.

3174. The word *vasan* is evidently corrupt and has been left untranslated.

3175. The Kokila bird is supposed to be brought up by the crow and to return to his own kind when grown up.

3178. Correct in Ed. *krośān* for *krośan* which is a misprint.

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Bhoja makes peace with Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1145).

3179. Thus on the tenth day of Jyaiṣṭha of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] twenty-one (A.D. 1145) the king won over that [prince] who was then in his thirty-third year.

3180. The queen greeted him like a dear son when he saluted her on his arrival, and as his attendants were tired, arranged for his food.

3181. On seeing him endowed with many qualities which were befitting one of the lunar race, she who had not known him before, thought that her eyes deceived her.

3182. Judging from her truthfulness, kindness, gracefulness and other natural good qualities, he knew that the king [too] was of an immaculate character.

3183. The colour of the face indicates the mental disposition, the splendour of the gate the wealth of the house, and the conduct of the wife the character of the husband.

3184. When in the evening he showed signs of being tired by the journey and was preparing to move away, no one from consideration said to him: "Go before the king."

3185. Then the ministers who had somehow retained their objections to acting as mediators (?), said to him: "The king whose jealousy is not allayed, wished to give you an order."

3186. This word which was like an introduction to the order: "Go before the king," stuck in the orifice of his ear like a spike.

3187. For a long time he [felt] as if cut to the quick, and when he recovered his calm, he noticed that the firm resolve of the mediators had from kind regard stopped at their lips.

3188. When he was speaking bitterly as if he wished to give up his life, they allayed his agitation by conciliatory words, while bending down their heads attentively.

3189. Nobody believed that he could by a [right] answer change his (Bhoja's) demeanour which, though unfriendly, was appropriate and eloquent.

3190. Thereupon the brave *Dhanya* spoke tenderly, while the glitter of his teeth seemed to display the devotion to his lord which filled his heart

[3191-3200. Dhanya represents to Bhoja that it is necessary for the completion

3185. The translation of this verse is doubtful. I have followed the reading of A *trādikṣu*, correcting *aśānteṛṣyo* for A *āśānteṛṣyo*.

3186-88. We have here a somewhat obscure account of what takes place after Bhoja's arrival at the queen's camp at Tāramūlaka. Bhoja apparently pretends to be tired by his march from the place of meeting, and wishes to get away again without going to see the king. When told that the king expects him, he takes offence and thinks himself betrayed. Thereupon the ministers again feel alarmed.

Dhanya's tender speech subsequently allays these mutual misunderstandings, and induces Bhoja to start again for the city.

of their pact that he should see the king. The latter's virtues are praised, and life at his court described as high fortune. If Bhoja can find there happiness by the side of his relative, there is no reason for him to seek shelter with other rulers.]

3201. Though he was unable to refute this able speech adequately, and had abandoned the small remnant of his guile, yet he showed reluctance to start.

3202. When, [however,] he saw everywhere on the road the inhabitants singing his praises, his mind became firmly convinced that he was acting rightly.

3203. The dust rising from the feet of the foot-soldiers made it appear as if the earth had formed an alliance with the sky.

† 3204. *Bhoja* . . . . was reflecting: "Shall I get to the king? Will not intriguing enemies oppose my seeing him?"

† 3205. "Who obtains in the residence of rulers . . . . an opportunity for showing his great qualities without meeting between with the obstruction of parasites?"

† 3206. "The stream of the Himâlaya-waters (Gaṅgâ) has flown forth with the hope that owing to the coolness it brings, it would be welcome to the ocean, which suffers from the submarine fire. But at the very time the stream falls into the ocean, it is swallowed up by the sea-monsters and . . . . [fails in its hope]."

3207. Benumbed by such and similar reflections he did not notice the commotion of the town and the rest, and knew that the palace was near only when the soldiers stopped their horses.

Bhoja's reception by the king.

† 3208-3212. The king standing on a high mansion and surrounded by the ministers, looked at him as he was coming up after descending from his horse. . . . . He was neither very tall nor very small. His face was darkened by the sun-rays. His body was of yellowish colour like the pericarp of the lotus and very languid. His shoulders were thick set like the hump of a bull and his chest broad. His not very large beard let the length of his cheeks and neck be seen. He had a high nose and lips [red] like the ripe Bimba fruit. His forehead was broad and not projecting. . . . . He moved with a firm, grave step. His garments and head-dress were properly fitted, and sandal-ointment . . . . [marked his forehead] with a line which white like the moon . . . . reached up to the parting of the hair.

3204-6. These verses and those subsequently marked with an †, show small *lacunæ* of two to four Akṣaras.

3212. Correct with Durgâpr. *harmyasthaḥ* for *harmyastha°*.

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3213. Then sought by the king's eye which opened wide with kindliness, he ascended to the assembly-hall which was thronged by people raising their necks in curiosity.

3214. After letting himself down before the king he touched his feet with his hand, and taking the dagger which he carried in his hand, placed it before the throne.

3215. Thereupon the king put his hand which bore the [chiromantic sign of] betel-pepper, with two fingers outstretched, under his chin, and spoke:

3216. "You have not been taken fighting, nor are you now a captive. Why then should we accept, O my dear, the weapon you hand up?"

3217. He replied to the king: "Sire, a weapon is carried to protect one's lord or for one's own safety."

3218. "While your Majesty protects the seven oceans by the fire of your glory, one sees but scant occasion for [using] one's sword."

3219. "The service of the lord's feet is a protection even for the other world. Then what need is there for other means of protection in this world?"

3220. The king answered him: "In this competition of truthfulness you are now, as it were, the winning party. No more can be done [by us]."

3221. *Bhoja* then spoke: "I do not say anything now for gaining the lord's kindness, or for the sake of compliment except what I see."

3222. "What evil have I not thought, what harm not done to you? What has not come off, that remained unknown. This ought to be kept in mind."

3223. "You, whom we with eyes of leather took for one of ordinary origin, are you not one of the prime causes (*kāraṇa*) who has somehow come to light in *Malla's* race?"

† 3224. "Whenever, O king, we thought of doing you injury, then each time the earth mightily . . . ."

3225. "What brilliant glory poets can conceive in their imagination, such, O king, we have seen as yours in reality."

3226. "The heat which your glory creates, has not left me on the mountain height, not in the gorge, not in the cleft, not in the snow or in the thicket."

3227. "Seeking from afar your shelter ever since, I was not able to make my reverent homage, O king, owing to the absence of a compact or other [agreement]."

† 3228. "Whatever . . . . I have then done filled with a desire for peace, that was done merely to show that I existed, not from obstinate desire of strife."

3229. "Owing to our connection with you we are honoured by the rulers in

3229. Compare note iv. 416 sq.

all regions. The glass bottle is valued by the people because it has contained Gaṅgā water."

3230. "To this day the appellation *S'āhi* throws its lustre on a numberless host of Kṣattriyas abroad who trace their origin to that [royal family]."

† 3231. "Even when the league of hill-chiefs was set against you . . . . . .

† 3232. When after such . . . . [eulogies] he had said: "Otherwise, the lord is the authority," he again touched the king's feet with his head.

3233. When then his head-dress slipped off in bowing, the king placed his own head-dress on him as he got up.

3234. With kind words the king put his own dagger and that one which *Bhoja* had laid down, into the latter's lap, and with calm thoughtfulness said to him when he remonstrated:

3235. "You should wear these two [daggers] I have given you or keep them in honour. Do not refuse to take the weapons, but do my will."

3236. When the . . . . . . [king] whose order had to be obeyed, thus insisted, he knowing [how to act on each] occasion, complied with the king's desire, and after saluting him respectfully put the two daggers by his side.

3237. Then the king at once abandoned all reserve and treated him with jests and kindly words, as if he had been about him for a long time

† 3238-3239. Then the wise *Dhanya* entered besides, ... and after making his obeisance paid his reverence [to the king by saying]: "Neither life nor wealth has value now for us, O king, apart from the [delight of] hearing about your virtues; but [of value is] constant kindliness on our lord's part. This you may remember, O king."

3240. The king replied: "What we think about him (Bhoja), could even if expressed, not be realized."

Bhoja presented to queens.

3241. After discoursing for a short time on various topics, the king went from there to the residence of [the queen] *Raḍḍādevī*.

3242. When after making his bow he looked at her who was distinguished by kind disposition and other good qualities, he thought that she was the creeper yielding all wishes (*kalpalatā*) by the side of the king, who was the tree of paradise (*pārijāta*).

3243. "He deserves to be honoured, O queen, as he has come here from

3230. Regarding the *S'āhi* dynasty, see notes v. 152-155 (*J*); vii. 47.

3231. The text of this verse is hopelessly corrupt. Bhoja seems to refer to the fact that even during the coalition of the Darad and other chiefs nothing but misery (*kadannāśana*) resulted for him.

3238-39. The text of these verses is evidently not in order.

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kindness and family attachment." Thus spoke the king, and his consort said: "We place him above our sons."

3244. Full of kind attention he then proceeded in *Bhoja's* company also to the apartments of the queen [Kalhaṇikā], who had borne the weight of the business, to pay her honour.

3245. The clever queen said, with a smile to *Bhoja* as he came with the king: "Now at once you have become a trusted friend of the king."

3246. Smiling in embarrassment at the respectful welcome offered by her husband, she, in her reply, also said, pointing at *Bhoja:*

3247. "O my noble lord, do not forget that solely attached to his honour, he has rejected the advice of his friends and has followed the [guidance of] his love for his relative."

3248. "Those who, like you, are the lotus [ornaments] of their families, should do better than the lotus-flowers which daily growing cease to touch the water, their former benefactor."

3249. "If he had not come, we, sinking under the troubles of the affairs, could neither have preserved our honour nor have returned."

3250. "If the tree which protects the river-bank, falls in the flood, the creeper which lives upon it, surely follows."

3251. "The subservience of [a wife's] life to the husband's affairs must go so far that there should be [for her] no thought of otherwise protecting herself."

3252. The king replied to her: "O queen, you who are the witness of all my actions, know that also my determination is the same in this respect [as stated by you]."

3253. "My soul has not found rest to this day even for having punished *Sajji* and *Mallārjuna*, though they were guilty."

Bhoja's conduct at court.

3254. When the king asked him to stop in a splendid building along with his followers, *Bhoja* thought that he could not take his residence permanently elsewhere but in the palace.

3255. For he believed that if he would live at a distance and unwatched, not seeing the king continually, he would not be able to propitiate the latter.

† 3256. He took guards from the king and permanently arranged . . . .

3257. The king was pleased by noticing his conduct, and let him have then a completely fitted-up residence within the palace.

3252. For A *pratipattyaṁ* correct with Durgāpr. *pratipattiṁ.* For A *tvam apya* . . , I now emend *tvam apyatra.*

3256. The second half of this line is corrupt and has been left untranslated.

3258. The king, though so much beset by his own servants and others whose attachment was fostered by self-interest, became attached to him (Bhoja) as if he had been with him for a long time.

3259. When it was the time for meals, for the inspection of curious things, and on other [occasions], the king remembered him like a dear son and had him called by messengers.

3260. At meals he put him on his right side from regard for his relationship, and did not fail to send him dishes which he had himself touched and tasted, and the like

† 3261. He (Bhoja) showed . . . . such unfeigned affection that the child sons [of the king] played with him as with a relative.

3262. In the same way as he observed this open conduct thus, too, the king, along with his court, placed unqualified trust [in him].

3263. He indicated [to the king] those persons of the inner court who had shown disaffection during their conflict, and thus helped the king to rid himself of [those who felt] indifference for him, and from many enemies.

3264. Giving unsophisticated attention to matters of business in the assemblies he showed that he was neither dull nor violent nor a hypocrite.

3265. If an action of the king failed through some error, or was inadequate or too far-reaching, he did not keep his attention on it, as a wretched poetaster [on defects in the work] of a great poet.

† 3266. He did not boast with tales of bravery . . . . , and if asked incidentally about former events, did not enlarge on his account.

† 3267. Those who . . . . by making flattering remarks about him as being equal to the lord (Jayasiṁha), of the same race, etc., he silenced by his firm proud looks.

3268. So deep was his character, that even in immediate contact intriguers, jesters, slanderers, and the like could not fathom it.

† 3269. At the very time when darkness, commotions, and other [circumstances] would upset people, he . . . . would go to [his] house and feel no fear.

3270. When the king, from growing confidence, lightened his hold on him, he, like a well-trained horse, would not run away.

3271. Though moving everywhere else in front [of the king], he remained behind, even without being required to do so, when the king went into the ladies' apartments and the council-chamber.

† 3272. Always doubtful in his mind, he expressed his requests for what was proper for him to get, in person . . . . and thus avoided making use of others.

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† 3273. . . . . Even what he had dreamt he would not keep from the king.

3274. The mutual slanders of ministers, ladies of the seraglio, and others he did not reproduce, but forgot them like an evil dream.

3275. Though he would respond with full comprehension to what was being said in the gatherings of hardy jokers, yet he would inwardly express his thorough contempt for the buffoons (?).

3276. By such conduct that pure-minded [prince] caused in time greater pleasure to the judicious and affectionate king than even his sons.

3277. Thus king [*Jaya*]*siṁha* prepared a new bridge leading to the preservation of his dynasty, such a one as the princes of the Kali period find it difficult to cross by.

Attack on *Trillaka*.

† 3278. The king after thus overcoming all calamities, thought then of *Trillaka* . . . .

3279. The latter delayed, thinking that flight at the time when the routes over the mountains were free of snow, was impossible as an act of cowardice incompatible with courage.

3280. Then while he was wisely waiting for the right time for his journey, *Sañjapāla* thoughtlessly began an attack.

3281. He (Sañjapāla) who had only few good soldiers from the capital, but a large number of troops from *Devasarasa*, took up a position at *Mārtāṇḍa*.

3282. He did not consider in his self-assurance that that locality offered no obstacle to the enemies, and that the soldiers from outside [the capital] were unreliable.

3283. *Trillaka's* followers, though unprovided with arrows, fought by his side and showed no lack of courage.

3284. While they (Sañjapāla's troops) with full might were attacking there, another Ḍāmara, the *Lavanya* (Trillaka) with a numberless host fell upon them with fury.

3285. Thereupon all those from *Devasarasa*, loaded with plundered wealth, deserted *Sañjapāla* and fled.

3286. While everything was submerged by the [flood of the] enemies, which was like the deluge at the end of the world, only the soldiers from the capital stood out high like great mountains.

3273. The interpretation of the first half of this line is doubtful.

3278. Read *trillakaṁ* for *trillakas*.

3279. The translation of this line is doubtful.

3281. Correct with Durgāpr. °*sodbhavaiḥ* for °*sodbhaṭaiḥ*.

3282. For *Mārtāṇḍa* compare note iv. 192.

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Encounter at *Mārtāṇḍa.*

3287. Long they held out in that battle against the enemy's fury, while the sun burned with fierce heat, and then fell in different places after killing many enemies.

3288. When all the brave men had been slain in that fight, the sun (Mārtāṇḍa) himself received many hurts from those who broke into his disc [to become] his own [inhabitants].

3289. In the battle *Gayāpāla, Sañjapāla's* son, distinguished himself. Though three horses were killed [under him] yet owing to his cleverness he was never seen on foot.

3290. His younger brother *Jarja*, yet a boy, whose first fight that was, astonished [by his courage] brave men who had seen many great battles.

3291. The right arm of the commander-in-chief (Sañjapāla) could not effect as much as his left did. The sun [merely] causes heat to the great elephants, but the moon breaks their tusks.

3292. Riding on his horse and making the sword with his one hand glisten he resembled a forest-fire with its column of smoke on a winged mountain.

† 3293. But in the tumult of the fight his horse found the way blocked . . . . and on being wounded by arrows threw him off.

3294. From the shock of falling with his heavy armour on the hard ground, he became senseless, and thus his two sons carried him off out of the enemy's midst.

3295. As the whole force was completely routed, they put him into the courtyard of the temple of *Mārtāṇḍa* without being noticed by the enemy, and then fled.

† 3296. The king set out with large forces which would easily overpower the Ḍāmara (Trillaka), and . . . . blocked him up in that position.

3297. When the king had reached *Vijayakṣetra, Sañjapāla,* after shaking off his besiegers, burned the residence of the *Lavanya.*

3298. Though the latter had got into such a situation by the king's angry frowns, yet he felt no want, as he found it easy to obtain supplies from the land in the various mountain valleys.

3299. Separated from his associates and family he heard reproaches from his followers, who showed that wisdom which is easily acquired in misfortune.

3288. Correct with Durgāpr. *bhindānair* for A *vindānair*. भ in S'āradā characters is easily confused with व and the latter often written by mistake for भ (comp. e.g. viii. 3294 *ripralambakaiḥ*).

Those who fall bravely in battle are received after death in the world of the sun. An allusion is intended also to those who after the defeat sought refuge in the temple of *Mārtāṇḍa*; comp. viii. 3295.

3291. For Sañjapāla's appointment as *kampanāpati*, comp. viii. 2190 and note viii. 2420. He had lost his right arm in the attack on Rilhaṇa's brother; comp viii. 2166.

3295. Regarding the great quadrangle of the Mārtāṇḍa temple, compare note iv. 192.

3297. Regarding Trillaka's residence, compare note viii. 2808.

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† 3300. Then, finding no support, he cut off his finger and . . . . begged off his own head from the king's wrath as [one might beg] a fruit from a monkey.

Gulhaṇa crowned at Lohara.

3301. The illustrious king then had *Gulhaṇa*, the eldest of his sons born from [Queen] *Raḍḍādevī*, crowned as ruler of *Lohara*.

3302. The prince, though only six or seven years old, surpassed by his good qualities older rulers, just as the young mango shoot [surpasses] the old trees.

3303. The light of the rubies [worn] on the heads of the chiefs [who did homage], made the feet of the queen who had gone to crown her son, appear as if dyed red with lac.

3304. After he had been anointed (*abhiṣikta*) the clouds poured water over the earth which had been dried by a long drought, just as if they had wished to anoint [the earth] as a queen.

Rising of *Rājavadana*.

3305. *Rājavadana* wishing to raise a rebellion again, attacked *Jayacandra* who showed alertness in carrying out the king's orders.

3306. Accompanied by *Nāga's* brother's son (Loṣṭhaka) he defeated, in a defile, the pursuing troops of the son of *Garga* (Jayacandra) who followed behind.

3307. The son of *Garga*, whom this defeat had made look downcast, captured some days afterwards the leader *Loṣṭhaka*, the son of *Nāga's* brother, in a fight.

3308. Then he marched rapidly upon *Dinnāgrāma* which had not been attacked by others owing to its inaccessible position, and after burning it got off with an easy victory.

3309. Even thus *Rājavadana* did not lose his courage. He made neither peace nor did he feel enraged . . . .

3310. Attacking the king with forces which diminished day by day, he suffered repeated reverses before *Jayacandra*.

3300. Regarding the cutting of a finger as a mark of unconditional surrender, see note viii. 1584. The simile is intended to show that Trillaka found it hard to get his pardon.

3301. It is very probable that the coin described by CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 46 (pl. v. fig. 35), which bears the legend *Śrī Gulhaṇa*, was struck by this prince as ruler of Lohara. The type of the coin is identical with that of the very common copper pieces of Jayasiṁha.

3304. The earth is often represented as the wife of the king, hence as a queen.

3305 *Jayacandra*, son of Gargacandra, had attached himself to Jayasiṁha, see viii. 2983.

3306. A reference to the next line shows that Loṣṭhaka was on Rājavadana's side, as might be concluded also from viii. 2987, 2996. It is therefore necessary to emend °*sahito* for A °*sahitā*.

3308. See regarding Loṣṭhaka, viii. 2996.

3309. I am unable to connect the words *śakyam asya vinirgamam* with the rest of the verse. The words are probably corrupt.

3310. The text of this line is defective. For *nyapatan* we have to read *nipatan* (comp. for a similar error viii. 3252). The emendation of the impossible °*nyavadhibhavat* is uncertain.

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Death of *Rājavadana*, *Loṭhana* and other rebels.

3311. Then the king, the reach of whose nails and arms was unbounded, had him killed in a fight by secretly posted bravos.

3312. The cheek-line of his [cut-off] head which was swinging to and fro, broke and cut up at once the tree of his fortune which was about to break out in buds.

3313. The king upon the plea (?) of exterminating the race of *Pṛthvīhara*, put also *Loṭhana* to death by secret execution.

3314. Though *Trillaka* had saved him when once before he had been invested, he yet fell into the net of the king's diplomacy.

3315. *Mallakoṣṭha, Kṣura, Jayya, Saḍḍacandra*, and others were as good as dead while in life, and died oppressed by cruel poverty.

Religious endowments of *Jayasiṃha*.

3316-3317. The Maṭha of King *Uccala* had remained without a permanent endowment, as under the infatuation arising from the enjoyment of the royal power, he had not thought of life being perishable. For this [Maṭha] which [in the meantime] had received from each successive king such provision as was estimated, King [*Jaya*]*siṃha* as the continuator of the dynasty made a permanent endowment.

3318. The king completed the *Sullāvihāra* founded by his uncle, and three temples of his father, the buildings of which had remained half-finished.

3319. He, of his own impulse, bestowed villages, [temple-]outfits and great market-buildings upon respectable temple-Purohitas (*pāriṣadya*) and other persons of his liking.

3320. In honour of *Candalā*, a moon-faced lady of his seraglio, who had died, he erected a Maṭha provided with ample means, from whose door no guest was turned back.

3321. He who was free from pride, reconstructed also, larger than before, the Maṭha of *Sūryamatī* which had suffered from the conflagrations in the City.

Death of *Sañjapāla*.

3322. When, then, *Sañjapāla* departed for another world, the king put his son *Gayapāla* in chief-command of the army.

3323. He (Sañjapāla) who had been difficult to bear with, though towards

3312. The text is not in order, and the above translation is based on a conjectural emendation.

3313. For *Loṭhana*, a son of Pṛthvihara, see note viii. 2496.

3315. For *Mallakoṣṭha*, the Lavanya from Lahara, see viii. 517, 588, etc.

Jayya is probably the same person as the *Jayyaka* mentioned, viii. 1131. For *Saḍḍacandra*, see viii. 648.

3316-17. Compare regarding this foundation of *Uccala*, viii. 243, 249. The last-named passage shows that we have probably to correct here *vyayasthitau* and *vyayasthitim* for *vyavasthitau*, *vyavasthitim*. Or is *vyavasthiti* possibly the correct form? For *vyayasthiti* as the term for a permanent temple-endowment, see v. 37; vii. 952.

3318. For the *Sullāvihara*, see viii. 248; for Sussala's temples, viii. 579.

3319. The purport of this verse is clearly as given above; but the wording is scarcely correct. The emendation suggested in the Ed. does not remove the difficulty. The grant of shops to shrines or individuals is often mentioned in inscriptions; comp. e.g. *Epigr. Ind.* i. p. 118.

3321. For the Maṭha of Queen *Sūryamatī-Subhaṭā*, see viii. 180.

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his end he had become of softer disposition,—was forgotten owing to his son, just as the heat of the autumn sun [is forgotten] owing to the cooling moonlight.

3324. When the clouds rise at the trying [season] of excessive summer heat, the stream shows no desire for the increase of its water, as it sees that the tree on its bank which shares its fortune, is threatened with destruction by a sudden stroke of lightning.

Death of *Dhanya*.

3325-3326. When that jewel of kings (?) had thoroughly exterminated his enemies, there died *Dhanya* who had enjoyed his exceptional affection, and who during the troubles from *Bhikṣu's* death to *Bhoja's* defeat had borne singly the weight of the king's affairs.

† 3327. . . . .

3328. That king deserves to be protected even at the cost of the life of all beings whose mind is firmly bent on helping his subjects when they sink in misfortune at every step.

3329. The grateful king did not leave the sick [Dhanya's] side when his end approached, [but remained] even without taking sleep with those who were praying for his well-being.

3330. The change which took place in the appearance of the [king] who loved his subjects, on account of the minister's [death ?], gave, [as it were, fresh] life to the people in this worldly existence.

3331. Then there arose happiness for the subjects who owing to the demise of kings like Māndhātṛ had fallen into misfortune.

3332. His (Dhanya's) unobstructed ministership had removed all difficulties for the young king when the land was overrun by pretenders.

3333. Time is the powerful [master] of conduct. Who does not by its will observe or forget consistency? The vanquisher of Mura (Viṣṇu) had the power to support the earth [in his incarnation] as the serpent [S'eṣa] and again [in his incarnation] as the boar (Varāha) to dig her up.

3334. He who had become prefect of the City (*nagarādhikṛta*) after the

3326. For *nṛparate* which gives no sense, I emend conjecturally *nṛparatne*. The construction of this line is defective.

3327. I am unable to give a translation or to guess the bearing of this verse. Its text is either hopelessly corrupt or taken from a different context.

3328. Read *padepadevipanmagnaprajā*°.

3330. The interpretation of this verse is doubtful. K seems to say that the king's condolence on Dhanya's death put fresh life into his subjects.

3331. For *Māndhātṛ*, see note iv. 641.

3332. This verse seems to have been removed from its proper place which would have been after 3326.

3333. The allusion is to the change in *Kularāja's* character as indicated in the following verses. The context requires clearly the emendation *bhogitāyām* for A *yogyatāyām*, as suggested by Pt. Govind Kaul.

3334. A reference to viii. 2190 shows that the city-prefect here meant is *Kularāja*, the murderer of Sujji. It is curious that this personage is not mentioned here by name. Should K. have had private

ousting of *Sujji*, had at first remedied abuses which had been rife in the land for a long time.

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Kularāja's administration of the City.

3335. The use of cash (*dīnnāravyavahāra*) in commercial transactions had fallen into abeyance through abuses; checking those [abuses] which caused the disorder, he made the former proceed without chicane.

3336. The fine which used to be levied on the householders in the case of immoral conduct on the part of a married woman, was abolished by him after [due] consideration.

3337. Thus on his appointment to the office of city-prefect, he exclusively promoted the people's welfare, but [subsequently] he again oppressed them.

† 3338. He persisted in punishing many persons, on the allegation that they had carnal intercourse with dancing-girls who had been received into households as wedded wives.

† 3339. But why consider . . . . [faults] insignificant like chaff? There was nobody like him in respect of honesty and disinterestedness.

† 3340. Accommodating himself to the course of the times he had also been a follower of *Bhikṣu* and *Mallārjuna.* Yet he did not cease to serve his lord nor did he destroy . . . . those two.

3341. Though he had not known great expenditure in the time of his power, yet when he died, he did not leave as much property as was needed for his last rites.

3342. What more should be said of the grateful nature of the king? He treated the [surviving] dependents as if they were the [dead] who had returned to life.

Religious foundations under *Jayasiṁha.*

3343-3344. When *Dhanya* died after having only commenced the construction of a Vihāra which was to bear the name of *Bijjā*[*vihāra*] in honour of his deceased wife *Bijjā*, did he not arrange for the completion of the building which remained [unfinished], and for a permanent endowment?

3345. Even those who [before] lived wholly for fighting, acquired by the king's pious conduct an eager desire for good deeds, and devoted themselves to the acquisition of religious merits.

3346-3348. Prince *Saṅgiya*, the younger brother of *Kamaliya*, consecrated [a

reasons for being careful in his remarks on Kularāja?

Sujjer nirvāpite is rather strange Sanskrit. If the text of this final portion of the work did not show so frequent deviations from good grammar, we might safely correct *Sujjau nirvāpite.*

3335. The text in the second half of this line is corrupt; but the purport clearly as above. With the reservation indicated in the preceding note, we might read *tāṁ bhraṁśakāriṁ* for *tam bhraṁśakārya.*

3339. The lacuna *kiṁ vo . . . leśānāṁ* might be filled by reading *kiṁ vāparādhale*°.

3345. For °*vāsavaiḥ* correct with Durgāpr. °*rāsanaiḥ;* for *pravṛtte* read *pravṛttam.*

3346-48. *Kamaliya* has been mentioned, viii. 1091, as the son of Lavarāja, a chief in the Ṭakka territory. K. refers to the condition of the Panjāb after the Muhammadan conquest

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Liṅga] under his own name. He was born from a race of Kṣattriyas, who owing to their native place being within the territory of the *Turuṣkas* had learned nothing but cruelty, to maintain themselves amidst the mass of the enemies, and who during the times of strife when King *Sussala* was wholly taken up with fighting his adversaries, had found employment in *Kaśmīr*.

3349. The Bāṇa-liṅga which he erected by the bank of the *Vitastā*, makes one think of the *Avimukta* [Tīrtha] rising on the bank of the celestial river (Gaṅgā).

3350. After seeing his Maṭha, which is adorned by ascetics, the desire of viewing Rudra's world is appeased.

3351. This pure-minded man, though he was one of our time, did not proceed to plunder other foundations and to make grants of the property of poor people.

3352. *Cintā*, the wife of *Udaya*, the commander-in-chief, adorned the bank of the *Vitastā* by a Vihāra.

3353. The five buildings within her Vihāra appear as if they were the five high fingers of the upraised arm of Law.

3354. *Maṅkhaka, Alaṁkāra's* brother, the minister of foreign affairs (*sāṁdhivigrahika*), distinguished himself by erecting a shrine of *S'rīkaṇṭha* (S'iva) together with a Maṭha.

3355. By [the foundation of] Maṭhas, [the grant of] Agrahāras, the restoration of temples and other pious works, *Sumanas*, the younger brother of *Rilhaṇa*, became the latter's equal.

3356. He built a Maṭha at *Bhūteśvara* and one at *Trigrāmī*, and offered to the Pitṛs [at the one] the water of the *Kanakavāhinī* and [at the other] that of the *Vitastā*.

3357-3358. At the place called *Kaśyapāgāra*, where the river rising from the *Nīla* [Nāga] turns in an easterly direction, as if it wished to rival the Gaṅgā, he

3349. Read with Durgāpr. °*rūḍhāvimukta*° for A °*rūḍhavimukta*°.

Avimukta is the name of a Tīrtha near Benares. For *bāṇaliṅga*, see note vii. 185.

3354. *Maṅkhaka* or *Maṅkha* is the well-known author of the *S'rīkaṇṭhacarita* and the Kośa called after his own name; comp. regarding him and his chief work, *Report*, pp. 50 sqq. For *Alaṁkāra*, his brother, see note viii. 2423. The post of Sāṁdhivigrahika was held by the latter, when Maṅkha wrote his Kāvya. The title of the latter ("Srikaṇṭha's deeds") refers to S'iva under the same name which K. gives for the Liṅga erected by Maṅkha. Regarding Maṅkha's acquaintance with Kalhaṇa, see the Introduction.

3356. *Kanakavāhinī*, as shown in notes i. 107, 150, is the name of the stream flowing past the Tīrtha of *Bhūteśvara* (Buth'sēr), now called *Kāṅk*ᵃ*nai*.

Regarding *Trigrāmī*, the present *Trigām*, opposite the junction of the Vitastā and Sindhu, see note iii. 323. The *Bōn*ᵃ*sar* lake, near Trigrāmī, fed by the Vitastā, is still visited as a Tīrtha in connection with the Kapālamocana pilgrimage; see the Māhātmya of the latter.

3357. *Kaśyapāgāra* is nowhere else mentioned. The river meant is undoubtedly the *Vitastā*; comp. note i. 28. But it is difficult to indicate any part of the latter's course within Kaśmīr where the river can be said to flow to the east, except at short bends.

erected a bridge for the crossing of cows and others, and thus accomplished a pious work capable of helping him across [the ocean of] mundane existence.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

3359. In the City, too, he built a shrine of S'iva, named after himself, and a Maṭha which contains a large number of perfect S'iva[-liṅgas].

3360. He furnished the [shrine of S'iva] *Mammeśvara* with a golden Āmalaka [ornament], and embellished the surroundings of the *Somatīrtha* by [bringing there] water and [laying out] a garden.

3361. In this dynasty there [were] kings who deprived ministers of their property, life and the rest, from envy of their high descent, wealth and other [distinctions].

3362. Even the divine Indra ejected King Māndhātṛ from heaven in angry jealousy, because of his having occupied his new throne.

3363. But this king of undimmed intellect thinks it an increase of his own greatness when he sees daily his servants elevated by pious works.

Encomium on *Rilhaṇa's* pious gifts.

3364. He was pleased when his servant *Rilhaṇa*, after the clever invention of King *Kalaśa*, erected gilt parasols.

3365. At *Sureśvarī*, on [the temple of] S'iva and Pārvatī in communion (*S'ivayoḥ samavetayoḥ*), the gilt parasol [which he put up] along with small bells, is combined with lamps and pots for [placing lights at] illuminations.

3366. [It appears as if] Mount Meru, under the guise of the gilt parasol, had come, from love for his relative Mount Himālaya, to kiss on the head his daughter and his son-in-law (Pārvatī and S'iva).

† 3367. The god of fire issuing from S'iva's eye has taken [there] the guise

3360. Regarding *āmalasāra*, see note vii. 526.

The Amareśvarakalpa gives the name *Mammeśvara* to the small S'iva temple at Māmal in the Lidᵃr Valley, 75° 22′ long. 34° 1′ lat., which is visited on the pilgrimage to Amareśvara (Amarnāth). The Amareśvaramāhātmya i. 17, calls the Liṅga *Māmeśvara* and the village *Māmalaka*. It is probable that the small temple still extant in a ruinous condition on the hill-side above Māmal, is the one referred to in our passage. It forms a cella of the usual style, measuring 7′ 8″ square inside, with a porch resting on columns. In front of the temple is a stone-lined tank about twelve feet square, receiving a spring.

The name *Somatīrtha* is applied to a well-known sacred site within the city of S'rinagar, on the right bank of the Vitastā just below the second bridge. The popular name of the Ghāṭ is *Sōmᵃyār*. This Somatīrtha is described in the *Vitastāmāh.* xvii. 38 sqq., where the healing powers of a bath taken here in the Vitastā are described at some length.

Another *Somatīrtha* near Vijayeśvara seems to be referred to in the *Vijayeśvaramāh.* ii. 177, the *Haracar.* xi. 257, and perhaps in the *Amareśvaramāh.* 12, of the S'arvāvatāra. A Somatīrtha is named also by the *Nīlamata*, 1355, without any indication as to its position.

It is not certain to which of the above-named localities K. refers in our own passage.

3364. See the account of the gilding of the parasol over Kalaśa's temple, vii. 528 sqq.

3365. The temple here referred to was erected by S'ūra, Avantivarman's minister; see v. 37.

The elaborate and florid description which K. gives in vv. 3365-70 of Rilhaṇa's gilt parasols, looks like a little panegyric composed originally in honour of the donor and subsequently inserted here.

3367. The temple was dedicated to S'iva and Pārvatī in communion. Kāma had been burned by the fire issuing from S'iva's eye when he had tempted S'iva with amorous desires.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

of the gilt parasol, after [hearing] the lover of Pārvatī (S'iva) say: "That bodily union for which the love-god (Kāma) had exerted himself, and had been burned by me, that . . . . Umā (Pārvatī) has accomplished here."

3368. The great golden parasol, too, which *Rilhaṇa* had placed there on the top of the temple of Rukmiṇī's lover (Kṛṣṇa), glitters now mightily. It is as if the sun had come to view the radiant disc [of Viṣṇu] which, when intoxicated by drinking the blood [of the demons], had got lost and had then been recovered by its master [Viṣṇu].

3369. At that sacred place (Sureśvarī) which imparts a knowledge of the close friendship between the vanquisher of Love (S'iva) and the god whose ensign is the bird (Viṣṇu), the golden parasol of one lord (S'iva) with its ornamented staff and its varying functions (*kriyāpariṇati*), appears like the dust from [the petals of] the lotuses on the Gaṅgā, which are set in motion by the hisses of the snakes on his front;—while that of the other lord (Viṣṇu) resembles the ball-shaped lightning accompanying the clouds which cling to his locks.

3370. The golden cavity of the mundane egg with its great riches, seems like a round casket which is fitted to the expanse of this parasol, and in which are put together the dark and shining ornaments of S'iva and the foe of Kaiṭabha (Viṣṇu), who are wearing rich jewels. The golden parasol forms its cover.

Jayasiṁha's sons.

3371. After that [son] who rules at *Lohara* (Gulhaṇa), there were born to the king from *Raḍḍādevī* four other sons, of noble qualities and clever.

3372. *Aparāditya* grows up at *Lohara*, being as inseparable from *Gulhaṇa*, as Lakṣmaṇa was from the Raghu scion (Rāma).

3373. The young *Jayāpīḍa* is guarded by prince *Lalitāditya*, as S'atrughna was by Bharata.

3374. From the sun-like king whose worship was cheering [like that of the sun], there issued a fifth virtuous prince, *Yaśaskara*, resembling the sunshine of the young day.

3375. *Lalitāditya* might soften even walls by his playful ways, which are giddy, owing to his youth and pleasing, owing to his good-natured character.

3376. His reddish face, which bears protective marks of ointment, together

3369. *Kriyāpariṇati* may be taken as referring to the various objects with which the golden parasol is fancifully compared in the preceding verses.

Correct with Calc. Ed. °*reṇūpamaṁ*.

3370. Correct with Durgāpr. °*puṭe* for °*pure*: °*śyāmāsitālaṁkriyā* must be explained as *alaṁkriyā yā śyāmā ā samantāt sitā ca*, *sā*.

The poet boldly likens the universe to a casket for holding the jewels of the two gods, and Rilhaṇa's golden parasol to the cover over it.

3372-73. *Lakṣmaṇa*, *S'atrughna* and *Bharata* are half-brothers of Rāma.

It is interesting to see the names of the great rulers of Kaśmīr tradition revived at this late period in Jayasiṁha's family. The Romulus, Augustus, etc., of the decaying Roman Empire form a curious parallel.

3375. Correct with Durgāpr. °*cchuddhānubhāva*° for A °*cchraddhānubhāva*°.

with his red under-lip, resembles a golden lotus upon which is the sunshine of the young day, together with bees.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

3377. His talk which, though indistinct owing to his youth, is full of dignity, resembles the sound, soft with nectar, which issued when the ocean was churned.

3378. The young prince, born of a great race, indicates by his graceful bearing his future career.

† 3379. . . . .

3380. Four daughters of pure conduct have been born to him, *Menilā*, *Rājalakṣmī*, *Padmaśrī* and *Kamalā*.

3381. That unblemished couple (Jayasiṁha and Raḍḍā) resembling the rainy season and a lotus pond, are embellished by their ever-charming children, which are like groves of pleasure and diversion.

Piety of Queen *Raḍḍā*.

3382. *Raḍḍādevī's* fortune turned to prosperity by being continually expended in this land which is sanctified by Tīrthas and temples.

3383. The king's consort when visiting sacred places, accompanied by chiefs, nobles and ministers, appears like the personified royal fortune.

3384. The hosts of Tīrthas in this land of *Satī* quickly abandon the desire of being touched by the body of the bathing *Satī*, when that virtuous lady (*satī*) takes her bath [in them].

† 3385. On her pilgrimages she is ever followed, even in clear weather, by clouds heavy with rain [which are eager] to look at her, just as [if she were] the rainy season.

3386. When she has started to visit the holy waters (Tīrthas) of the earth, the celestial waters would, forsooth, from jealousy, show themselves under the guise of rain.

3387. That delicate lady, in her zealous desire of visiting Tīrthas, does not pay heed on her way to mountains which reach to the sky, nor to rivers which carry away their banks.

3388. By her very numerous sacred foundations and restorations, this wise and clever queen has outstepped, O wonder, even the lame *Diddā*.

3389-3391. She erected the illustrious [shrine of] Rudra, called *Rudreśvara*, which has a golden Āmalaka ornament (*āmalasāra*), and is the ornament of

3379. I am unable to give an intelligible rendering of this verse, in which the prince's clear complexion seems to be compared to the feathers of a peacock going to a tank. The verse looks as if made up of Pādas or half-verses belonging to different verses.

3384. Kaśmīr is called 'the land of *Satī*,' a form of Pārvatī; comp. *Satīsaras*, i. 25.

3388. Compare vi. 226, 308.

3390. For the story of *Upamanyu*, see note iii. 278.

3391. It is clear that by *Sāntāvaśiddaprāsāda* a specific temple is meant, though no sacred building has previously been mentioned under this name. K. probably alludes to Aśoka, to whom he has given the epithet

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

Kaśmīr and the quintessence of the world's beauty. Made of white stone, which is bright like the moon, it shines forth at this day even as if it were Rudra when he removed Upamanyu's sufferings from thirst by making flow forth the radiant expanse of the milk-ocean. She also restored the shrine [*or* shrines] of him who had overcome dejection (*śāntāvasāda*).

3392. When the king is hot with anger, she is the refuge of the servants, as the stream of the snowy mountains (Gaṅgā) is the refuge for the beings in the ocean when heated by the submarine fire.

3393. Owing to the constant attachment of the king, the punishment or reward even of princes depends immediately and without fail upon her will.

3394. This proud queen raised King *Bhūpāla*, the son of *Somapāla*, to high honour by giving to him the princess *Menilā* in marriage.

3395. The power which makes itself easily felt in one's own home, does not generally fail to any one [elsewhere]. The light which serves to remove darkness in the sun, has [also] after issuing forth from the latter, scattered the mass of darkness.

Princesses married abroad.

3396-3397. The king was destined to take a great share in righting [the affairs of] important kingdoms. When princess *Menilā* had been married [to Bhūpāla], also the father of her husband (Somapāla) who was in possession of a fine land full of precious stones, relinquished his enmity, and gave up his throne [to him] in good faith.

3398-3399. When King *Prājidhara* had been killed in battle by his enemies, his younger brother *Ghaṭotkaca* hoped to obtain a future revenge through the king's power. Filled with self-reliance to a high degree, he obtained through *Raḍḍā's* help, [the princess] *Rājyaśrī*, and with her, O wonder, the height of royal fortune (*rājyaśrī*).

3400. Assisted by the king's ministers, he dethroned King *Pañcavaṭa*, who had killed his brother, and *Aṅgada* (?) together with *Prajji*.

śāntāvasāda in i. 106, when speaking of the two *prāsādas* erected by that king at Vijayeśvara. The epithet occurs nowhere else in the Chronicle.

3394. This marriage of *Menilā* to Bhūpāla (viii. 2215) represents a curious breach of orthodox Hindu law, inasmuch as Bhūpāla's father, Somapāla, was already married to another daughter of Jayasiṁha: see viii. 1648. A similar instance is the simultaneous marriage of two daughters of Gargacandra to Sussala and Jayasiṁha, viii. 460.

3395. The bearing of this verse is not very clear. It seems to contain an allusion to the contents of the next lines which relate advantages gained abroad by other princes through Jayasiṁha's patronage.

3396-97. Somapāla had been previously in feud with his son Bhūpāla who had temporarily forced him to leave his country; see viii. 2215 sqq.

3398-99. *Rājyaśrī* is another appellation of the princess called *Rājalakṣmī* in viii. 3380. The two names are synonymous.

It is strange that K. should have omitted to indicate the territory over which *Prājidhara* ruled.

3400. The interpretation of *saprajjim aṅgadam* is doubtful. Both *Prajji* and *Aṅgada* are otherwise known as proper names.

JAYASIṂHA (A.D. 1128-49).

3401. Through his (Jayasiṃha's) might, which brought him a profusion of great presents, he crossed the river *Kṛṣṇā*, which was within the enemy's power, and [at the same time the dark] swords [in their hands].

3402. *Dvitīya*, the lord of *Uraśā*, he put to shame by defeating him, and through the king's power he took *Atyugrapura*, strong in fighting men.

3403. Thus, many leaders of armies spreading waves of moonlight by their glittering parasols, then obtained glory.

Jayasiṃha reigning (A.D. 1149-50).

3404. Twenty-two years had the king passed before he obtained the throne, and for the same [number of years] he has been on the throne in the [present] year [of the Laukika era four thousand two hundred and] twenty-five (A.D. 1149-50).

3405. May the matured wisdom of this king [which has been produced] by

Q. can *Aṅgada* be connected with the town *Āṅgadī*, mentioned in the Vāyupurāṇa (see *Viṣṇupur.*, iii. p. 319) as situated in Kārapatha? For the latter territory, see note viii. 2444.

3401. By *Kṛṣṇā* is meant the Kiṣangaṅgā River, as shown in note vii. 586. The next verse proves this identification by the mention of *Uraśā*, i.e. Hazāra which can be reached from Kaśmīr only by crossing that river.

3402. For *Uraśā*, see note v. 217.

The text of A *akīrtir nijayāsṛjat* which gives no sense, may be restored with slight emendations to *akīrtiṃ nirjaye 'sṛjat*. For *yodhāgram* the context as well as the evidently intended alliteration requires *yodhogram*.

In *Atyugrapura* I recognize the present *Agrōr*, a well-known hill-district on the north-west frontier of Hazāra bordering on the 'Black Mountains.' The modern name can easily be traced back as the phonetic derivative of Atyugrapura.

Atyugrapura, which according to the rules of the Skr. stress-accent must have been accentuated as *Átyugrapùra* (see Dr. GRIERSON, *Phonology of Mod. Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, *Z.D.M.G.*, xlix. pp. 393 sqq., § 8), was liable to become already in Pr. by regular phonetic changes **Áttugrâura* > **Áyugrâura* (comp. GRIERSON. loc. cit. § 89, Skr. *dvā́catvāriṃśat* > Pr. *bâattālīsu* > *bâayālīsu*, etc.). From the latter form we arrive through **Áugrōr* at the present *Agrōr*, by a process of phonetic conversion fully exemplified by Dr. GRIERSON, loc. cit. §§ 30. 37.

An old rendering of the original name we have in 'Ιθάγουρος mentioned by PTOLEMY, Geogr. vii. i. 45, besides Taxiala as one of the 'cities' in the Ἄρσα territory. The latter has long ago been identified with Uraśā-Hazāra and Taxiala with Takṣaśilā-Taxila, the present Shāh-ke Dhēri.

For 'Ιθάγουρος no likely identification has yet been proposed. The one now suggested is supported not only by the close resemblance of the names, but also by the position indicated for 'Ιθάγουρος. The geographer places the latter place 55′ to the N. and 40′ to the E. of Taxiala. It has amply been proved that no reliance can be placed on the actual distances given by Ptolemy in this portion of his work, but it is worth noting that the bearing thus indicated agrees with the relative position of Taxila and Agrōr. Agrōr lies about 40′ N. of Shāh-ke Dhēri and slightly to the E. of the latter's meridian. It must also be kept in view that the most convenient route from Taxila to Agrōr leads *viâ* Abbottabad, and thus turns considerably to the east before reaching the hills of Agrōr.

'Ιθάγουρος can safely be taken as an attempt to render a Prakrit form **Aʼtyugura*, which the name is likely to have taken in an Apabhraṃśa related to Kaśmīrī.

3403. The verse has a double meaning, as *vāhinīnātha*, 'leader of an army,' can also be taken as 'lord of the streams, i.e. ocean': comp. vii. 2.

For *śitoṣmacārmaṇa*° we have evidently to correct with Durgāpr. *sitoṣṇa*°.

3404. Jayasiṃha's actual accession in Lokakala, 4203 (A.D. 1128), is meant (viii. 1348), not his Abhiṣeka in 4199 (viii. 1232).

Our passage permits us to fix the date of Jayasiṃha's birth, which in viii. 238 had not been specified, at Lokakāla. 4181, A.D. 1105-6.

A reference to i. 52 shows that K. wrote the introduction to his Chronicle in the Laukika year preceding the one here mentioned.

JAYASIṀHA (A.D. 1128-49).

the subjects' merits and which has not been seen to such an extent in any other [ruler], last for years exceeding this Kalpa!

3406. Even the water, which is liquid by nature, freezes and turns in time (?) hard as stone, [while] the stone may dissolve into water. Under that wonderful dominion of Time, which has witnessed, even in beings of exceptional greatness, the rapid change of unlimited might, whose nature can remain unchanged on the road laid out by the power of fate?

SYNOPSIS OF REIGNS.

3407. When six hundred and fifty-three years of the Kali period had passed away, *Gonanda* was king in *Kaśmīr* as vassal of the *Pṛthā*-sons (Pāṇḍavas).

3408-3409. Then came his son *Dāmodara*, the latter's wife *Yaśomatī*, and his son *Gonanda* the Second. Then after passing thirty-five kings, whose acts of favour, descent, and names are unknown, *Lava* was king, and after him his son *Kuśa*.

3410. Then followed the latter's son and grandson, *Khagendra* and *Surendra*; next *Godhara*, from another family, and his son *Suvarṇa*.

3411. The latter's son was *Janaka*, whose son was *S'acīnara* from [the queen] *S'acī*. Then *Aśoka*, the son of this ruler's great-uncle, became king.

3412. Then [followed] the latter's son *Jalaukas*, next *Dāmodara* [II.] of uncertain descent, and then *Huṣka* and the others (*Juṣka*, *Kaniṣka*), all three alike of *Turuṣka* origin.

† 3413. Then [came] *Abhimanyu*, next *Gonanda* the Third and his son *Vibhīṣaṇa*. Thereupon *Indrajit* became king and in due order . . . . *Rāvaṇa*.

3414-3415. Then [followed] *Vibhīṣaṇa* the Second, *Siddha* and *Utpalākṣa*. After them [came] *Hiraṇyākṣa* and *Hiraṇyakula* whom King *Vasukula* succeeded The latter's son [Mihirakula] became famous as the slayer of three crores of people.

3406. The interpretation of *aśanair* is doubtful.

3407. For the abstract of reigns contained in verses 3407-3448 the chronological and dynastic table in the Introduction should be consulted.

A comparison of i. 51, where the identical date is indicated, shows that we have to read *tryadhike 'dhyardhasamāṣaṭkaśate*. [illegible] (as printed in Ed.), can very easily in S'āradā be confused with [illegible], as the occurrence of the identical clerical error of °*pyardhe* for °*dhyardhe* in the colophon of Taranga vi. proves.

3408-9. In i. 70 the name of Dāmodara's queen is given as *Yaśovatī* by A₁. This form appears to be more correct; comp. Pāṇini, viii. 2, 12. Regarding the thirty-five 'lost kings,' see i. 83.

3411. *S'acī* had not been mentioned in i. 99, as the mother of S'acīnara.

3412. Regarding *Dāmodara* II., see i. 153.

3413. The missing syllables probably indicated *Rāvaṇa's* descent from Indrajit; see i. 193.

3414. It is strange that K. should have omitted here the name of *Nara* (Vibhīṣaṇa II.'s son), to whose reign he devotes i. 197-274. I can explain this omission only as an oversight, as the text is here evidently in order. In verse 3416 K. yet speaks of 'Nara the Second.'

From *Boka* who was this [ruler's] son, was born *Kṣitinanda;* his son was *Vasunanda.*

SYNOPSIS OF REIGNS.

3416-3417. Then [came] *Nara* the Second; from him [was born] *Akṣa*, from the latter *Goptṛ* (Gopāditya), and from this king [came] *Gokarṇa*. From the latter was born *Narendrāditya*, whose son was *Yudhiṣṭhira* 'the Blind.' When he had been dethroned by his ministers, *Pratāpāditya* from another race became king and then his son *Jalauka*.

3418. When the latter's son *Tuñjīna* had died without issue, *Vijaya* from another family became king and, on his son *Jayendra* dying without leaving descendants, the minister *Saṁdhimat*.

3419. Then there rose [to the throne] from *Gonanda's* race, the illustrious *Meghavāhana*, who was the son of *Bhūpāditya* and the grandson of *Yudhiṣṭhira*.

. . . .

3420. Then *Pravarasena* the Second, the son of *Toramāṇa*, and *Hiraṇya's* brother's son, came to rule the land; his son was *Yudhiṣṭhira* [II.].

3421. Then *Narendrāditya* and *Raṇāditya* ruled one after the other. The latter's son was King *Vikramāditya*.

3422. Then *Raṇāditya's* son *Bālāditya* came to power, and then *Durlabhavardhana*, *Bālāditya's* son-in-law.

3423. His son was *Durlabhaka*. From the latter sprung *Candrāpīḍa*, whose younger brothers were *Tārāpīḍa* and *Muktāpīḍa* (Lalitāditya).

3424-3426. Then ruled *Kuvalayāpīḍa*, a son of King *Muktāpīḍa*, and *Vajrāditya*, born from another queen of the latter. After his (Vajrāditya's) two sons, *Pṛthivyāpīḍa* and *Saṁgrāmāpīḍa*, *Jayāpīḍa* became king and his minister *Jajja*. Then followed in order his (Jayāpīḍa's) sons *Lalitāpīḍa* and *Saṁgrāmāpīḍa*, and then the renowned *Cippaṭajayāpīḍa*, who was the son of the elder one (Lalitāpīḍa), born from a spirit-distiller's daughter.

3427-3428. His uncles, *Utpala* and the rest, by mutual consent killed him through witchcraft and, without usurping the throne themselves, put in his place *Ajitāpīḍa* who was the son of a brother of *Jayāpīḍa*, and subsequently *Anaṅgāpīḍa*, the son of *Saṁgrāmāpīḍa*.

3415. By *trikoṭikā* King *Mihirakula* is clearly enough indicated; comp. i. 310, 322. It was therefore unnecessary for the Calcutta Editors to interpolate after this word a half-verse of their own manufacture, or for Durgāpr. to mark a lacuna.

3416. For the substitution of *Goptṛ* ('the guardian of the earth') as *Gopāditya's* name, comp. i. 339.

3419. In ii. 145 K. has called *Meghavāhana* the grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira I. and has given his father's name as *Gopāditya*. *Bhūpāditya* may be considered as a synonym of Gopāditya.

After this verse the names of *Pravarasena* I., *Hiraṇya* and *Mātṛgupta*, ought to have been given: comp. iii. 97-323. It is probable that a line has been lost here.

3425. *Jajja* is called, iv. 410, *Jayāpīḍa's* brother-in-law, not his minister.

SYNOPSIS OF REIGNS.

3429-3430. After his (Anaṅgāpīḍa's) overthrow *Utpalāpīḍa*, the son of *Ajitāpīḍa*, [was made king]. Then the minister *S'ūra* ousted him and raised *Avantivarman*, the son of *Sukhavarman* and grandson of *Utpala*, to the throne . . . .

3431-3435. Then his (Gopāla's) brother *Saṁkaṭa* ruled who had been taken from the high-road, and their mother *Sugandhā*. Then after ousting her the Tantrin foot-soldiers made *Pārtha*, *S'ūravarman's* great-grandson, king, and after him [his father] *Nirjitavarman*. Subsequently the latter's sons *Cakravarman* and *S'ūravarman* and [Pārtha], *Nirjitavarman's* son, were in frequent [change] put on the throne. Amidst these [troubles] the minister *S'aṁbhuvardhana* established himself on the throne. When *Cakravarman* had died after killing this king, [and recovering his throne,] there succeeded the wicked *Unmattāvantivarman*, *Pārtha's* son. When his son *S'ūravarman* [II.] had lost the throne, the Brahmans raised the minister *Yaśaskara* to the royal power.

3435-3439. Then *Varṇaṭa*, the son of his (Yaśaskara's) grand-uncle, came to the throne, and after him (Yaśaskara's) son, *Saṁgrāma* the 'Crooked-footed,' (*Vakrāṅghri*). Then after killing the latter, the minister *Parvagupta* secured the crown by treachery. His son was *Kṣemagupta*. The latter's son *Abhimanyu* died while under the guardianship of his mother *Diddā*. When this cruel [woman] had put to death [Abhimanyu's] son *Nandigupta* and subsequently also her [other] grandsons *Tribhuvana* and *Bhīmagupta*, she ruled in her own name, and on her death she made *Saṁgrāmarāja*, her brother's son, king.

3440-3442. Next the latter's sons *Harirāja* and *Anantadeva* ruled, and then *Kalaśa*, *Ananta's* son. Then also the two sons of *Kalaśa*, *Utkarṣa* and *Harṣa*, became kings in succession. Overthrowing King *Harṣadeva*, *Uccala* whose valour was unbounded, secured the throne. He came from the same family, being the son of *Malla*, who again was the grandson of *Jassarāja*, *Diddā's* brother's son.

3443. When *Uccala* was killed treacherously by his servants, *Raḍḍa*, the eldest of these, became for a moment king under the name of *S'aṅkharāja*.

3429. The text of this verse contains an error in the syllable °*syā*° after Utpalāpīḍa's name; the sense is not affected thereby.

3430. The second half of this line is missing in the Kaśmīr copies of A. It must have contained the names of *S'aṁkaravarman* and *Gopāla*. The Calc. Editors' text supplements these names conjecturally.

3432-33. Compare regarding the frequent dynastic changes here referred to, v. 287-297. From v 295 it is clear that by 'Nirjitavarman's son' who is named after S'ūravarman, *Pārtha* is meant who was made king a second time. From v. 304 it is seen that *S'aṁbhuvardhana* was actually crowned ruler between the second and third reign of Cakravarman. Hence the Calc. Editors and Durgāpr. were not justified in excluding the second half of verse 3433 and the first of 3434 from their text.

3434. For *labdharājye* we have to emend *labdharājyo*.

3443. *Raḍḍa* was the eldest of the sons of Saḍḍa who led the conspiracy against Uccala; see viii. 183. Regarding his reign of one night, see viii. 342-356.

The context shows that *agratas* has to be emended into *agrajas*.

3444-3448. When he (Raḍḍa) had been slain by *Garga*, *Salha* (Salhaṇa), a brother of King *Uccala* from another mother, became king. Then imprisoning him the powerful *Sussala*, *Malla's* son and *Uccala's* uterine brother, seized the throne. When he had been ousted from the throne by disaffected servants, *Bhikṣācara*, a grandson of King *Harṣa*, was set up as king for six months. After King *Sussala* had expelled this [pretender] and recovered his kingdom, the haughty *Lavanyas* caused him trouble by rebellions and [subsequently] killed him. *Jayasiṁha*, King *Sussala's* son, after putting to death all *Lavanyas* as well as that King *Bhikṣācara*, now delights the earth as a ruler of incomparable forbearance.

SYNOPSIS OF REIGNS.

3449. Just as the *Godāvarī* river after flowing rapidly with its seven tumultuous mouths falls into the ocean to repose [there], thus verily this 'River of Kings' (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*) after proceeding rapidly with its [first] seven sonorous waves (*taraṅga*) falls into the ocean of the mighty race of the illustrious *Kāntirāja* to find its end [there].

Thus ends the Eighth Taraṅga in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, composed by the illustrious great Kavi *Kalhaṇa*.

Completed is the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the work of the great Kavi *Kalhaṇa*, the son of the great minister, the illustrious Lord *Canpaka*.

3444. For *Salha*, a shortened form of the name *Salhaṇa*, see viii. 461, 472.

3449. For *Kāntirāja*, the ancestor of Sussala and Jayasiṁha, see vii. 1285. The account of the dynasty descended from him is contained in the eighth Taraṅga. The latter, owing to its great length, is compared to the ocean.

As the words which describe the course of the *Godāvarī*, are meant to apply equally to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, it has been necessary to render the verse by a paraphrase.

For the seven channels here attributed to the Godāvarī river, compare the designation *Saptagodāvarī* in Padmapur. I. xxxix 41; Bhāgavatapur. x. lxxix. 12, and the local name *Saptagodāvara*, in Mahābh. III. lxxxv. 33, 44 and other passages quoted, *P. W.* s.v.

APPENDICES.

NOTE *A*.—i. 35.

BHEḌAGIRI AND THE TĪRTHA OF GAṄGODBHEDA.

1. Of all the sacred sites which Kalhaṇa refers to in his Introduction, the one mentioned in i. 35 has longest escaped identification. Neither Professor Bühler nor myself had succeeded in tracing any information whatever regarding it among the Paṇḍits of S'rinagar. As neither the above passage nor the brief reference in the Nilamata furnish any hint as to the position of the Tirtha, I had for a long time been unable to make any systematic search for it. It is true that the old glossator A_2 had explained BHEḌAGIRI by *Bheḍabhrāḍā*, but the latter name proved to be as little known by my Kaśmirian friends as the former.

I first obtained an indication of the right direction in which to look for it, when examining in 1895 an old miscellaneous codex of Māhātmya texts, acquired by Prof. Bühler during his Kaśmir tour for the Bombay Government collection. This manuscript contains, besides a series of other Māhātmyas, a text which undoubtedly represents the legendary account and pilgrim's manual for our Tirtha.[1] It is correctly designated in its colophon as the *Gaṅgodbhedamāhātmya*, but had, owing to a misplacement of several folia, been erroneously shown in the Classified List of the MSS. purchased in 1875-76, as two separate texts, viz. No. 56 *Gaṅgāmāhātmya* and No. 57 *Gaṅgeśvaramāhātmya*. 'Gaṅgāmāhātmya' is the usual designation in Kaśmir of the Māhātmya which describes the pilgrimage to the sacred Gaṅgā lake on Mount Haramukuṭa.[2] As I possessed already several copies of the latter text, I had not taken an earlier opportunity to consult the Poona manuscript. It was owing to the same circumstance that I overlooked the valuable reference which Prof. Bühler had already made to this text in the brief note added to his translation of the verse ("The Gaṅgāmāhātmya, No. 56, mentions the hill").

2. The GAṄGODBHEDAMĀHĀTMYA of which we have in the above a unique and evidently by no means complete copy, relates in its introductory verses how the Ṛṣi Pulastya when performing a long penance in the 'land of Satī,' had made the divine Gaṅgā gush forth near him from Mount Himavat for the purpose of his sacrifice. When the sage wishes to discharge the river after completing his worship, he is stopped by a divine voice from the sky which is

[1] The several Māhātmyas contained in this codex are shown separately in the Classified List of MSS. appended to Prof. Bühler's *Report* as Nos. 89, 56, (*57, see above), 80, 54, 77, 47, 98, 78, 45, 97, 103, 72, 85, 69, 49, 94, 87. I have given these Nos. in the order in which the corresponding texts are actually found in the manuscript. The latter, from the appearance of the paper and writing, seemed to me the oldest of Kaśmir Māhātmya MSS. I have seen. Its age can scarcely be less than 200 years. Owing to the loose condition of the 'forms' and leaves and the want of uniform pagination, several portions of the codex have been misarranged. This explains the mistake made by the compilers of the Classified List (see *Report*, p. 34), in showing the two parts of the Gaṅgodbhedamāhātmya under different headings and, as separate texts. The proper order of the leaves has been restored by me in the manuscript.

[2] See note i. 57.

Sarasvatī. It announces to him that where the stream has issued from the mountain in the forest called *Bheḍa*, there will arise the holy Tīrtha of *Gaṅgodbheda*.[3] On the top of a hill "where the level ground only extends to ten *dhanuṣ* [in width and length] a great pond full of pure water will be formed without a dam, and removed from the water of torrents." At its eastern foot a stream called *Abhayā*, a purifier from all sins, is to issue, "which neither fails [to flow] nor leaps down over the steep slope" (vv. 13 sq.). The divine voice then informs the Ṛṣi that the holy Gaṅgā will manifest herself in this shape only for one third of each month, flowing for the remainder in heaven and in hell. At the same time he is offered the choice of a boon. Pulastya, thereupon, profusely praises the spiritual powers of the sacred river and craves the boon that it may rest for ever by his side (vv. 24-69). His wish is accorded and the *Gaṅgodbhedatīrtha* created.

In order to obtain a sight of the goddess whose voice he has heard, the Ṛṣi undertakes a hard penance. After a thousand years, Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech, appears to him from the sky in the form of a flamingo (*rājahaṁsī*, vv. 75 sqq.). Having been worshipped by him on the 8th and 9th of the bright half of Caitra, the goddess explains her sixfold nature. With reference to this the sage gives her the name of *Bheḍā* (*yadā ṣaḍbhedabhinnāsi tadā Bheḍāsi bhāmini*, 87), and proceeds to worship her as *Haṁsavāgīśvarī-Bheḍā* on the 14th and 15th of the bright fortnight of Caitra. Ever since the goddess has received worship at the Gaṅgodbhedatīrtha on the four days named (vv. 89 sqq.).

After indicating the great spiritual benefits to be reaped from the pilgrimage to this sacred spot, the Māhātmya abruptly turns to the mention of a neighbouring shrine or image of *Govardhanadhara Viṣṇu*, "near which no snow ever falls for a distance of 125 *hastas*" (verse 99). A miraculous image of Yama, called *Aṅjasa*, and set up for the Ṛṣi in the same locality, is next referred to. It is to be worshipped on the Amāvasyā of Āśvayuja or on the 14th dark day in Māgha (vv. 101-111). The Māhātmya closes with more or less fragmentary references to Tīrthas at *Rāmāśrama* (112), *Rāmuṣa* (113) and the 'hermitage (*āśrama*) of the Seven Ṛṣis' (114), and to the *Vaitaraṇī* River (118). These Tīrthas are evidently intended to be visited in conjunction with the Gaṅgodbheda pilgrimage.

3. I have indicated the contents of the Māhātmya at some length, because the details related make it clear beyond doubt that the Tīrtha here described is the one to which Kalhaṇa wanted to allude when speaking of 'the lake situated on the summit of the Bheḍa-hill sanctified by the Gaṅgā-source' in which Sarasvatī showed herself in the form of a swan. That the legendary account of the Māhātmya can itself lay claim to some antiquity becomes further evident by a comparison with the *Nīlamata*. This gives in its list of Tīrthas a brief reference 'to the goddess *Bheḍā* at Gaṅgodbheda (1312).'

After an allusion to the sacred stream *Kathā*, which name in all probability is only a mistake for *Abhayā*,[4] we find mentioned, in almost exactly the same order, the *Aṅjasa* image of Yama, with the date of its worship (Amāvasyā of Āśvayuja, see 1313), the shrine of *Nārāyaṇa* (i.e. Viṣṇu Govardhanadhara, 1315), the *Rāmatīrtha* (corresponding to Rāmāśrama of the Māhātmya, 1316), the 'Tīrtha of the [Seven] Ṛṣis,' 1318, and the *Vaitaraṇī* River, 1319. The meagre list of the Nīlamata, however, gives no help for the identification of our Tīrtha. Nor does another passage of the Nīlamata, which merely mentions 'the shrine of the goddess *Bheḍā* which Pulastya made,' 1039, assist us in this direction.[5]

4. Among the local names mentioned in the Māhātmya, there is only one which was

[3] *udbhidya parvataṁ tasmāt prādur bhūtā mahānadī | tasmād atra mahat puṇyaṁ Gaṅgodbhede bhaviṣyati | Bheḍābhidhāne puṇye 'smin kānane Nandanopame* || 10 ||.

[4] The MSS. of the Nīlamata, 1313, have *avagāhya kathāṁ*. To restore this into *avagāhyābhayāṁ* is palæographically very easy as गा and ह्य show in old S'āradā writing a close resemblance to भ and य, respectively.

[5] The old MS. of Paṇḍit Mahtāb Kaul has here a gloss which gives the modern equivalent of the name as *Bheḍabrāḍū*.

otherwise known to me. *Rāmuṣa* could be clearly no other place but the *Rāmuṣa* of Rājat. ii. 55, the present *Rāmuh*, on the high road from S'upiyan to S'rinagar. But this locality alone would not have sufficed to supply the right clue, had not the reference, made in verse 99, to a site where snow does not fall, forcibly reminded me of a curious notice found in Abū-l-Fazl's account of the 'mirabilia' of Kaśmir. "Near *Shukroh* is a low hill, on the summit of which is a fountain which flows throughout the year, and is a pilgrimage for the devout. The snow does not fall on this spur."*

The *Shukroh* of this passage is clearly the modern Pargaṇa of *S'ukru* ('Shookroo' of the map), which adjoins Rāmuh immediately on the south. It thus became evident that Abū-l-Fazl's notice in reality referred to the *Bheḍa* hill. The latter had accordingly to be searched for among the spurs descending from the Pir Pantsal range which fringe the S'ukru district on the west.

5. The conclusion thus arrived at received further confirmation by a notice in S'rivara's Chronicle which, in view of the evidence already collected, could now safely be connected with our site. S'rivara, iv. 445 sqq., relates at length the events resulting from an invasion which Maqṣūd Khān (Mahsūda Khāna) led against Muḥammad Shāh, the youthful ruler of Kaśmir (circ. A.D. 1484-86). Maḥsūd Khān marched from Rajauri, *viā* S'ūrapura : Hür°pōr, on *Kalyāṇapura* or Kalampōr (see note iv. 483) which lies on the road from S'upiyan to Rāmuh. His troops were met by the force of Jahāngir, the Mārgeśa of Muḥammad Shāh, close to the village of *Drābhagrāma* (*S'riv.* iv 466). This place, as shown on the map, is undoubtedly the present *Drāb°gām*, a small village, once the headquarters of the S'ukru Pargaṇa, situated about three miles to the south of Rāmuh, and at the very foot of the hills to the west of S'ukru. After some fighting the invading force was routed, and Maḥsūd was obliged to turn to flight. S'ṛṅgārasiha, a chief of Rajauri, and others of his followers are said to have retired thereupon to their own territory 'by the route of the *Bheḍā* forest' (*Bheḍāraṇapathāt* : see iv. 495; also iv. 412).

A glance at the map will show that the direct route from near Drāb°gām towards Rajauri leads over the Pir Pantsāl Pass, or one of the other passes immediately to the west of it. The nearest and safest approach to any of these for a force defeated before Drāb°gām would be through the wooded hills immediately to the S.W. of the latter place. We are thus taken exactly to the same region to which we were already guided by a comparison of the Māhātmya and Abū-l-Fazl's notice. I could, therefore, not hesitate to recognize in this 'forest of Bheḍā' the locality already mentioned in almost identical terms in verse 10 of the Māhātmya (*Bheḍābhidhāne . . kānane*).

6. There remained now only the task of tracing actually in the direction indicated the site of the Tirtha and any local traditions attaching to it This I was able to accomplish in September, 1895, on a short tour made through Maraz, partly for this special purpose

When marching on the 15th September from Anatnāg towards S'ukru, I received the first information bearing on the object of my search. An old Brahman villager whom I met near Tsatr°gām, on the table-land of Zain°pōr, knew that a Bheḍā Devi was worshipped at the village of Hal-Mogulpūr. in S'ukru. I accordingly marched on the following day to this place. *Hal-Mogulpur* is a large and prosperous village, inhabited almost exclusively by Brahmans and situated in the centre of S'ukru close to the point which is marked on the map by the name "Kooshopoora." I had no difficulty in finding Suraj Kaul, the Purohita, who, somewhat to my surprise, conducted me straight in the village itself, to the site at which *Bheḍā Devī* is now worshipped. This I found to consist of a small enclosure round a magnificent old Cinār

* See *Ain-i Akb.*, ii. p. 362. The translator in his note to this passage proposes to identify *Shukroh* with *Zakur*, i.e. Juskapura, see above note i. 168. On page 370 of the translation Shukroh, however, correctly figures as one of the Parganas, in the S.E. of Marāz, by the side of Nāgām.

tree. At the foot of the latter a few small Liṅgas and fragments of old sculptures have been collected on a rough stone platform. A small stream coming from some neighbouring spring is conducted through the enclosure.

It was clear to me on the first sight that this rustic shrine, situated in the level plain of the valley and some miles distant from the forests which clothe the hills to the west, could not be the site where Sarasvatī was worshipped "in a lake on the summit of the Bheḍa-hill." Remembering, however, from previous experience how often in Kaśmīr the worship of particular deities had for one reason or the other been shifted from its original site to more convenient localities in the neighbourhood, I had to consider even this Bheḍā Devī as a possible guide to the right track. In the course of my inquiries about sacred springs and other places of worship in the vicinity, I heard first the mention of '*Beḍ*ᵉ*brār*.'

7. This name, which by its identity with the BHEḌABHRAḌŪ or BHEḌABRAḌŪ,[7] of the glosses on the Rājataraṅgiṇī and Nīlamata at once attracted my attention, was known to Suraj Kaul as the designation of some Nāga in the hills to the west. He had not been to the spot, nor had any of the Brahman villagers around me ever heard of a pilgrimage to it. But one of them at least had accidentally passed the place when looking after his cattle grazing in the hills. Following his local directions, I marched the same day, *viâ* Buchpūr and Mäśvōr to *Killar*, a hill village, situated on the spur which ascends in a south-westerly direction from Drabᵘgām, and distant about six miles from the latter place.

Arrived there in camp, I had no difficulty in obtaining further information about *Beḍ*ᵉ*brār* or, as the Kaśmīri-speaking villagers pronounced the name here, *Buḍ*ᵉ*brār*. All the old men of the village, whether Kaśmīrī peasants or Gujars, knew the place, and one of the latter in particular, a man of great age, gave me an accurate description of the Nāga. In his youth he remembered the occasional visits of Brahman pilgrims who had bathed in the water of the spring.

On the following morning I started accordingly for the site of *Buḍ*ᵉ*brār*. The path which is shown on the map, led first along the well-cultivated ridge of the spur to the S.W. and then, still in the same direction, through charming forest scenery up the valley of the Birnai stream. After a march of about six miles, I reached a point where the thickly-wooded spurs on both sides of the stream recede for a short distance, and leave room for small grassy meadows at the bottom of the valley. There I found a small summer settlement of buffalo-grazing Gujars at a spot known as *Buḍ*ᵉ*brār* in Kaśmīrī and as *Bijabrāri* in Pahaṛi. Close to it is the ancient site for which I had searched.

8. At this point, now accurately marked on the map by the entry BHEḌAGIRI, the stream bends round a small hillock, formed by the foot of a ridge trending from the main spur in the east. On the flat top of this hillock which measures about 30 yards from N.E. to S.W., and a little less from N.W. to S.E., is a square tank of limpid water, enclosed on all sides by old much-decayed stone steps. It occupies the northern portion of the plateau, and forms a square of about 55 feet with the corners pointing to the cardinal points. The tank, which at the time of my visit showed an average depth of water of about 4 feet, is fed by a plentiful spring, which can be seen bubbling up on its north side.

At a distance of about 6 feet all round the edge of the tank are the remains of the rough stone wall which once enclosed the sacred tank. They are best preserved on the N.W. and

[7] The Kś. word *brār*, 'goddess,' is the direct derivative of Skr. *bhaṭṭārikā*, corresponding to the masc. *brōr* < *bhaṭṭāraka*; comp. notes i. 37, 38. Here *brār* is used as the common equivalent of *devī*, just as in *Sund*ᵉ*brār*, Saṁdhyādevī, *Hār*ᵉ*brār*, Śārikādevī, etc. Original aspirated sonants lose their aspiration regularly in Kś. Hence *Beḍabrār*, or with the usual shortening of the final *a* of first parts of compounds *Beḍ*ᵃ*brār*, is the form in which the *Bheḍabrāḍū* of the gloss was really pronounced.

The final *ū*-mātrā is used in old Kaśmīrī transcription, just as in Īśvarakaula's grammar now edited by Dr. Grierson, to designate that modification of the vowel of the preceding syllable which is due to the epenthetic influence of an original final *i*.

N.E. sides In the middle of the N.E. side there was an opening in this wall, marked by two carved stones originally forming the doorstep, and still showing the holes for the pivots. On the slope of the hillock just below this door, and at a point approximately corresponding in elevation to the level of the tank, is a spring which evidently is the natural outflow of the tank and serves to drain its surplus water.

Close to this doorway, on the outside, is a large boulder, on the smooth surface of which two Liṅgas are carved in high relievo. The height of each Liṅga, inclusive of its elaborately carved base (*bhadrapīṭha*), is 9 inches. Between the two Liṅgas and also to the right of the one to the south, there is a figure sculptured in relievo about one foot high, representing a female attendant, undraped, carrying a waterpot in either raised hand. Both the Liṅgas and figures show ancient workmanship of a superior kind, and are placed in deep-cut niches. On a small detached piece of rock immediately adjoining is seen a portion of a male figure carved in relievo. As another sculptured remain, I may mention the fragment of the well-carved base of a column which lies near the edge of the tank at its N. corner.

On the N.E. and N.W. sides the small plateau or hillock bearing the tank, falls off steeply towards the stony bed of the hill-stream which flows about 70 feet below the level of the tank. On the S.E. side there is a small flat grass-plot adjoining the tank. To the S W. the remainder of the little plateau is covered with traces of old walls and fragments of large red bricks.

9. A short distance to the S.E. of this hillock and about a hundred feet above it, there is an open terrace-like ground on the hillside which is partly occupied by Gujars' huts. In its centre rises a low mound from which masses of hard red bricks of ancient make and of rough building stones protrude. Remains of walls can yet be traced here over an area measuring about 80 yards from N.E. to S.W. The Gujars living at the spot were well aware of the fact that these remains belonged to old habitations. They may be supposed to have served either as residences for the priests once attending the Tīrtha or as Dharmaśālās for pilgrims, such as are found to this day at Mārtaṇḍ, Tulamul, and other more frequented Tīrthas of Kaśmīr.

Khaira, an old Gujar, aged about seventy-five years, who had passed some forty summers at Budᵃbrār, informed me that in his more youthful days he well remembered occasional visits of Brahmans who bathed in the Nāga and performed S'rāddhas. In later years such visits had become rare, and for the last three or four years he had seen no Brahman come to the site. He distinctly asserted that the tank never froze, and always retained the same level In connection with the latter statement, I convinced myself that at the time of my visit the water of the tank was considerably warmer than the air even at midday, though it was a bright autumn day full of sunshine and warmth. Unfortunately, I had not equipped myself with a thermometer when starting from my camp, and was hence unable to take the temperature.

10. This brief description will suffice to show how closely *Budᵃbrar* agrees in all details with the account we have traced above of the site sacred to the goddess Bhedā. Here we find the striking feature of a natural pond which is formed on limited ground on the top of a small hillock, "without a dam and removed from the water of torrents," exactly as described in the Māhātmya. Even the measurement of 'ten bows' given in the latter (verse 12) is remarkably accurate if we understand it as referring to the size of the tank itself. Ten *dhanus*, equivalent to forty *hastas*, correspond to 60 feet, if we adopt for the latter measure the usual value of 18 inches.[8] As the tank in reality measures 55 feet each side, the agreement is as close as can be desired. At the eastern foot of the tank, just as the Māhātmya has it, issues a spring "which neither fails to flow nor leaps down over the steep slope."

[8] See *P.W.*, s.v.

In the ancient tank filled by the spring of Buḍ*brār, we recognize thus clearly the sacred basin of the **Gaṅgodbheda**, and in the little spring which drains it on the east, the sin-removing stream of *Abhayā*. The natural features which the Māhātmya specially refers to as indications of the Tirtha's miraculous origin, can all plainly be traced at Buḍ*brār. We may rely on their evidence with all the more confidence as they explain by themselves why a sacred character was attached to the site. A large spring issuing on the top of a hillock high above the natural level of the valley and forming a tank in so confined a space, is undoubtedly a striking natural phenomenon. It was as such sure to attract pre-eminently the attention of the pious, even in a country so rich in fine springs as Kaśmir is. We can thus fully understand why Kalhaṇa was induced to single out this Tirtha for mention, immediately after the other sacred wonders of his country, the miraculous springs of Pāpasūdana and Trisaṁdhyā, and the "Self-created Fire."

11. The statement heard on the spot that the tank never freezes may, whether right or wrong, be in some way connected with the belief recorded by the Māhātmya and Abū-l-Faẓl that snow does not fall at this site. If the water of the spring is naturally warm, it might prevent the tank from ever freezing, and at the same time cause a rapid melting of the snow immediately around it. I am, however, unable from want of observation to speak with confidence on this point. It must also be noted that neither Kalhaṇa nor the Nilamata indicates any knowledge of this peculiar feature. Judging from the height of the site which according to my aneroid was about 7800 feet above the sea, and from the configuration of the ground, a great deal of snow must in ordinary winters cover the bottom of the Birnai valley.

We are unable to trace now the several sacred objects of minor importance, such as the shrine of *Govardhanadhara* and *Yama Añjasa*, which the Māhātmya and Nilamata mention in evident connection with them. But this cannot surprise, considering the complete oblivion into which the sacred site of Gaṅgodbheda has fallen as a pilgrimage place evidently since a long time. They may have possibly been situated close to the tank on the adjoining little plateau where remains of old walls are still visible.[9]

12. It is difficult to say why a Tirtha, once evidently well known and much frequented, should have so completely been neglected and forgotten. Possibly the early season prescribed for the pilgrimage, the end of Caitra, and the consequent hardships of the journey may have caused the worshippers to fall off or to transfer their attentions to substitute Tirthas more conveniently accessible, such as the Bheḍā Devi of Hāl-Mogulpūr. At the end of the sixteenth century the site must have still been popularly known, or we should else scarcely meet with its mention in Abū-l-Faẓl's list. Also the old annotator whose glosses A_2 reproduces in Ratnakaṇṭha's codex, was evidently well acquainted with the Tirtha. He correctly renders *Bheḍagiri* by *Bheḍābhrāḍū*, i.e. Buḍ*brār, and in explanation of *haṁsarūpā* of the text adds the name *Haṁsavāgīśvari*, which is the specific designation used in the Māhātmya (see verse 88) for Sarasvati-Bheḍā.

13. Reference has already been made to the phonetic facts which account for the modern name of the site. The form *Bheḍabhrāḍū* of the glossator, pronounced in reality **Beḍabrāṛ*,[10] is the exact Kś. equivalent for *Bheḍādevi*, the popular designation of the goddess as the Nilamata shows. The form Beḍ*brār, which I heard from my Brahman informant at Hāl, shows a shortening of the vowel at the end of the first part of the compound. This is due to the influence of the stress-accent on the first syllable, and is extremely common in modern Kaśmiri. *Buḍ*brār*, the form of the name as used by the Kaśmiri-speaking Muhammadan villagers in the vicinity, may be explained either by the assimilating influence which initial labial consonants frequently exercise on following vowels in Kaśmiri as in other Indo-Aryan

[9] The picture of the Svayaṁbhū Hill in Wright's *History of Nepal*, p. 23, affords a good illustration of the fashion in which the confined space of a sacred site may be crowded with various shrines.

[10] See above, note 7.

Vernaculars, or as the result of a 'popular etymology' which connected the name *Beḍ*- with *buḍ*, 'great.'

Finally, the form *Bijabrāri*, as employed by the Gujars, shows merely an adaptation of the genuine name to a Pahāri, i.e. a foreign, pronunciation in which the broken and short vowels peculiar to Kaśmiri (*ä*,ᵘ) have been replaced by their nearest congeners and the cerebral *ḍ* palatalized into *j*. For the latter change I can give no special reason; but it is well known in Kś. itself under the influence of a following *i* or *y* (see Dr. Grierson's remarks, *J.A.S.B.*, 1897, p. 181; comp. e.g. of *baḍ*, 'great,' Nom. Pl. Fem. *baje*).

14. In conclusion it will yet be useful to point out that past the site of Buḍᵃbrār leads the direct route which connects Drābᵃgām with the Pīr Pantsāl Pass. The path which is a much frequented one and is accordingly specially marked on the Survey map, ascends the valley to the south of Buḍᵃbrār up to the watershed towards the Rembyārᵃ Valley. It then crosses into the latter, joining the main route to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass at Dubji. This position of Buḍᵃbrār confirms strikingly the conclusion we have drawn above from S'rivara's reference to Bheḍāvanapatha, 'the route of the *Bheḍā* forest.' It is clear that the Rajauri soldiers routed before Drābᵃgām, could choose no more convenient and direct route for their flight homewards than the wooded valley of Bheḍa. [11]

Finally, it may be mentioned that a *Gaṅgodbheda* is named in the list of Tīrthas given in the Vana Parvan of the *Mahābh.* III. lxxxiv. 65. There is, however, nothing in the context to point particularly to Kaśmīr. As none of the popular Kaśmirian pilgrimage places seem to be known to the Mahābhārata, it may well be doubted whether the spring of Bheḍā is really meant there. The same remark applies to *Padmapur.* I. xxxii. 29, where Gaṅgodbheda is also found as the name of a Tīrtha.

NOTE *B*.—i. 37.

THE SHRINE OF S'ĀRADĀ.

1. This ancient Tīrtha, though once evidently one of the most important of Kaśmir, and famous far beyond its limits, has in recent times become almost as unknown to the Paṇḍits of S'rinagar as the sacred site of *Bheḍā*, described in Note *A*. If the search I made in 1892 for the shrine of S'āradā did not prove quite as difficult this is due to the fact that Kalhaṇa has left us incidentally some distinct indications as to its position. It must also be noted that the pilgrimage to the shrine is yet locally observed by the Brahmans of the adjoining tracts.

Kalhaṇa has occasion to speak of the 'S'āradāsthāna' in connection with a memorable siege of the *S'irahśilā* Castle, viii. 2556, 2706, which took place in his own time. His references show clearly that the shrine was in close proximity to this hill stronghold. Though at the time I had not yet succeeded in identifying the latter, yet various indications to be gathered from the general description of the locality pointed towards the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley.

[11] The expression *Bheḍāvana* used by S'rivara, looks to me as if taken from real local nomenclature. May it not be the Sanskrit equivalent of the name *Birnai*, which is applied now to the stream flowing past Buḍᵃbrār, as well as to the Valley drained by it? *Nai* is a common Kś. term for alpine forests, often found as the end of local names designating high valleys, such as *Sūlanai*, *Zojnai*, *Nīlnai* (all about Mount Haramukh). For *Bheḍā* > *Bir*, com. Skr. *guḍa* : Kś. *gor*, *taḍāga* : *trā*, *soḍaśa* : *śurāh*, etc.

Several local names in the extant *S'āradāmāhātmya,*[1] as well as in Abū-l-Fazl's brief notice,[2] indicated the same direction. So did also an otherwise somewhat vague note in Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's *Tīrthasaṁgraha*, which connects one of the several S'āradās mentioned by him with the Lolāv Pargaṇa adjoining the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley from the south.

2. I accordingly started in September, 1892, on a tour to the north of Kamrāz in order to ascertain, if possible, the exact position of the Tīrtha. The first reliable information regarding it I obtained from Sant Rām, a Purohita resident at Sōgām in Lolāv. He described to me accurately enough the route followed by the pilgrims. Confirming a surmise I had already previously formed, he indicated to me the village and "Ruins" of *S'ardi*, shown on the map at the confluence of the Kiṣangaṅgā and Kankatōri Rivers, as the place of the S'āradā shrine. Following his directions I marched the same day to *Guṣ* (the ancient Ghoṣa) in the Uttar Pargaṇa, near which village Purohitas of the S'āradā temple were said to be residing. One of these, Chandra Paṇḍit, of Gōthēng, joined me on the next day, and agreed to accompany me on my informal pilgrimage to the site.

With the help of his explanations it was easy to make out the itinerary of the pilgrimage as described in the Māhātmya. The latter text which claims to be taken from the *Bhṛṅghīśasaṁhitā*, but by some curiously metamorphosed local names clearly betrays a comparatively modern composition, or at least redaction, represents the several stages of the pilgrimage in close connection with the legendary origin of the Tīrtha. The Muni *S'āṇḍilya*, son of Mātaṅga, was practising great austerities in order to obtain the sight of the goddess *S'āradā*, who is a S'akti embodying three separate manifestations (vv. 2 sqq.). Divine advice prompts him to proceed to the *S'yāmala Mahārāṣṭra*.[3]

There at Ghoṣa, i.e. Guṣ, appears to him Mahādevī, and promises to show herself in her true form (as S'akti) in the 'S'āradā forest' (vv. 22 sqq.). The goddess vanishes from his sight at *Hayaśirṣāśrama*, in which name we have an attempt to sanskritize the name of the present village *Hāyᵃhōm*, situated about four miles to the N.N.E. of Guṣ. The real old designation of the place is Hāyāśrama, as shown on our map.[4]

The Muni next proceeds to the *Kṛṣṇagaṅgā*, a spring now usually known as Kṛṣṇanāga, in which he bathes. Thereupon half his body becomes golden, emblematic of his approach to complete liberation from darkness (vv. 25 sqq.). The Nāga is situated above the village of *Drang*. This place is shown on the larger Survey Map as quite close to Hāyᵃhōm, and is undoubtedly the Draṅga (or *Draṅgā*) mentioned by Kalhaṇa, viii. 2507 (see note), 2702. The place is nowadays usually designated by the local Brahmans as *Sunᵃ-Drang*, the 'Gold-Drang.' It is this appellation which the Māhātmya wishes to reproduce by calling the place of the Muni's miraculous transformation *Suvarṇārdhāṅgaka*.[5]

3. From thence S'āṇḍilya ascends the mountain range to the north, on which he sees a dance of goddesses in a forest called *Raṅgavāṭī*. The place meant is, according to my informant, a high alpine meadow known as *Rangᵃvōr*, immediately below the pass by which the

[1] See No. 161 of my collection, also No. 95 of the Deccan College collection, 1875–76.

[2] *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 365.

[3] The name *S'yāmala* is probably intended as an allusion to *S'amālā*, the name of the neighbouring district (see note vii. 159).

[4] Compare note viii. 2937.

[5] It is not easy to say whether this specious Sanskrit rendering of Sunᵃ Drang (recte *Suvarṇadraṅga*) was resorted to on account of the legend told of the spring, or whether on the contrary it was the starting-point of the story. The real name of the place, *Draṅga*, is, as explained in note viii. 2507, fully accounted for by its having been the old frontier watch-station (*draṅga*) on the direct road to S'ardi and hence to Cilās.

The prefix Sunᵃ may have been originally intended to distinguish this Draṅg from other 'Draṅgas' (see Note *D*, iii. 227). I am tempted to connect it with the notices quoted below, note 16, about gold found in the Kiṣangaṅgā River. Classical notices already show that gold-washing was carried on in old times by the Dards of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley and the Upper Indus. Compare Herodot. iii. 105, Megasthenes in Strabo, xv. p. 706, with Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, 1883, i. p. 229.

route leading from Drang towards the Kiṣangaṅgā crosses the watershed. He then passes the *Gostambhana* forest, i.e. the Marg *Guthamman* and arrives at TEJAVANA, the residence of Gautama, on the bank of the [Kṛṣṇa]gaṅgā (vv. 36 sqq.). The Māhātmya describes at some length the sacred character of the latter place which is identical with *Teh*ʻ*jan* (map ʻ Thagain ʼ), a small hamlet on the left bank of the Kiṣangaṅgā. It then relates how the sage after crossing on the way a hill, on the east side of which he sees the god Gaṇeśa, arrives in the *S'āradāvana* (vv. 54 sqq.), i.e. at the present S'ardi. After a hymn in praise of S'āradā in her triple form of S'āradā, Nāradā or Sarasvatī, and Vāgdevī (vv. 68 sqq.), an account is given how the goddess at that sacred spot revealed herself to the Muni and rewarded his long austerities by inviting him to her residence on S'rīśaila (vv. 94 sqq.).

Pitṛs also approach there S'āṇḍilya and ask him to perform their S'rāddhas. On his taking water from the *Mahāsindhu* for the purpose of the Tarpaṇa rite, half of its water turns into honey and forms the stream hence known as *Madhumatī*. Ever since baths and S'rāddhas at the Saṅgama of the Sindhu and Madhumatī assure to the pious complete remission of sins, etc. (vv. 104-124).

4. The mention of this confluence leaves no doubt as to where the Māhātmya places the site sacred to S'āradā. By SINDHU can be meant only the Kiṣangaṅgā which, as in Kalhaṇa's days, is still locally known merely as ʻ*Sind*,ʼ ʻthe river.ʼ[6] *Madhumatī* is the name which local tradition gives to this day to the stream that joins the Kiṣangaṅgā at S'ardi from the south.

The name S'ARDI, now the designation of the little village and fort near which the temple of S'āradā stands, is undoubtedly derived from the name of the goddess to whom the site was sacred. The preservation of the initial Skr. *ś* which ordinarily becomes *h* in Kś., need not trouble us. It is due to the fact that popular language in Kaśmīr retains hieratical names and terms like *S'āradā*, *S'iva*, *śānta*, etc., in their Skr. forms as Tatsamas. The local name was always felt to be connected with that of the deity presiding over the shrine.

The remainder of the Māhātmya (vv. 127-144) recapitulates the several stages of the pilgrimage which agree with the sites described in the legendary narrative, and mentions the fourth śudi of Bhādrapada as the time when special holiness accumulates at the Tīrtha. A similar distinction is claimed, however, also for the fourth day of each bright half month and the 14th śudi.

As a peculiar feature of the pilgrimage it deserves yet notice that the Māhātmya (vv. 88 sqq.), as well as the actual practice, prescribes the offering of a *paśuhoma* at S'āradā's shrine as obligatory even for Vaiṣṇavas. This injunction is clearly due to the worship to S'āradā as a S'akti.

5. According to Chandra Paṇḍit's accounts the Brahmans from the neighbouring districts who still perform the pilgrimage to S'āradā, have for several years avoided the difficult pass behind Drang and the equally difficult gorges through which the route, above described, debouches into the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley. Starting on the pilgrimage on the 4th śudi of Bhādrapada, they satisfy themselves by bathing in the rivulet which comes from Drang, instead of visiting its source at the Kṛṣṇanāga. They then proceed to Gus, where they visit a little grove of walnut-trees and Cinārs, situated by the side of the Kāmil (Kāverī) River, and known by the name of *Rang*ʻ*vōr* as a substitute for the *Raṅgavāṭī* alp. From there they march by the ordinary route to Dudniāl on the Kiṣangaṅgā *viā* Aura, Zirʻhōm and the Sitalvan Pass. Ascending the river on its left bank they reach Tejavana and finally S'āradā on the fourth day.

Local inquiries convinced me that alone this route, which being used for the supplies, etc., of the small garrison in S'ardi Fort, is kept in some repair, was practicable for baggage-carrying coolies. I accordingly marched on the 6th September to Zirʻhōm, the last village at the foot

[6] See viii. 2492, 2507 note.

of the Sitalvan Pass, crossed the latter on the following day into the wholly uninhabited valley on the north side, and arrived on the 8th opposite to Dudniāl. The path which leads down from the watershed passes almost entirely through thickly-wooded narrow gorges, often in the bed of a stream. It is so difficult that I could easily realize the hardships to which the pilgrims must be exposed on the even more trying orthodox route.

6. As the path on the left bank of the Kiṣangaṅgā was represented to be wholly unfit for the carriage of loads, I crossed at Dudniāl the shaky rope-bridge over the tossing river, and marched on the 9th up the valley on the right bank to S'ardi. The road which is comparatively easier though also unfit for animals, passes a number of small villages situated on well-cultivated terraces. They show that in old times this portion of the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley, once the scene of the events related by Kalhaṇa, viii. 2484-2709, and now part of *Drāva* (Skr. *Durāṇḍa?*), may have supported a larger population, and hence have been of greater importance.

Separated by a great natural barrier, it can scarcely ever have formed part of the proper territory of Kaśmir, though its petty chiefs in Hindu as well as in later times seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kaśmir rulers. The present inhabitants are closely allied to the Pahāri population of Karnāv (*Karṇāha*), and show only a small admixture of Kaśmiri settlers and Dards. If these ethnological conditions prevailed also in earlier times, the inclusion of the S'āradātirtha among the most sacred sites of Kaśmir must appear all the more curious.

When opposite to the hamlet of Tehᵃjan I was shown the spot where the pilgrims perform the ablutions prescribed for *Tejarana*. It is at the point where the hill-stream of the valley debouching here from the S.E. falls into Kiśangaṅgā. Higher up, when arrived at the village of *Kherigām*, and only a short way from S'ardi, my Purohita guide pointed out to me on the opposite bank a narrow and high ridge, which falls off with precipitous cliffs into the river, as the 'hill of Gaṇeśa' (*Gaṇeśagiri*) mentioned in the Māhātmya. It is known as *Gaṇeś Ghāṭi*. My subsequent visit to the spot revealed the reason why this ridge is held sacred to the elephant-faced god, and also enabled me to identify it, as shown in Note *L*, viii. 2492, with the long-searched-for site of the *S'irahśilā* Castle.

Above Kherigām the valley becomes less confined. At a turn of the path the fort of S'ardi and the ancient temple of S'āradā come conspicuously into view, with a magnificent amphitheatre of high peaks behind them. The Kiṣangaṅgā which issues only a short distance above S'ardi from a long and narrow chasm in the mountains, flows here with comparative smoothness. I was able to cross the river by means of a raft fastened to a twig rope, and thus to avoid the long and somewhat dangerous rope-bridge which, when the water is high, forms the only means of passage.

7. The temple of S'ĀRADĀ rises in a prominent and commanding position above the right bank of the Madhumati on the terrace-like foot of a spur which descends from a high pine-clad peak to the E. Immediately below this terrace to the N.W. is the spot where the waters of the MADHUMATĪ and the Kiṣangaṅgā mingle. There on a small sandy beach the pilgrims perform their S'rāddhas. From the height of the staircase, which forms the approach to the temple from the W., an extensive view opens. To the S.E. the valley of the Madhumati is seen narrowing gradually into a gorge between precipitous spurs through which passes the direct route to Kaśmir *viā* Krōras. In the N.E. from where the Kiṣangaṅgā issues, successive ranges of barren steep mountains with snowy peaks behind them, seem to close all passage. To the N. a narrow chasm in the rocks marks the debouchure of the Sargan River, the Kankatori of the map, which flows from the mountains towards Cilās and falls into the Kiṣangaṅgā a short distance above the Madhumati. It is the SARASVATĪ of Kalhaṇa's description, still known by that name to local tradition. To the W. the view extends to the high ranges which rise in the direction of Khāgan.

8. The ruins which mark the ancient shrine of S'āradā, deserve here all the more a brief description, as the only account I have been able to trace of them is contained in Major C. B. Bates' "*Gazetteer of Kashmir*," p. 339, a quasi-confidential Government publication 'for political and military reference,' not generally accessible. Major Bates' notice of S'ardi which is detailed and accurate, became known to me only long after my visit to the site.

The temple is approached from the lower slope of the hill in the W. by an imposing stone staircase, now half decayed, which leads up in sixty-three steps to the main entrance of the quadrangular court enclosing the temple. It is about 10 feet wide and rises rather steeply between two flanking walls of massive construction, broken in six steps or flights. The entrance to the court is through a gateway, provided with the usual double porch of Kaśmirian architecture. The gateway forms now the south-west corner of the court. Whether it occupied this position also in the original structure cannot be decided with certainty, as the whole of the south face of the enclosure is now in ruins, owing to the foundation-walls on the steep slope towards the Madhumati having given way. If the court formed originally an exact quadrangle without the indenture now observed in its south-western corner, this gateway would have occupied exactly the middle of the west face. Owing to the cause already referred to, the south or right side of the gateway has fallen. On the north side there are still remains of the columns, one on each side of the middle doorway which supported the trefoiled arches of the porches. The total depth of this gateway is about 12 feet.

The court to which it gives access, forms an oblong accurately orientated and enclosed by a massive wall 6 feet thick. The north side of the enclosure, which is intact, measures 142 feet, and the equally well-preserved east side, 94′ 6″. This gives for the longer and shorter sides of the quadrangle the proportion of 3 by 2. The height of the enclosing walls proper is 11 feet from the level of the court to the projecting rim at the foot of the coping. The latter rises in pyramidal form to a height of about 8 feet above the top of the wall, and is particularly well preserved on the east side. Seen from outside the walls of the enclosure appear still more massive and imposing, as they are raised on basement walls, built with a view to equalise the different elevations of the ground. These substructure-walls vary in height from 5 to 12 feet, and raise in some places the total height of wall visible from outside to about 30 feet. In the centre of the northern wall there is a small recess, about 3′ 3″ square inside, opening by a trefoil-arched door towards the interior of the court. It contains now two ancient Liṅgas of moderate size and was, no doubt, also originally intended for the reception of some image or Liṅga. There is a similar small cella on the east side of the enclosing wall, and about 5 feet to the south of it a square postern, 3 feet broad. It gives access to the terraces on the hillside rising behind the temple, and to a spring called Amarakuṇḍa. somewhat higher up.

9. The temple which occupies the centre of the quadrangle, forms a square cella conforming in plan and elevation to the usual features of Kaśmir architecture. It is raised on a basement 24 feet square and 5′ 3″ high. The walls of the cella proper recede about 2 feet from the edge of the basement. They are adorned on the north, east and south by trefoil arches and supporting pilasters both projecting in relievo. Below these arches are small trefoil-headed niches covered by double pediments. The walls are still intact up to a height of about 20 feet above the basement, and nearly to the topmost point of the great trefoil arches. There are scarcely any traces of the usual pyramidal stone roof. From the absence of any débris which such a massive roof when destroyed could not have failed to leave in and around the cella, I am inclined to doubt whether it ever existed. At present the cella is covered by a low shingle roof, probably the same which Major Bates (1873) notices as having been "recently erected by Colonel Gundu, the late Zillahdār of Muzaffarābād."

The entrance to the interior of the cella is on the west side, and is approached by stairs

5½ feet wide with flanking side walls. There is an open portico in front of the door projecting about 4 feet beyond the pilasters on each side of the doorway. It is supported on the outside by two pillars, 2 feet 4 inches square, and about 16 feet high. The interior of the cella forms a square of 12 feet 3 inches, and has no decoration of any kind. The only conspicuous object in it is a large rough slab on the ground which measures about 6 by 7 feet, with a thickness of about half a foot. This stone is believed to cover a *kuṇḍa*, or spring-cavity, in which S'āradā appeared to S'aṇḍilya, and is the object of the pilgrims' special veneration. At the time of my visit a red cloth canopy with plenty of tinsel surmounted the sacred spot. Conches, bells, and other implements of worship filled the remainder of the interior space.

10. The whole of the cella is built of a somewhat friable sandstone, and with blocks by no means remarkable for size or careful dressing. In regard to the material used and solidity of construction, the temple appeared to me decidedly inferior to the enclosing quadrangle. Traces of plaster found in sheltered recesses of the walls lead me to suppose that the whole central shrine was originally covered with that material.

The whole appearance of the cella and certain peculiarities in its dimensions and decorative features prevent me from attributing to this structure any great antiquity. In style it presents some resemblance to the ruined cellas at Kapaṭeśvara : Koṭhēr, which may be ascribed with great probability to the time of King Bhoja or the eleventh century, as stated in note vii. 190 It is evident that a shrine erected at a site so popular and renowned from early times would be sure of continued attention, and hence repeated restorations. The very fact that a building in no way distinguished for solidity of construction and massiveness of material, surpasses in its present state of preservation many of the most famous monuments of Kaśmir architecture, seems to indicate a comparatively late date.

11. According to Chandra Paṇḍit's relation the temple had been almost deserted during the time preceding the Sikh invasion, when the Muhammadan Rājās of Karnāv ruled as practically independent chiefs in the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley. Under one of them the shrine is said to have been used for the storage of gunpowder, the explosion of which blew off the original roof. This story, if true, would confirm our surmise as to the temple never having possessed a stone roof. Because the collapse of such a superstructure would have, in all probability, implied the destruction of the side walls also. The temple was subsequently repaired by Mahārāja Gulāb Singh. He also settled a small bounty of seven rupees 'Chilki' per mensem on the family of Gōthēng Brahmans, to which Chandra Paṇḍit belongs, and which claims the hereditary guardianship of the temple.

Quite as much as to the intermittent ministrations of these appointed guardians, the shrine owes its present comparatively fair state of repair to the presence of a little Hindu community in the garrison of the neighbouring fort of S'ardi. The latter, a square rubble-built structure which stands almost opposite to the temple, on the left bank of the Madhumatī, was erected in Mahārāja Gulāb Singh's time, to guard the valley against the inroads of marauding Cilāsis who, in the Sargan Valley, had a convenient route to descend by. I found there a small garrison of Dogrās and Sikhs, some forty men, belonging to the irregu[illegible] called Killahdār troops (see note vii. 965). These brave fellows quartered for years at this [illegible] spot, and cut off for a great part of the year from all intercourse with the outside world, seemed to take an intelligent interest in the sacred shrine entrusted, as it were, to their care. They kept it clear of the luxuriant forest vegetation around, which threatens to overgrow it, just like the ruins of Buthʼšēr : Bhūteśvara. They also maintained a Hindu mendicant from the plains as an attendant of the goddess.

12. According to the information of Chandra Paṇḍit, confirmed by subsequent inquiries, the pilgrimage to the shrine takes place regularly in the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada. The pilgrims start on their journey on the 4th śudi from Guṣ, and perform the

visit to the S'āradākuṇḍa and the S'rāddhas, by the Madhumati, on the 8th. The dates here indicated are exactly those prescribed for the popular pilgrimage to the Gaṅgā-lake on the Haramukuṭa mountain (see notes i. 36; viii. 1007).

This circumstance accounts for a curious connection which has arisen between the two *Yātrās*. The visit to the sacred Gaṅgā-lake can be made only in those years when the sun at the date above indicated, stands in the zodiacal sign of Leo.[7] As this is not the case in years when an intercalary month (*adhikamāsa*) falls near Bhadrapada, the pilgrimage to Mount Haramukuṭa falls into abeyance at regular intervals of three or four years.

It is in these particular years that the custom has established itself of visiting S'āradā in place of the Gaṅgā of Haramukuṭa. Though the great flux of pilgrims has for a long time back been diverted from the ancient shrine of S'āradā to the modern substitute sites to be noticed below, yet two or three hundreds of pilgrims still proceed in such years to the sacred sites by the Kiṣangaṅgā. They are recruited almost exclusively from among the Brahman population of the nearest parts of Kamrāz, the temple of S'āradā being, as already stated, practically unknown to the Brahmans of S'rinagar. In ordinary years the pilgrimage to S'āradā attracts only a few solitary devotees. I doubt whether Chandra Paṇḍit and his brother Purohitas from Gōthēng think it always worth their while to accompany them.

13. It must have been otherwise in old days, if we may judge from the fame which the shrine of S'āradā enjoyed, not only in Kaśmir but far beyond it. Kalhaṇa, himself, in his account of Lalitāditya's reign, iv. 325, refers to certain followers of a king of Gauḍa or Bengal, who had come to Kaśmir under the pretence of visiting the shrine of S'āradā, but in reality to avenge the murder of their king by Lalitāditya. Whatever the historical value of the story related may be, it is clear that the particular reference to S'āradā could not have been introduced if it had not been known that the fame of S'āradā had spread even to far-off regions.

For this fact we have a classical witness in ALBĒRŪNI, who must have heard of the shrine during his stay in the Panjāb. In a passage already quoted above (note i. 37), he speaks of the wooden idol of S'āradā as much venerated and frequented by pilgrims.[8] He describes its position accurately enough as being "in inner Kashmir, about two or three days' journey from the capital, in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor" (i.e. the region of the Upper Indus between Gilgit and Ladākh; see *India*, i p. 117). It deserves special notice that Albērūni mentions S'āradā, not in his description of Kaśmir but in his account of the most famous idols of the Hindus, immediately after the image of the sun-god at Multān, the Viṣṇu Cakrasvāmin of Thānesvar, and the Liṅga of Somnath.

BILHAṆA, the Kaśmirian poet, whose literary career falls into the second half of the eleventh century, is our next witness in order of time. In his panegyrical description of Pravarapura or S'rinagar,[9] written when he was in the Dekhan, far away from his home, he ascribes the patronage of learning, claimed for that city, to the favour of S'āradā. The goddess is said to "resemble a swan, carrying as her diadem the [glittering gold washed from the] sand[10] of the *Madhumati* stream which is bent on rivalling Gaṅgā. Spreading lustre by her fame, brilliant like crystal, she makes even Mount Himālaya, the preceptor of Gauri, raise higher his head (his peaks) [in pride] of her residence there."

[7] Compare fol. 3 of my MS. of the *Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya*, No. 221.

[8] I am unable to trace elsewhere any reference to the image of S'āradā having been a wooden one. There was a famous wooden statue of Maitreya, much venerated by Buddhists, in Dāril, not far from Cilās. It is mentioned by Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang; see *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. pp. xxix., 134.

[9] See *Vikram.* xviii. 5.

[10] I assume, Bilhaṇa knew of the gold carried by the Kiṣangaṅgā and its tributaries, and hence intended a double sense in the word *saikata*, viz. 'sand,' and 'what is washed from sand, i.e. gold.' Compare *pipīlika*, *Mahābh.* ii., lii. 4, as the name of a kind of gold supposed to be collected by ants (Herodot. iii. 106), and terms like *saindhava*, 'salt.'

14. In a more legendary light the temple of S'āradā figures in a curious story related of the great Jaina scholar Hemacandra (A.D. 1088-1172), in the *Prabhāvakacarita.* It has been reproduced and discussed by Prof. Bühler in his classical account of Hemacandra's life and labours.[11] The story is, that when Hemacandra was commissioned by King Jayasiṁha, of Gujrāt, to compose a new grammar, he requested to be supplied with the necessary materials in the shape of the eight older grammars, which could be found complete only in the library of the goddess Sarasvatī, in Kaśmīr. Jayasiṁha sent at once high officials to *Pravarapura* to obtain the manuscripts. Arrived there they proceeded to the temple of the goddess and offered their prayer. Pleased by their praises the goddess appeared and commanded her own attendants to transmit the desired works to her favourite Hemacandra. The manuscripts were thereupon delivered to the king's envoys and brought by them to Hemacandra, who, after perusing them, composed his own great grammatical work, the *Siddhahemacandra.*

Other sources and an examination of the work itself, show that Hemacandra's literary materials had been collected from various countries. Professor Bühler was, therefore, undoubtedly right when he treated the statement of the *Prabhāvakacarita* that *all* manuscripts had come from the temple of Sarasvatī, in Kaśmīr, as an exaggeration due to the author's too high notion of the scientific greatness of the country of S'āradā (*l.c.* p. 185). But the legendary character of the story becomes still more evident on a consideration of the details. There can be no doubt that by "the temple of Sarasvatī" is meant the shrine of S'āradā, the two names being ordinarily considered designations of the identical deity. Yet the author of the Jaina text places this temple at S'rīnagar, where we know from the ample historical materials available to us, that such a shrine did not exist either in Hemacandra's time or ever thereafter.

The origin of the Prabhāvakacarita's story can be traced with great probability. Given the fact that Hemacandra was believed to have obtained literary help in the form of manuscripts from the distant Kaśmīr, the land of S'āradā, it was only natural to embellish the account by connecting it with that temple of the goddess of learning. This as a chief pilgrimage place of Kaśmīr had, as we have seen, become known in distant parts, long before the time of the composition of the Prabhāvakacarita (middle of thirteenth century). That the author imagines this temple to be situated in Pravarapura then, as now, the only centre of learning in Kaśmīr, is exactly what we should expect in view of the character of his narrative.

The last discussed reference to S'āradā's temple is of interest because it leads us also to the probable reason for the far-spread renown of this particular Tīrtha. Kaśmīr has claimed from early times to be the land beloved by Sarasvatī-S'āradā,[12] and such designations as *S'āradāpīṭha*, *S'āradāmaṇḍala*, etc., have been, and are still, in common use for it. Without examining here how far the Valley has earned this proud title as a home of scholarship and refuge of learning, it will be recognized that such designations must have helped to attract special attention abroad to the Tīrtha which bore the name of S'āradā.[13]

15. A very curious account of a later phase in the history of the S'āradā temple is found in Jonarāja's Chronicle. The passage containing it belongs to those additions of the text with which Professor Peterson's recent edition (1896) has first acquainted us.[14] We read there

[11] *Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra*, in *Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Classe* of the Imperial Academy, Vienna, xxxvii. pp. 183, 232.

[12] Compare *Report*, pp. 31, xl.; *Fourth Chron.* 407; *Vikram.* i. 21; *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 10.

[13] A curious incident has shown me that a lingering tradition as to the S'āradā-shrine of Kaśmīr survives to this day in Gujrāt. Some years ago when S'aṁkarāśramasvāmin, Abbot of the chief Maṭha of Dvārakā, in Gujrāt, paid a visit to Lahore, I was specially requested by that holy personage to give information as to the S'āradātīrtha in Kaśmīr, to which he desired to make a pilgrimage. The worthy abbot subsequently abandoned his project. Whether from a due appreciation of the difficulties of the route, or for other even more material reasons, I am unable to say.

[14] See vv. 1056-1071 of the Bombay edition.

None of the additional verses, some 350 in number, are found either in the Calcutta edition or in the MSS. I have had access to in Kaśmīr.

in the narrative of the early portion of the Sultān Zain-ul-'ābidīn's reign (A.D. 1420-70), of a visit which this king paid to the shrine of S'āradā.

The prince whose tolerant attitude towards his Brahman subjects is otherwise well known, is represented as having accompanied the regular pilgrimage, apparently in the year 1422 A.D., in order to witness the miraculous manifestations of the goddess. From the description in verse 1057 it seems that these were ordinarily the appearance of sweat on the face of the image of the goddess, the shaking of the arm, and a sensation of heat on touching the foot.

After bathing and drinking at the Madhumatī stream the king seated himself at the sacred spot which was thronged by pilgrims and temple Purohitas. Owing to the baseness he witnessed in these people, the king is said to have displayed anger and to have lost faith in the goddess. Having failed to see her manifest herself in a visible and material way which Jonarāja plausibly explains by a reference to the Kaliyuga and the want of faith in the worshippers, he then endeavoured to obtain her sight in a dream. For this purpose the king went to sleep on the night of the 7th Bhādrapada (the half month is not indicated) in the court of the temple.[15] S'āradā, however, refused to vouchsafe any sign of her presence to the king in his sleep either. From due regard for the prince's high personal qualities, the author is forced to ascribe this disappointment to the wickedness of his servants and the conflux of Mlecchas. Having thus disappointed the virtuous Zain-ul-'ābidīn, the goddess is then said to have herself, crushed her image to pieces.

16. We see from this account that a miracle-working image of S'āradā, probably the same of which Albērūnī had heard, was yet in existence in the early part of the fifteenth century, and that its destruction, rightly or wrongly, was connected with a pilgrimage which Zain-ul-'ābidīn made to the site.

In the sixteenth century the temple of S'āradā must have enjoyed yet considerable reputation in Kasmīr itself. This is proved by ABŪ-L-FAẒL's notice of the site (*Āīn-Akb.*, ii. p. 365): "At two days' distance from *Hāchāmūn* is the river named *Padmati*, which flows from the Dardu (Dard) country. Gold is also found in this river. On its banks is a stone-temple called *Shārada* (*sic*), dedicated to Durgā and regarded with great veneration. On every eighth *tithi* of the bright half of the month it begins to shake and produces the most extraordinary effect."

Here *Hāchāmūn* stands plainly for Hāyᵃhōm : Hāyāsrama mentioned above, § 2, on the old pilgrimage route. *Padmati* is an evident clerical error for *Madmati*, i.e. Madhumatī. From the statement which makes this river come from the Dard country, it appears that there is here some confusion between the Madhumatī and the Kiṣanganga, which latter alone can be described as flowing from that region. It must, however, be noted that a not very clear passage of the S'āradāmāhātmya, 120, seems to ascribe to the Kiṣangaṅgā also the second name *Madhumatī*.

The notice of gold being found in the river clearly applies to the Kiṣangaṅgā, which drains a mountain region known as auriferous to the present day.[16] The story told of the S'āradā

It would be hence very desirable if information were given to us as to the source from which these additional text portions of the new edition have been derived. In many cases these verses look like amplifications of the narrative; in others again they are evidently required by the context. As Jonarāja apparently did not live to complete his work we have here, perhaps, two redactions, the Bombay edition representing a revised but also unfinished text. Though the additions may not be the work of Jonarāja, himself, yet they cannot well have been made at a much later time.

[15] See verse 1060, *S'āradākṣetraprāsā lasthaṇḍilopari.*

[16] Compare BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 19, where a statement of Captain Montgomerie mentioning gold-dust in the drainage of the Doosai plateau is quoted. Abū-l-Faẓl in the immediately preceding passage describes the washing of gold in the rivers of Pakli, the hill-region to the west of Kaśmīr.

It is very probable that the mention made by Jonarāja, vv. 885 sq., of gold washed in rivers, also refers to the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley. Describing the reign of Zain-ul-'ābidīn (A.D. 1420–

temple shaking on the 8th *sudi* of each month, is evidently a lingering reflex of the miracle ascribed to S'āradā's image in Jonarāja's account. The date indicated is that still observed for pilgrims' visits to the shrine, but present tradition, as far as I have been able to ascertain, knows nothing of the phenomenon. P. Sāhibrām in his *Tīrthasaṁgraha*, it is true, notices the miracle in almost identical terms; but it is scarcely doubtful that he has here, as more than once elsewhere, merely reproduced the information of Abū-l-Faẓl.

17. I have already above referred to the fact that the politically disturbed condition of the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley during the later Mughal and Paṭhān rule, has had much to do with the neglect into which the shrine of S'āradā has fallen.[17] Karnāv and Drāva were then in the hands of petty chiefs of the Bomba clan, independent of the government of the Kaśmīr Valley, but unable themselves to maintain order among the warlike and turbulent hillmen of their territory. The colonies of Āfrīdīs, found at Zirᵃhōm and Drang-Hāyᵃhōm, were originally established during the Durānī rule with a view to guarding the passes against raids from the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley.[18]

Conditions improved but little during the Sikh rule, and even as late as 1846 Kaśmīr was raided as far as S'rīnagar by bands of the restless Bombas. It is evident that during this long period the pilgrimage to the distant shrine on the Kiṣangaṅgā could have no attractions for peaceful Brahmans of Kaśmīr. According to the traditions of the Gōthᵉng Purohitas it was only since the establishment of the Dogrā rule and the suppression of the Bomba troubles, that the route to S'ardi became once more open for regular pilgrim-visits.

18. These political circumstances combined with the natural difficulties of the route, explain sufficiently the development of quite a series of substitutes for the ancient Tīrtha within the Valley itself. The best known and most popular among these is the spring called *S'āradākuṇḍa*, at the village of *Tsatsa*, close to Hārvan, and about one and a half miles from the north-east corner of the Ḍal lake. Owing to the place being so near to the city and easily approached by boat, large crowds of pilgrims assemble from S'rīnagar to pay their devotion to S'āradā thus brought within convenient reach. The spring is visited exactly on the day prescribed for the real S'āradā pilgrimage, and only in the years when the Yātrā to the Gaṅgā-lake on the Haramukuṭa does not take place. How the Bāchbaṭṭas accompanying the pilgrims manage to locate the several other sacred sites mentioned by the S'āradāmāhātmya on the familiar shores of the Ḍal, I have not been able to ascertain.

19. Another S'āradā is mentioned by Paṇḍit Sāhibrām, in his Tīrthasaṁgraha, near the village of *Kulyandi*, in Khuyᵃhōm. I have not visited the locality, and am hence unable to say whether the S'āradā here meant is identical with the one near a place called *Hüril*, also in Khuyᵃhōm, to which Prof. Bühler refers in his note on Rājat. i. 37.

Finally, I may note as a characteristic fact that even in the comparative neighbourhood of the ancient S'āradātīrtha, and on the very route to it, a substitute shrine has been created to suit the circumstances already indicated. Immediately adjoining the grove at *Guṣ*, known as Rangᵃvōr and mentioned above, § 5, is a small walled enclosure in which a few fragments of ancient relievo images are kept. This place is locally considered a shrine of S'āradā, and is visited,

70), he says: "In the sand of rivers people then collected gold, yellow like sand, and possessed of all brilliancy. The king then had an ordinance engraved on a copper-plate that future rulers should take one-sixth [as a royalty] from river-gold." In the verses immediately preceding Jonarāja speaks of the copper-mine which King Jayāpīḍa had first opened. Of this we know from Rājat. iv. 617, that it was situated in the hills of Kramarājya, i.e. to the west of the Valley.

The mention here made of a special tax levied on river-gold confirms the suggestion thrown out above in note 5, about the origin of the local name *Sunᵃ-Drang*.

Jonarāja's and Abū-l-Faẓl's references are of value because they help to connect with the above-quoted modern observation the note of the ancients regarding the gold-collecting Dards; see above, note 5.

[17] See note i. 37.

[18] See note viii. 2507

instead of the S'ardi temple, on occasion of the S'āradāyātrā, by Brahmans of the neighbourhood, who are anxious to pay respect to the goddess and are yet unwilling to face the hardships of the real pilgrimage.

The history of the S'āradātīrtha we have endeavoured to trace here, may help to remind us that notwithstanding all tenacity of religious tradition local cults in Kaśmīr do not fail to adapt themselves to the changing conditions of time and place.

NOTE C.—i. 124.

JYESṬHARUDRA AT S'RĪNAGARĪ.

1. The important bearing of this passage on the question as to the site of Aśoka's S'rīnagarī has already been indicated in note i. 104. From what has been said in explanation of i. 113, and regarding the position of the original *Sodara* spring (note i. 123), it will be clear that our passage relates to the establishment of a new place of worship for S'iva JYESṬHEŚA or JYESṬHARUDRA, whose original sanctuary was situated at Bhūteśvara below Nandikṣetra. In tracing the position of the new shrine ascribed to Jalauka, it will be safest to start from what can be ascertained regarding the actual worship of that form of S'iva in the vicinity of S'rīnagar.

At present the name of S'iva *Jyeṣṭheśa* is borne by the Liṅga which is found by the side of the Jyeṣṭhā-Nāga. The latter is situated on the hill-slope rising to the S.W. of the Gagribal part of the Ḍal, and a short distance above the village of JYĒṬHĒR. The Nāga forms the object of a separate pilgrimage which is largely attended by the Brahman community of S'rinagar, and is described in the *Jyeṣṭhāmāhātmya*. The latter accounts for the sanctity of the site by a legend relating how S'iva liberated here Jyeṣṭhā, i.e. Pārvatī, from the Daityas, and on marrying her took the name of *Jyeṣṭheśa*. The name of the neighbouring village, *Jyēṭhēr*, is rendered in the Māhātmya by *Jyeṣṭheraka*. In reality it goes back to an original **Jyeṣṭheśvara* through **Jyēṭh-hēr* (comp. *Amburhēr* < *Amareśvara*: *Kōṭhēr* < *Kapaṭeśvara*). The Jyeṣṭheśa here worshipped is referred to by P. Sāhibrām in his *Tīrthas.* as *Jyeṣṭharudra*, and is generally known to the Brahman population under the Kś. equivalent of this name, *Jyēṭhᵉludᵃr*.

2. That this name was attached to the site also in an earlier period, is shown by a passage in the Fourth Chronicle, 592. This describes the concourse of people on the '*Jyeṣṭharudrākhyaparvata*' on the day of S'ripañcamī, i.e. according to the Kaśmīrian significance of the term, Vaiśākha vadi 5. This is exactly the date prescribed by the Māhātmya, and observed to this day for the chief pilgrimage to Jyeṣṭheśa.

Elsewhere that Chronicle refers to the Ḍal as the '*Jyeṣṭharudrasamīpasthaṁ saras*,' 853, and speaks of the '*Jyeṣṭharudrasamīpasthaḥ giriḥ*,' 806, which the forces of Yāqūb Khān occupied against Akbar's troops. From the position assigned to the latter on the banks of the Vitastā above S'rinagar, it follows that the author means here the hill now called Takht-i Sulaimān, which forms so conspicuous an object in the environs of the capital. As the distance from Jyēṭhēr to the east foot of the hill is scarcely more than a mile, we can also understand why the name Jyeṣṭharudra was eventually applied to the hill itself. This is certainly the case in two passages of the *Mahādevamāhātmya*. S'iva is represented there, ii. 8, as surveying

from the top of the S'ārikāparvata or *Hār*ᵃ*parvat* the country around. He sees to the east the Ḍal Lake, and in the south 'the hill of Jyeṣṭharudra,' i.e. the Takht-i Sulaimān. Similarly, Pārvatī is described, iii. 10, as noticing from the bank of the Vitastā 'the high seat' of Jyeṣṭharudra.

3. To the site we have thus traced on the south shore of the Ḍal, points also the passage of the Rājat., i. 341. There Kalhaṇa relates that King Gopāditya after erecting a shrine of *Jyeṣṭheśvara*, granted Agrahāras at GOPĀDRI to Brahmans from Āryāvarta. By *Gopādri*, 'the Gopa-hill,' is meant undoubtedly the Takht-i Sulaimān, as Kalhaṇa's words, viii. 1104, 1107, clearly show. The gloss of A_2 is therefore right in placing these Agrahāras at the present *Gup*ᵃ*kār*, a considerable village, situated at the east foot of the Takht hill, and about half a mile from Jyēṭhēr. Without examining the historical value of this notice which may be based on a popular etymology (see note i. 341), we can safely assume that the place at which Gopāditya was supposed to have erected, or replaced, a shrine dedicated to Jyeṣṭheśvara, lay in the immediate vicinity of Jyēṭhēr.

4. Returning from the consideration of the above evidence to our own passage, it is clear that the Jyeṣṭharudra erected by Jalauka at S'rīnagari, must be looked for in the locality to the south of the Ḍal marked by Jyēṭhēr in the east and the Takht hill in the west. For the identification of the actual site within these limits we should have to depend on distinct archaeological evidence. But such, unfortunately, is not at present available; comp. note i. 341 and *Addenda*.

Gen. CUNNINGHAM, as already stated (see note i. 104), recognized Jalauka's Jyeṣṭharudra in the temple which crowns now the summit of the Takht-i Sulaimān; see *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 247 sqq.; *Anc. Geogr.* p. 95 seq. But the arguments on which this opinion was based, have proved untenable. Prof. BÜHLER has already shown, *Report*, p. 17, that the alleged tradition of Kaśmirian Brahmans as to the identity of this temple with Jalauka's Jyeṣṭharudra does *not* exist. And Mr. FERGUSSON (*Hist. of Ind. Archit.*, p. 282) has brought equally strong reasons based on architectural observations against the assumption which represented this structure as the oldest temple of Kaśmīr. The circular cella which contains a modern Liṅga, was undoubtedly built in Muhammadan times. The imposing polygonal basement, constructed of remarkably massive blocks and without mortar, must belong to a much earlier period. But there is nothing to show that it actually supported, or marked the position of Jalauka's Liṅga.

5. Remains belonging to ancient temples are found in several places near Gupᵃkār. Thus large carved slabs are built into the Ziārat of Sayyad Najmu-d-dīn Ṣāhib on the west shore of the Gagribal, and also into the basements of other Muhammadan buildings in the village itself. On the road close to this Ziārat lies the fragment of a colossal Liṅga, ten feet in diameter. Another large Liṅga, also much injured, I found on the hillside below the Jyeṣṭhānāga. At Jyēṭhēr itself little of ancient remains can be traced on the surface. This, however, is easily explained by the fact that as at other much-frequented pilgrimage places, the buildings erected there must have been exposed to successive repairs and gradual deterioration.

6. Whatever the date and origin of the temple on the Takht hill may be, its connection with the worship of Jyeṣṭharudra is highly probable. The only sacred site now known in its neighbourhood, is that of Jyēṭhēr. As in the case of Lalitāditya's famous temple of Mārtaṇḍ, the distance of the temple from the sacred spring would easily be accounted for by the more prominent position thus secured for the shrine.

In conclusion, it may be noted that the opinion of some Paṇḍits, referred to by Gen. CUNNINGHAM, *l.c.* p. 247, which connected the hill and the building on it with the story of Saṁdhimat, told in Rājat. ii. 65 sqq., is not supported by any evidence. It was probably intended only as an explanation of the Muhammadan name Takht-i Sulaimān.

NOTE *D*.—iii. 227.

THE WATCH-STATION OF KRAMAVARTA.

1. The interesting topographical information furnished by this verse has been discussed in my *Notes on the Ancient Topography of the Pīr Pantsāl Route*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 381 sqq. Kalhaṇa refers a second time to the localities here mentioned in v. 39. There we learn that "S'ūra, Avantivarman's minister, transferred the watch-station (*ḍhakka*) which stood [before] in the locality of *Kramavarta*, to the fine town called *S'ūrapura* which he had built himself." The glosses of A_2 explain in this passage *Kramavarta* by *Kāmelanakotta* and the term *ḍhakka* by *draṅga*.

S'ŪRAPURA itself is undoubtedly the modern *Hür°pōr* with which it is identified in the gloss of A_3 on vii. 558, initial Skr. *ś* being replaced by Kś. *h*, in accordance with the phonetic rule already noticed (note i. 100). *Hür°pōr*, or Hirpūr, as it is called by Panjābis, is a considerable place situated in the valley of the Rembyār° stream, 74° 47' long. 33° 41' lat., on the route which leads to the Passes of the Pīr Pantsāl, of Durhāl and of Rāpri. For a description, compare INCE, *Handbook*, p. 65, and VIGNE, i. p. 267, where the names of 'Huripur' and 'Hirapur' are quaintly explained as 'the City of S'iva and the Diamond City.'

Being the first permanently inhabited place which the traveller meets on the old 'Imperial Road' after crossing the mountain barrier, and only separated by a short defile from the open plain of the Kaśmīr Valley, Hür°pōr has retained its importance as a trading and customs-station to the present day. Among the many passages in which S'ūrapura is named by Kalhaṇa and his successors, the following may be mentioned particularly, as showing clearly that then as now, one of the main routes of communication to the south led through the place: *Rājat.* vii. 1520; viii. 1051, 1134, 1266, 1577; *S'rīv.* i. 109; iii. 433; iv. 531, 589, 611.

2. The term DRAṄGA (or *draṅgā*, both forms occur) signifies in the Rājat. and the later Chronicles everywhere a watch-station established near mountain passes for the double purpose of guarding the approaches to the Valley and of collecting customs revenue. This is clearly proved by an examination of the passages alluding to these several localities.

The *draṅga* of S'ūrapura is mentioned, besides vii. 1352 and *S'rīv.* iv. 582, in viii. 1577-1580. The latter passage relates how Utpala, the murderer of King Sussala, when attempting to re-enter Kaśmīr from Pusyaṇanāḍa (Puṣiāna, a village at the south foot of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass), was caught high up in the mountains by the commandant of the guard-station (*draṅgādhipa*, (*draṅgeśa*). With this *draṅga* of S'ūrapura we can safely identify the customs-station of that place (*śulkasthāna*) where, according to *S'rīv.* i. 408, Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidin located a colony of load-carriers from Abhisāra.

By the name of *Kārkoṭadraṅga* is designated in viii. 1596, 1997, the station on the Tōsmaidān route which I found still marked by old watch-towers above the modern village of *Drang* in the Biru Pargaṇa (see note vii. 140). From viii. 2010 we learn that the rebel Koṣṭheśvara seized the customs revenue at the Draṅga near Lohara (Loh°rin).

Another *draṅga*, mentioned viii. 2507, 2702, lay on the route leading into the Kiṣangaṅga Valley, and has been identified by me with the modern village *Drang*, near Hāy°hōm (see note viii. 2507).

Though the term of Draṅga is not applied in our texts to the famous 'Gate' or *Dvāra* at Varāhamūla, already mentioned in note i. 122, the name must have been in use also

there. For the ruined gateway which closes the narrow route on the right bank of the river below that town, bears to this day the name of *Drang*.

In viii. 1091, we read of the destruction of 'the Draṅgas on the roads' by the rebels of Lohara, and the Fourth Chron. 258 mentions revenues from the duties collected at Draṅgas (*draṅgāśulka*).

3. The word *draṅga* is given by the commentator of Maṅkha's Kośa as the equivalent of *rakṣāsthāna*, 'watch-station,' s.v. *gulma*. The terms *draṅgika*, *drāṅgika*, *drāṅgin*, which are frequently found as designations of officials in copper-plate grants of the Valabhi dynasty (*Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, iii. p. 169), are evidently derived from *draṅga* in the above significance.

The Draṅgeśas figure in frequent passages of the later Chronicles under the name of *mārgeśas* or 'lords of the passes.' Their duties were entrusted in Mughal times to hereditary *Maliks*. The descendants of the latter, shorn after the Sikh conquest of their powers and Jāgirs, are to be found still at S'upiyan (below Hür^epōr), Shāhābād and other places along the great routes leading over the mountains. (See VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 270; HÜGEL, *Kaschmir*, ii. pp. 167 sqq.; i. p. 347.)

The evidence above recorded proves substantially the identity of the term *ḍhakka* with *draṅga*. The former does not occur elsewhere in the Chronicle except in the doubtful local name *S'rīḍhakka*, v. 306.

4. The position of the watch-station after its transfer to S'ūrapura has been discussed in note v. 39. Its earlier site at KRAMAVARTA can be fixed with accuracy, thanks to the gloss of A₂ (*Kāmelanakoṭṭa*) already noted. When visiting the route to the Pir Pantsāl Pass from Hür^epor in September, 1891, I ascertained that the name of *Kāmelankōṭh* which corresponds exactly to that given in the gloss, is borne to this day by a small detached hillock, situated about five and a half miles above Hür^epōr at the point where the streams coming from the Pir Pantsāl and Rūpri Passes meet. It forms the last off-shoot of the mountain range which separates the two streams, and rises with very steep fir-clad slopes to a height of about 200 feet above the bottom of the valley.

The top of the hillock forms a small plateau about 200 feet long and 50 feet broad. On it stand two octagonal watch-towers connected by now ruined parapets. These rough fortifications, together with other towers found on the opposite side of the valley, are probably in their present form only the work of the Paṭhāns who, in 1812 and subsequent years, had to defend the Pir Pantsāl and Durhāl routes against the invading Sikhs (see MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. p. 295). Yet there is every ground to believe that the military importance of the position was recognized at a far earlier period.

5. The hill of Kāmelankōṭh commands completely the paths which lead past its foot up to the valleys of the Pir Pantsāl and Rūpri streams. The present route ascends the first-named valley on the opposite or northern side. But it must be remembered that the route *viâ Hast'vanj*, which, as shown in note i. 302, was the older one, was bound to keep to the southern side, and hence to pass immediately below a post established at Kāmelankōṭh.

The modern name which shows in the ending of the first part the Kaśmīrī plural suffix corresponding to Skr. *-ānām*, can easily be traced back to Sk. **Kramavartānāṁ koṭṭa*, 'the fort of Kramavarta.' For full evidence regarding this derivation, see *J.A.S.B.*. 1896, p. 385. In the latter paper details will also be found as to the police posts (called *rāhdāri*) which, until about 1879, guarded the Pir Pantsāl route at the towers of Inganāri (opposite Kāmelankōṭh) and Jajinar (near 'Aliābād Sarai) and at Hür^epōr itself. Their duties corresponded closely to that of the old watch-stations or Draṅgas.

I have not been able to trace the name of *Kāmbuva* which the station of Kramavarta bore according to Kalhaṇa. After the transfer of the post to S'ūrapura, the old name must have soon given way to the new designation of *S'ūrapuradraṅga*.

NOTE *E*.—iv. 177.

THE CASTLE OF LOHARA.

1. LOHARA or LOHARAKOṬṬA, 'the castle of Lohara,' has played an important part in Kaśmīr history as the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty whose narrative fills the last two Cantos of Kalhaṇa's work. In view of the very frequent references which Kalhaṇa makes to this locality, its correct identification is essential for the full understanding of the events related in that portion of the Kaśmīr Chronicle.

It may justly be doubted whether WILSON, who first proposed to identify *Lohara* with LAHORE (*Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir*, p. 47), would have hazarded this suggestion if the text of Books vii. and viii. had then been accessible to him. Notwithstanding, however, the evident impossibility of making this assumed position of Lohara agree with the numerous passages in which Kalhaṇa speaks of it as a hill-fortress, and as situated in close proximity of Kaśmīr,[1] Wilson's conjecture has been accepted with implicit faith by subsequent interpreters. It has thus found its way, too, into numerous works not directly dealing with Kaśmīr.[2] With some other topographical misunderstandings of this kind, it has helped to create greatly exaggerated notions as to the political power and territorial extent of the Kaśmīr kingdom at that late period.

2. The local indications furnished by the passages to be discussed below, had led me for some time back to look for Lohara in the mountain districts which adjoin Kaśmīr immediately to the south of the Pīr Pantsāl range. But it was only in the course of a tour specially undertaken in August, 1892, in search of this locality, that I was able to fix its position in the valley now called LOHᵃRIN, belonging to the territory of Prūnts (Parṇotsa). A brief account of this identification has been given in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society (see *Academy*, 1893, Nov. 24th), and in a note communicated to the Imperial Academy of Vienna (Proceedings, Philos.-Histor. Class, 1892, No. xxvii.).

3. Referring for some further topographical and ethnographical details to the remarks given below, it will be sufficient to note here that LOHᵃRIN, marked as *Loran* on the maps, comprises the well-populated and fertile mountain-district formed by the valleys of the streams which drain the southern slopes of the Pīr Pantsāl range between the Taṭakūṭi Peak and the Tosᵃmaidān Pass. The Lohᵃrin River which is formed by these streams, receives at Maṇḍi the stream of the Gāgri Valley which adjoins Lohᵃrin to the N.W. Some eight miles further down it flows into the Sūran River with which together it forms the Tohi (Tauṣi) of Prūnts.

The broadest and best-cultivated part of the Valley of Lohᵃrin lies about eight miles above Maṇḍi, at circ. 74° 23′ long. 33° 48′ lat. The cluster of large villages situated here (distinguished after the tribal names of their inhabitants as Tantrᶦvand, Gēgᶦvand, and Dōivand) are jointly known by the name of *Lohᵃrin*, and may be regarded as the centre of the district. Through Lohᵃrin proper and then through a side-valley descending from the mountains on the N. leads the path to the Tosᵃmaidān Pass, which since earlier times to the present day has formed one of the most-frequented and best routes from the Western Panjāb to Kaśmīr. The importance of this route and the easy communication thereby established, explains the close political

[1] Compare e.g. vii. 140. 703, 862, 969; viii. 203, 379, 567, 769, 831, 1227, 1630, 1794 sqq., 1875 sqq., 1996, etc.

[2] Comp. TROYER's note on iv. 177, and vol. iii., p. 570; LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, iii., pp. 1042, 1057, 1067, 1119; also Dr. T. H. THORNTON's excellent monograph, "*Lahore*," 1876, p. 107.

relations of Lohara with Kaśmir as well as the prevalence of a Kaśmiri population in the present Loh°rin.

4. In examining the main passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī bearing on Lohara with a view to proving its identity with the modern Loh°rin, it will be most convenient to follow the order of Kalhaṇa's narrative.

The prominent place occupied by Lohara in the historical events related in Books vii. and viii., is chiefly due to the close connection which the marriage of King Kṣemagupta with DIDDĀ, the daughter of Siṁharāja, of Lohara, established between the royal families of Kaśmir and Lohara. This union, as well as the fact that Siṁharāja was, himself, married to a daughter of Bhima S'āhi, the mighty ruler of Udabhāṇḍa (Vaihand) and Kābul,[3] proves that the territory of the former could not have been restricted to the Loh°rin Valley alone. It probably comprised also other neighbouring valleys to the south of Pir Pantsāl, such as Maṇḍi, Sūran, Sadrūn, perhaps also Prūnts itself.[4] Diddā, who after the death of Kṣemagupta, and after disposing of her son and grandsons, ruled Kaśmir in her own name (980-1003 A.D.), adopted as her successor Saṁgrāmarāja, the son of her brother Udayarāja.[5] Lohara remained in the possession of her nephew Vigraharāja. We do not know whether he was a son of Udayarāja or another of Siṁharāja's numerous sons.

5. VIGRAHARĀJA had already in Diddā's lifetime appeared as a pretender.[6] After the death of Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1028) he made a second unsuccessful attempt to seize the Kaśmir throne. He marched from Lohara for S'rīnagar, burned on the way the Kaśmirian frontier-station (*dvāra*), and appeared after two and a half days' hard marching before the capital. There he was defeated and slain.[7]

Vigraharāja's expedition took place soon after the death of Saṁgrāmarāja which fell at the commencement of the month Āṣāḍha (June-July). At that season the shortest route for the invader lay over the Tōs°maidān Pass. This, notwithstanding its height (circ. 13,500 feet above sea level), is open for traffic of all kinds from May till November. The practical possibility of covering the distance within the above time was tested by me in 1892, on the tour referred to. Leaving Loh°rin on the morning of the 19th August, with baggage-animals and load-carrying coolies, I reached without difficulty, on the evening of the following day, the edge of the Tōs°maidān plateau above the village of Drang (see note 7). From there half a day's march across the level valley would suffice to bring one to S'rinagar.

Vigraharāja's son and successor Kṣitirāja, whom we find also mentioned as ruler of Lohara in Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadevacarita,[8] resigned his throne in favour of Utkarṣa, the grandson of King Ananta and younger brother of Harṣa.[9] When Utkarṣa, on Kalaśa's death (A.D. 1089), was called to rule over Kaśmir, he united with his new kingdom the territory of Lohara.[10] This henceforth became the mountain fastness and place of safety for the Kaśmir rulers in the troubled times of the succeeding reigns.

6. In the time of HARṢA we hear of an expedition sent against Rājapurī, the modern Rajauri, which takes the route *viâ* Lohara, i.e. over the Tōs°maidān Pass.[11] When, subsequently, the pretender Uccala, the descendant of a side branch of the house of Lohara, made his first irruption into Kaśmir from Rajauri, he led his small band of followers through the

[3] Comp. vi. 176 sqq. and my paper '*Zur Geschichte der Çâhis von Kabul*,' Festgruss an R. von Roth, pp. 200 sq.

[4] See vi. 175, where Simharāja is called *durgāṇāṁ Loharādināṁ śāstā*; vii. 1300 and viii. 914 sqq., where *Parṇotsa* (Prūnts) seems to be referred to as within the confines of Lohara territory; also viii. 1945, 2277.

[5] Comp. vi. 355; vii. 1284.

[6] vi. 335 sqq.

[7] See vii. 140 sq. The *dvāra* referred to in this passage can be safely identified with the *draṅga* or frontier watch-station which was situated on the Kaśmir side of the Tōs°maidān Pass, above the present village of *Drang*. It is mentioned under the name *Kārkoṭadraṅga* in viii. 1997, 2010. Compare Note D, iii. 227, § 2.

[8] Comp. *Vikramāṅkad.* xviii. 47, 67.

[9] Comp. vii. 251 sqq.

[10] Comp. vii. 703 sqq.

[11] See vii. 969 sqq.

territory of the Governor of Lohara. He defeated the latter's forces at Parṇotsa, surprised the commandant of the *Dvāra*, and safely reached the rebel camp in Kramarājya, the western portion of the valley.[12] Kalhaṇa's special reference to the consternation caused by the sudden appearance of the pretender [13] is significant. It is clearly connected with the fact that Uccala's invasion took place at the beginning of the month Vaiśākha, i.e. in April. At that time the Tōṣᵃmaidān Pass, according to the information collected by me at Lohᵃrin, can be crossed only on foot and with some difficulty.

7. After the death of Harṣa, who to his own disadvantage had neglected the advice of his ministers counselling a timely retreat to the mountains of Lohara,[14] the rule over Kaśmīr and Lohara was again divided. The latter and the adjoining territories [15] fell to the share of SUSSALA. Uccala, his elder brother, took Kaśmīr. From Lohara, Sussala made an attempt to oust his brother, but was defeated on the march to S'rīnagar near Selyapura,[16] and forced to flee to the country of the Dards. From there he regained Lohara by difficult mountain tracks.[17]

When Uccala fell the victim of a conspiracy, his brother received the news within one and a half days,[18] and started at once for Kaśmīr to secure the throne. The murder of Uccala took place on the sixth day of the bright half of Pauṣa of the Laukika year 4187. This date corresponds to the 8th December, A.D. 1111. The Tōṣᵃmaidān route must then have been closed by snow. It is therefore probable that Sussala marched by one of the more western and lower passes which lead from the valley of Sadrūn to the valley of the Vitastā below Varāhamūla.[19] It agrees fully with this assumption that we find subsequently Sussala encamped above Huṣkapura (Uṣkür), opposite Varāhamūla, which would be the natural goal for an invader using one of the above routes.[20] Foiled in his endeavour on this occasion Sussala retreated with difficulty to Lohara over paths on which the snow lay deeply, and under continual fighting with marauding *Khaśas*.[21]

8. SUSSALA, some months later, succeeded in wresting Kaśmīr from his half-brother Salhaṇa. He subsequently used the stronghold of Lohara for the custody of his dangerous relatives and as the hoarding-place of his treasures, accumulated by an oppressive rule.[22] When threatened by the rebel forces of the pretender Bhikṣācara he sent his son and family, in the summer of A.D. 1120, to Lohara for safety, and followed them himself in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa of that year *viâ* Huṣkapura.[23] In the following spring, the pretender Bhikṣācara despatched a force *viâ* Rājapurī in order to attack Sussala in his mountain fastness. These troops, advancing from the south, were met by Sussala at Parṇotsa, and there utterly routed. During the remainder of Sussala's reign we hear of Lohara only once more, when Jayasiṁha is brought back to Kaśmīr after three years' residence at Lohara, and met by his father at Varāhamūla.[24]

9. Fuller details regarding the topography of Lohara are to be found in the narrative of the events which took place there during the rule of JAYASIṀHA, i.e. in Kalhaṇa's own time.

[12] Comp. vii. 1298 sqq.

[13] See vii. 1303.

[14] vii. 1366, 1568, 1598.

[15] See viii. 8, *Loharasaṁbandhaṁ maṇḍalāntaram.*

[16] viii. 192-201.—*Selyapura* is probably the present village of *S'ilᵉpōr* in the Dūnts Pargaṇa, situated on the direct route from Drang to S'rīnagar.

[17] See viii. 207.

[18] See viii. 279.

[19] To the present day the people of Lohᵃrin when obliged to proceed to Kaśmīr during the winter months, use the routes leading over the mountains from Sadrūn. Of these the Hajji Pīr Pass (circ. 8500′) is never closed entirely. The Pajja Pass, though somewhat higher, is certainly still open in December. A route leading from the latter along the lower ridges down to *Uṣkür* is actually marked on the Survey maps. This would have been the most convenient one for Sussala's expedition.

[20] See viii. 390.

[21] Comp. viii. 411.

[22] Comp. viii. 519, 567, 639.

[23] viii. 717, 819 sqq.

[24] Comp. viii. 1227 sqq.

Of the princes whom Sussala on his accession to the Kaśmīr throne had confined at Lohara, LOṬHANA, with five of his relatives, was in A.D. 1130 still in captivity there. A conspiracy of some of the officers in charge of the Lohara garrison (*koṭṭabhṛtya*) utilized the opportunity offered when Preman, the commandant of the castle, had gone down to the neighbouring Aṭṭālikā on business, and set free the prisoners in the night of the 10th Jyaiṣṭha *vati* of that year.[25] Loṭhana was proclaimed king, and before daybreak the stronghold and the treasures which Sussala had deposited there, were in his possession. Preman, on receipt of the news, hurried back on the morning from Aṭṭālikā, but was met by the conspirators at the approach to the castle and forced to retreat.

The expressions used by Kalhaṇa in the passages recorded below, make it clear that AṬṬĀLIKĀ must be the name of a locality situated below Lohara and in comparative proximity of the castle.[26] In view of this evidence and of what will be said below regarding the position of the force sent for the recapture of Lohara, I do not hesitate to recognize the name *Aṭṭālikā* in that of the present village *Aṭōli*, situated close to the point where the valley of Lohᵃrin meets that of Gāgrī, some eight miles below Lohᵃrin proper.

At the actual junction of the two valleys lies *Maṇḍi*. This place consists entirely of shops, some eighty in number. These account for its name, which means 'market' in Pahārī as well as Panjābī. Maṇḍi is now the commercial centre of the whole district, and has probably occupied the same position in earlier centuries. I see a distinct reference to it in the passage viii. 1991, where Kalhaṇa relates the looting of *Aṭṭilikāpaṇa*, i.e. 'the market of Aṭṭilikā (Aṭṭālikā).'

10. The news of this rebellion was carried by a messenger to King Jayasiṁha, and reached him on the following day at Vijayeśvara (Vijᵉbrör).[27] He at once despatched a force for the recovery of Lohara. The Kaśmīrian leader took up his position at Aṭṭālikā, from where he endeavoured to close all approaches to Lohara.[28] While the besieging troops suffered from the great summer heat and the consequent fevers,[29] Somapāla, Rājā of Rājapurī, who was instigated by Sujji, a disaffected minister of Jayasiṁha, approached from the south to attack them.

The Kaśmīrians then wished to retreat to their own country. Finding the route by *Śāramba*ra closed by the enemy, they were obliged to take to a difficult mountain pass called *Kālemaka*. They started from Aṭṭalikā on a path leading along the precipitous side of a defile, and were followed on the opposite side by the enemy. The Kaśmīrian troops and their followers reached that day, without opposition, a mountain village called *Vanikāvāsa*, and camped there and in the neighbouring hamlets. At midnight they were surprised by Sujji's force and thrown into confusion. In the general stampede which followed, the Kaśmīr army was destroyed and its leaders captured. The fugitives were plundered in the mountains by the Khaśas.[30]

The situation of the Kaśmīrian troops at Aṭṭālikā, and the route taken by them on their disastrous retreat, can be fully understood by a reference to the map. When threatened from the south by Sujji, who advances from Parṇotsa, the Kaśmīrians wish to regain their own

[25] Compare viii. 1794–1831.

[26] See viii. 831, 1819, 1994.—I believe *Aṭṭālikā* to be the correct form of the name; it is written thus by A in viii. 831, 1819, 1945. *Aṭṭalikā* is found twice (viii 1842, 1994), and *Aṭṭilikā* also twice (viii. 581, 1991), in that codex. L agrees with these readings.

[27] Compare viii. 1779, 1798–96.

[28] Compare viii. 1836–1843.

[29] See viii. 1865, 1873, 1839.

Maṇḍī, which lies at an elevation of probably not much over 4000 feet, is, as I found myself in August, 1892, a hot place, even in the rainy season. Its inhabitants suffer a good deal from the dangerous fevers to which all the lower valleys to the south of the Pīr Pantsāl are subject at certain seasons; compare notes viii. 1873. 1832. Rice-cultivation flourishes about Maṇḍi. At Lohᵃrin, which lies at an altitude of 6000–7000 feet, and consequently has a climate colder than the Kaśmīr Valley, rice does not grow and Indian corn is the chief product.

[30] Compare viii. 1878–1906.

territory, but cannot use the direct route over the Tōṣ°maidān Pass as it is blocked by the rebels at the Lohara castle. The other main route up the Gāgri Valley which would open to them the approach to the Firōzpūr Pass or to any of the other passes leading over the mountains north-west of the Tōṣ°maidān, is closed by the enemy stationed at S'ĀRAMBARA. This place I identify with the large village of *Chāmbar*, situated about five miles above Maṇḍi, in the Gāgri Valley.[31]

There remains thus for their escape only the route through the side valley which opens to the S.W. at the village of Palēra, some three miles above Maṇḍi, on the way to Loh°rin. A difficult path, marked on the larger Survey map, leads through the valley, past the village of *Van* to an alp called *Kuliyan*, from which a valley leading down to Sūran is gained. From the latter place the Kaśmir force might have retired in safety over the Pir Pantsāl Pass.

Van I identify with Kalhaṇa's VANIKĀVĀSA,[32] and Kuliyan with KALENAKA. The dangerous defile through which Jayasiṁha's troops retreat to Vanikāvāsa, is clearly the narrow gorge of the Loh°rin River which must be passed before reaching Palēra. For about two miles the road leads there high above the river, along precipitous cliffs, and in many places it appears to have been artificially cut into the face of the latter.

11. The conclusive evidence furnished by the above narrative as to the position of Lohara permits us to note more briefly the remaining references in the Chronicle. A temporary absence of Loṭhana from Lohara gave an opportunity to another pretender, MALLĀRJUNA, to take possession of the stronghold[33] and the territory attached to it. Loṭhana turned out of the '*Koṭṭarājya*,' harassed his rival from Aṭṭalikā and other places,[34] but made subsequently peace with him and proceeded to invade Kaśmir with the help of powerful allies among the rebellious Ḍāmaras. He crossed the mountains and took up a position at KĀRKOṬADRAṄGA, i.e. the modern Drang below the Tōṣ°maidān plateau.[35] Eventually Lohara was reoccupied by Jayasiṁha's troops and Mallārjuna forced to flee.[36] He was plundered on the way of the treasures carried away from Lohara, and ultimately captured at the village of SĀVARṆIKA. The latter is distinctly designated as belonging to the territory of Lohara, and can hence be identified with the village of Sūran in the Tohi Valley already mentioned.[37] Finally, Kalhaṇa relates to us the installation of Gulhaṇa, Jayasiṁha's eldest son, as ruler of Lohara during the lifetime of his father.[38]

The references to Lohara in the later Chronicles are few, and do not add to our knowledge regarding its situation.[39] As a stronghold it had evidently retained its importance for Kaśmir only as long as the dynasty which had its home there, remained in power. That trade continued to pass through Lohara can, however, be concluded from an allusion to the customs revenue levied there in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, about A.D. 1530.[40]

12. *Of far greater interest and importance are the references to the fortress of Lohara,* which we meet in ALBĒRŪNĪ's Indica. We owe them indirectly to the unsuccessful expedition which Maḥmūd of Ghazna had led against Kaśmir. Albērūnī at the close of his account of Kaśmir geography,[41] mentions to the south of the capital the high peak 'Kularjak,' resembling by its cupola shape the mountain Dunbāvand (Damāvand). "The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Tākeshar and Lauhawar (Lahore). The distance between

[31] Compare regarding the phonetic history of the name, note viii. 1875–77, and the analogies discussed in note i. 100.

[32] In *Vanikāvāsa* we have probably the simple name *Vanikā* with the addition of *āvāsa*, 'habitation,' see note viii. 1877. *Van* is the Kś. form of the name which on the map is marked '*Ban*' according to the Pahāri pronunciation.

[33] Comp. viii. 1941 sqq.—Lohara is designated here and elsewhere (e.g. viii. 1631, 1966, 1967, 1971, 1994, 2008, 2022, 2029) by the simple term *Koṭṭa*, 'castle,' an abbreviation for *Lohara-koṭṭa*.

[34] Comp. viii. 1989 sqq.

[35] Comp. viii. 1996 sqq., 2010, and above, note 7.

[36] viii. 2021 sqq.

[37] See viii. 2275 sqq. with note viii. 2277.

[38] viii. 3301, 3372.

[39] See *Jonar.* 464 sqq.; *S'rīv.* iii. 452; iv. 137; Fourth Chron. 181, 294 sqq.

[40] See Fourth Chron. 294 sqq.

[41] Comp. Albērūnī's *India*, i. p. 207 sq.

this peak and the plateau of Kashmir is two *farsakh*. The fortress Rājagiri lies south of it, and the fortress Lahūr west of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen. The town Rājāwari (Rājapuri) is three *farsakh* distant from the peak."

It can scarcely be doubted that Albērūnī refers here to Mount Taṭakūṭi, which rises to an elevation of 15,524 feet in the central part of the Pīr Pantsāl Range, and is the highest peak in the whole chain of mountains to the south of Kaśmīr. Its bold form and isolated position make Mount Taṭakūṭi most conspicuous, in particular for an observer from the south. It is surrounded by extensive snowfields which remain throughout the year,[42] and bears on its south face a small glacier. Mount Taṭakūṭi has the shape described by Albērūnī and can be seen through the greatest part of the year from the districts of Siālkōṭ and Gujrānwāla to the east of the Cinab (Takeshar). Its snowy dome has occasionally, in very clear weather, been sighted by me even from Lahore.[43]

The position of the fortress Rājagirī (*recte* Rājagiri), which is referred to also by Kalhaṇa vii. 1270 as in possession of the Rājā of Rājapurī, must be looked for at some point of the upper Sūran Valley, i.e. to the south of the Mount Taṭakūṭi.[44] Finally, the 'fortress Lahūr,' which Albērūnī places west of Mount Kularjak, can be no other than our Lohara. The entrance of the Loh^arin Valley lies almost due west of Taṭakūṭi, at a distance of about thirteen miles as the crow flies.

The identity of Albērūnī's second fortress with Loharakoṭṭa is shown yet more clearly by another passage of the Indica,[45] where its name is given as Lauhūr, and its distance from the capital of Kaśmīr estimated at fifty-six [Arabian] miles, "half the way being rugged country, the other half plain." The question as to the exact distance indicated by Albērūnī's measurement will be examined elsewhere. Here it may suffice to note that the actual length of the route from Loh^arin to S'rīnagar, *viâ* the Tōṣ^amaidān Pass can be put at about sixty English miles. Of these circ. twenty miles lie in the level plain of the Kaśmīr Valley. Adding to this distance that portion of the route which leads over the flat, grassy slopes of the Tōṣ^amaidān plateau on the Kaśmīr side of the pass, and which is almost equally easy, we approach very closely to the proportion indicated by Albērūnī.

But Albērūnī has left us yet another indication for testing the correctness of our identification. In the last quoted passage of the Indica, he informs us that he had, himself, made an observation of the latitude of the fortress '*Lauhūr*,' and had found it to be 34° 10′. In his *Canon Masudicus*, however, as Prof. Sachau's note, ii. p. 341, informs us, the latitude of Lauhūr is given as 33° 40′. Whichever figure we may adopt, the result of Albērūnī's observation agrees closely enough with the actual latitude of Loh^arin, which is about 33° 48′ according to the Survey maps.[46]

18. Albērūnī's personal acquaintance with the fortress 'Lauhūr' can only date from the

[42] Compare Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 205, and the panoramic view of the Pīr Pantsāl Range in Dr. Neve's *Guide to Kashmir*. See also my account of an ascent of Taṭakūṭi, in *Reisebriefe aus Kashmir*, Münchener Allgem. Zeitung, Aug. 1889.

[43] The *Takeshar* of Albērūnī corresponds to Kalhaṇa's *Ṭakkadeśa*, and Hiuen Tsiang's *Tseh-kia* (Ṭakka); comp. note on Rājat. v. 150.

Gen. Cunningham, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 151, is certainly mistaken in identifying Albērūnī's peak with the great *Nanga Parvat* (26,629 feet above the sea) which lies in Astōr to the *north* of Kaśmīr. On account of the intervening ranges it is more than doubtful whether Nanga Parvat can ever be seen from any point of the Panjāb plains.

I am unable to explain the name *Kulārjak* given to the peak by Albērūnī.

[44] Compare note vii. 1270

[45] See *India*, i. p. 317, and Prof. Sachau's note thereon, ii. p. 341.

[46] The fair accuracy of the other Indian latitudes observed by Albērūnī is shown by Prof. Sachau's comparative table, ii. p. 341.

Inasmuch as the *Canon Masudicus* was written after the author's *Indica* and is preserved in more than one MS., its figure, perhaps, deserves greater consideration. It must also be noted that Albērūnī in the same passage of the *Indica*, gives the latitude of Kaśmīr from a Hindu authority as 34° 9′. From his knowledge of the relative geographical position of the two localities he must have considered this observation as incorrect, if the latitude of *Lauhūr* was really taken by him as 34° 10′. Yet he makes no remark regarding this difference.

unsuccessful expedition which Maḥmūd of Ghazna undertook against Kaśmir. The Muhammadan historians extracted by ELLIOT, assign varying dates to this expedition, but agree in relating that Maḥmūd's invasion was brought to a standstill at the siege of the fort of 'LŌH-KŌT' which, as Ferishta tells us, "was remarkable on account of its height and strength."

"After a while, when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kashmir, the Sultān was obliged to abandon his design and to return to Ghazni." [47] The description here given agrees so well with what Alberūnī says of 'Lauhūr' (Lohara) and its position on the confines of Kaśmir, that we cannot hesitate to recognize in *Lōh-kōt* the Loharakoṭṭa of the Chronicle. Considering the endless corruptions to which Indian proper names are exposed in the works of Muhammadan authors, we may rest satisfied with the form in which the name of a little-known locality has in this instance been preserved for us.

14. In modern times it fell once more to the share of Lohᵃrin to witness the failure of an invader. Raṇjit Singh, who, in the summer of 1814, had led in person a portion of the Sikh army into the valley with the object of entering Kaśmir by the Tōṣᵃmaidān Pass, here met with a reverse to which the natural difficulties of this mountain region contributed quite as much as the resistance of his Paṭhān opponents.[48] Similarly, we may suppose that the ancient Loharakoṭṭa derived no small portion of its vaunted strength from the natural advantages of its situation.

The valley of Lohᵃrin from the defile of Palēra upward offers a series of excellent defensive positions which would need but comparatively little fortification to be rendered almost impregnable for an enemy not possessed of guns. At several places cross ridges with precipitous cliffs descend into the valley and reduce it to a gorge. Barriers are thus formed from which the route on either side of the river is completely commanded.

15. In Lohᵃrin proper distinct traditions of an ancient 'Killa' or fortress cling to the isolated ridge which projects in the direction from N.W. to S.E. towards the right bank of the Lohᵃrin River, just above the village of Gēgⁱvand (shown on the Survey map as 'Gajian'). At its S.E. extremity this ridge falls off abruptly with a rocky face. On the N.E. and S.W. sides its slopes descend with equal steepness to the beds of the streams which flow through the Tantrⁱvand and Gēgⁱvand villages. The top of this ridge lies about 300 feet above the level of the valley, and forms a narrow plateau about a quarter of a mile long. At the S.E. end of this plateau rises a small hillock. This was pointed out to me by old villagers as the site of a fort, which is supposed to have stood there long before the time of the Muhammadan Rājās of Prūnts.

[47] Comp. ELLIOT, *History of India*, ii. pp. 455, 466 sq. Ferishta's account places the expedition in A.H. 406 (A.D. 1015); according to the Tabākāt-i-Akbari it took place in A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021). As Alberūnī's residence in India as an involuntary follower of Maḥmūd's court falls after the capture of Khwārizm, A.D. 1017, the later date would be preferable.

[48] The pious legend of the Lohᵃrin people attributes the Mahārāja's defeat to the miraculous intervention of the Saint, 'Sayyad Canan,' who lies buried near the village of Tantrⁱvand at Lohᵃrin proper. Mysterious noises and 'alarms' proceeding from his Ziārat are said to have thrown the Sikh army into confusion and to have brought about its precipitous flight.

In reality Raṇjit Singh's retreat was due to far more natural causes. His troops had already suffered great losses by sickness and desertion on the advance to the Tōṣᵃmaidān plateau. When the latter was reached by his advance-guard, the Sikhs found themselves without supplies and confronted by a strongly posted force under 'Azīm Khān, the Afghān Governor of Kaśmir. After a few days spent in inaction, Raṇjit Singh received news of the defeat which his general Rām Dyāl, sent with a second column by the Pīr Pantsāl Pass, had suffered before S'upiyan. Raṇjit Singh then felt obliged to order a retreat. This developed into a complete rout when the hillmen of the Rājā of Pūnch (Prūnts) attacked the Sikhs from the mountains about Lohᵃrin. On July 30th, 1814, Raṇjit Singh himself had to flee to Maṇḍi after the complete loss of his baggage and a great portion of his army.

The best account of this expedition I have been able to trace, is that given by Baron HUGEL, *Kaschmir*, ii. pp. 144 sqq.

No remains are now visible above ground, except the traces of rough walls on the sides of this hillock and stone-heaps at various places. As the whole ridge has been used for a long time back as a burial-ground, many of the large stones placed over the tombs may have originally been carried away from the site of the 'Killa.' A large treasure is believed to be buried there. The ridge itself is accessible only by a narrow neck, which connects it on the north with the hillside behind. The approach to this point appears to have been guarded by two smaller forts which the tradition of the Lohʹrin people places on spurs projecting from the mountain, one to the west and the other to the north of the commencement of the ridge. Quite close to the latter point is a fine spring.

16. Though the traditions and scanty remains here indicated do not by themselves admit of any certain conclusion, it may be safely asserted that the ridge described would have afforded an excellent position for a hill-castle, designed for barring the route up the valley. The actual road leading to the Tōsʹmaidān Pass, winds round the foot of the ridge on the S. and E. On account of the proximity of the deeply-cut river-bed the road could never have followed a different direction. On the left side of the valley, opposite to the ridge, a high mountain spur descends with rugged cliffs to the river-bed. The difficult path which leads along this bank towards the Nūrpūr Pass, is unfit for laden animals and could have been easily defended in case of any attempt to turn the ridge.

In view of the topographical facts here indicated I am inclined to look upon the ridge in the centre of Lohʹrin as the most likely site of LOHARAKOṬṬA. The absence of more conspicuous remains overground can scarcely be considered an argument against this assumption, if we keep in view the time-honoured fashion in which castles are constructed in and about Kaśmīr. The walls are built of rough unhewn stones set in a framework of wooden beams, and are liable to rapid decay, if once neglected.[49] This fact is sufficiently illustrated by the wholly ruinous condition of many of the forts which the Sikhs erected on the routes to Kaśmīr in the early part of this century.

Adding to this fact the destructive action of the heavy monsoon rains, and the equally heavy snowfall to which the southern slopes of the Pīr Pantsāl are exposed, we cannot well feel surprised if a once famous stronghold can now, after seven centuries, be traced only in shapeless stone heaps and a lingering tradition.

NOTE *F*.—iv. 194-204.

PARIHĀSAPURA.

1. The name of PARIHĀSAPURA is preserved in that of the Pargaṇa *Parʹspōr* which, as indicated on the Survey map, comprises the well-defined little tract lying between the marshes on the left bank of the Vitastā immediately to the S.W. of Shādʹpūr. The identity of the names *Parihāsapura* and *Parʹspōr* is evident on phonetic grounds, and was known to the authors of the Persian Chronicles (Ḥaidar Malik, Muḥammad 'Aẓim, Birʹbal Kāṭsarʹ). It is also indicated by the gloss of A₂ on our passage. This sufficed to show me that the view taken by General CUNNINGHAM who, probably influenced by a conjecture of VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 148,

[49] For the description of a fort built on the above system, see e.g. the accounts of the recent siege of the Citrāl Fort (1895).

had placed Parihāsapura on the right bank of the river, near the village of Sambal (*Anc. Geogr.*, p. 101), unsupported as it was by any evidence, could not be correct. But neither the above sources nor extant tradition could furnish any clue as to the exact position of Lalitāditya's town.

2. In order to study the question on the spot I visited Parᵉspōr, in September, 1892, when I was able to trace the actual ruins of the buildings described by Kalhaṇa in iv. 195-204, and thereby to fix with certainty the site of Parihāsapura. For a brief report on this tour see the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy, Vienna, Philos.-Histor. Class, No. xxvii. 1892, and the "Academy," November 24th, 1893. For the positions of the ruins to be discussed below, the large scale map attached to Note *I* should be consulted.

The remains referred to are situated on the small Uḍar or alluvial plateau which rises between the marshes of the Panzᵉnōr on the E., and those near the village of Harᵉtraṭh ('Harprat' on map) on the W. Its average height above the level of the valley is about one hundred feet. The plateau measures about two miles from N. to S., and a little over a mile where it is broadest. In a broad ravine which cuts into the Uḍar from the south, lies the village of *Divar*, 74° 42′ long. 34° 9′ lat.

3. Close to the west of the village I found the ruins of two large temples adjoining each other, marked *D, E* on map. Each temple must have consisted of a central edifice and an enclosing quadrangle. Of the former there remains only a confused mass of massive blocks. The quadrangle, too, is utterly ruined and traceable only by wall foundations and broken pillars, fragments of arches, etc. The large dimensions of these temples are indicated by the fact that the peristyle of the one further to the west formed a square of about 275 feet, and that of the other an oblong of circ. 230 feet by 170 feet. These measurements are considerably in excess of those of Lalitāditya's temple at Maṭan : Mārtāṇḍa, which are 220 feet by 142 feet.[1]

About one mile to the N.W. of these temples, and close to the northern end of the plateau, I found a group of three other ruined structures (see *A, B, C* on map), one of these being of even more imposing proportions. All are in an equal state of destruction. They are ranged in a line from north to south, along the edge of the Uḍar. The largest ruin is the northernmost, *A*. It now appears as a vast circular mound formed by large blocks of stone which are piled up in utter confusion to a height of over 30 feet above the ground. The diameter of this mound must be close upon 300 feet. Enclosing it can be traced the foundation walls of a quadrangle which externally measured about 410 feet square. On the top of the mound lies a block remarkable for its size, 8½ feet square by 4½ feet in height, which, to judge from the large circular hole cut in its centre, must evidently have formed the base of a high column or colossal image.

Next to the south of this ruin are the remains of a quadrangular building, *B* (external dimensions about 152 feet by 140 feet), which apparently enclosed an open courtyard without a central shrine. The southernmost ruin of the group, *C*, shows again in the centre a shapeless pile of stones forming a mound about 20 feet high, with an enclosing quadrangle 240 feet square.

4. Finally there is to be noticed the isolated ruin, *F*, situated at the south-east extremity of the plateau, and close to the spot marked on the Survey map as "Daora Station, 5370′." This portion of the plateau which is separated from the rest by the ravine already mentioned and a smaller one running towards Divar village from the east, bear the name of *Gurdan Uḍar*. The ruin *F* shows also a confused pile of large slabs in the centre, marking the place of a temple cella, and around it the scanty remains of a quadrangle. The latter was apparently a square of about 150 feet. To the south of the quadrangle there rises a small mound about 15 feet high, which is possibly the remnant of a Stūpa. A little to the west of this mound

[1] See Gen. CUNNINGHAM's paper, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 269.

there is a deep tank-like depression in the ground which might mark either a large well or cistern.[2]

5. It cannot be doubted that we have to look among the ruins here described for the five great buildings which Lalitāditya erected at Parihāsapura. They are named in the Chronicle, iv. 195-200, *Parihāsakeśava*, *Muktākeśava*, *Mahāvarāha*, *Govardhanadhara*, and *Rājavihāra*. The first four were temples dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu. The last as its name shows, was a Buddhist convent. The character of the ruins at Divar agrees exactly with that of the shrines mentioned in Kalhaṇa's acount.[3] My search in Parᵉspōr has also shown that these ruins are the only ancient remains of any significance in the neighbourhood not otherwise identified.

Further evidence is furnished by the fact that the shrine of *Vainyasvāmin*, which the passage v. 97 places at Parihāsapura,[4] can be recognized with certainty in the ruined temple at Malikpōr, one mile from the northern group of the Divar ruins (see Note *I*).

6. The vicissitudes through which Parihāsapura has passed after the reign of Lalitāditya, explain sufficiently the condition of utter decay exhibited by the Divar ruins. The royal residence which Lalitāditya had placed at Parihāsapura,[5] was removed from there already by his son Vajrāditya.[6] The great change effected by Avantivarman in the course of the Vitastā removed the junction of this river with the Sindhu from Parihāsapura to the present Shādᵘpūr, nearly three miles away.[7] This must have seriously impaired the importance of Parihāsapura. Scarcely a century and a half after Lalitāditya's death King S'aṁkaravarman (883-901 A.D.) used materials from Parihāsapura for the construction of his new town and temples at *Paṭan*.[8]

Some of its shrines, however, must have survived to a later period, as we find the 'Pariṣadyas' or Purohitas of Parihāsapura referred to as an apparently influential body in the reign of Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028).[9] Under King Harṣa the colossal Buddha image of Parihāsapura is mentioned among the few sacred statues which escaped being seized and melted down by that king.[10] This image was evidently the one mentioned, iv. 200, in connection with the Rājavihāra.

7. Subsequently, in the account of the war between King Harṣa and the pretender Uccala, we read of the latter taking up a position at Parihāsapura, which is rightly enough described as difficult of access owing to the steep slopes of the plateau and the water around.[11] For the night Uccala took his quarters in one of the quadrangles (*catuḥśālā*). When the royal troops had stormed Parihāsapura, the *Rājavihāra* was burned down, as Uccala was erroneously believed to have taken refuge in it. The silver image of Viṣṇu PARIHĀSAKEŚAVA, was subsequently carried away and broken up by King Harṣa.[12] A new statue of the god was put up by Uccala after his conquest of the throne.[13]

[2] The brief description which has been given above of the Parᵉspōr ruins, is based upon the notes taken by me during the short visit I was able to pay to this site in September, 1892.

When revisiting it in May, 1896, I found to my regret that many of the stones then yet in *situ*, had been removed in the preceding two years and broken up by contractors to supply road metal for the new Tonga road to S'rinagar which passes close to the south of the Parᵉspōr Uḍar. Upon a representation which the Resident, Colonel Sir Adelbert Talbot, was pleased to support, the Durbar has taken steps to prevent the repetition of similar vandalism. It must be hoped that these measures will be sufficient to counteract the temptation which the convenient position of Parᵉspōr ruins offers to the contractors and others in search of cheap stone-material.

[3] The quadrangular courtyard (*catuḥśālā*) found in the case of *each* ruin, is distinctly mentioned by Kalhaṇa, iv. 204, for each of Lalitāditya's buildings

[4] See note on v. 97-99.

[5] iv. 242, 310.

[6] iv. 395.

[7] See note v. 97-99.

[8] v. 161.

[9] vii. 13; compare also note vii. 993.

[10] vii. 1097 sq.

[11] See note vii. 1326.

[12] 1335 sqq.

The curious event which popular superstition seems to have connected with the destruction of this image, has been discussed in note vii. 1344-47.

[13] viii. 79.

The final destruction of the temples of Parihāsapura is attributed by the Muhammadan chroniclers and Abū-l-Fazl to Sikandar Būtshikast (A.D. 1389-1413).[14] The latter author records a curious story about a Sanskrit inscription discovered on that occasion. Where the name *Parihāsapura* is found in the later Sanskrit Chronicles[15] it must be understood as referring to the district, the modern Parᵉspōr.

8. We have at present but little evidence to aid us towards an identification of individual structures among the ruins of the Parᵉspōr Uḍar. The safest indication is supplied, perhaps, by the name of *Gurdan* which, as stated above, is applied to the south-east portion of the plateau. *Gurdan* is the modern Kś. representative of the name *Govardhana*, and like the latter, itself, commonly used as an abbreviation for *Govardhanadhara*, the epithet of Viṣṇu. One of the five great shrines of Lalitāditya was, according to iv. 198, dedicated to Viṣṇu GOVARDHANADHARA. It thus appears probable that the local name Gurdan for which the people at Divar know no explanation, is directly derived from the designation of the temple. The latter may accordingly be recognized in the isolated ruin, *F*, which occupies the top of the Gurdan Uḍar.

Owing to the state of utter destruction in which all ruins of Parᵉspōr are found at present, clear archæological evidence as to the original destination of the several structures could not be expected without extensive excavations. Attention, however, may be called to the peculiar form of the extant remains of ruin *B*. We have here a quadrangular building enclosing an open court without any central cella, as found in the case of all the other ruins. This arrangement suggests clearly that of a Vihāra. It is hence possible that we have here the remains of the RĀJAVIHĀRA which Kalhaṇa mentions in iv. 200, together with its great quadrangle.

9. It is curious to note from the Persian Chronicles of Nārāyan Kaul and Muḥammad 'Aẓim that a popular tradition about Lalitāditya's temple-buildings at Parᵉspōr had survived up to the early part of the eighteenth century. In their account of Lalitāditya's reign these authors refer to the latter's temples at Parᵉspōr, of which ruins were then still extant. They mention, in particular, fragments of a monolithic pillar fifty-four yards high, as still visible in their own time.[16] We have here clearly an allusion to the stone column, fifty-four *hastas* high, and bearing a representation of Garuḍa, which Kalhaṇa speaks of in verse iv. 199, in connection with the shrine of Govardhanadhara-Viṣṇu.

Which particular remains the Persian Chronicles here refer to we can no longer determine. It is quite possible that even up to the time when Muhammad 'Aẓim wrote (A.D. 1727), the Parᵉspōr plateau showed architectural fragments of great size which have since been carried away as building materials. Or could he or his informants have connected the remarkably large block of stone which still lies on the top of the great ruined mound *A*, with Kalhaṇa's notice of the Garuḍa pillar?

However this may be, it is of interest to find that the Parᵉspōr ruins, about which no tradition whatever can be traced at present, were yet, at a comparatively so recent time, generally attributed to Lalitāditya's buildings.

[14] *Āin-i Akbarī*, ii. p. 364; comp. also CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 102.

[15] *Śrīv.* iv. 853; Fourth Chron. 551.

[16] Compare WILSON, *Essay*, p. 49 sq.—VIGNE, *Travels*, p. 37, by a flight of fancy thought he had found the capital of this pillar of Garuḍa in a large sculptured fragment lying near Pāndrēṭhan (Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna). Gen. CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 324, has rightly pointed out the objections to Vigne's conjecture. But his own attempt to reconstruct a colossal Liṅga out of this and some other fragments scattered over a distance of several hundred yards, can scarcely carry conviction.

NOTE G.—iv. 348.

THE ḌĀMARAS.

1. The term Ḍāmara is one of common occurrence in the Chronicle, and the persons whom it designates play a prominent part in the later portions of the narrative. It is, hence, important to ascertain its significance with as much precision as our materials will permit. The word *ḍāmara*, in the sense in which it is used in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the later Chronicles, has not yet been traced outside Kaśmīr. Neither Kalhaṇa nor his successors have thought it necessary to define or explain the term. It cannot, therefore, surprise us that its true bearing has not been recognized by earlier interpreters.

Wilson, owing apparently to some misunderstanding of the first passage in which the word occurs, had formed the opinion that the Ḍāmaras were a fierce intractable tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kaśmīr. He had accordingly treated the subsequent notices of the Ḍāmaras as referring to inroads made by that tribe into Kaśmīr.[1] It may well be doubted whether that distinguished scholar would have expressed this opinion if the last two Books had been accessible to him, or if his text for the first six had been less defective. His view, however, has been followed by all subsequent interpreters of the Chronicle.[2]

The difficulties which it involved had evidently not escaped the authors of the St. Petersburg Dictionary who, with reference to a possible etymology, suggested that the word might have had originally a more general meaning, 'riotous, rebel.'[3] But the true purport of the term was recognized only in a brief supplementary note of that work which reproduces a suggestion of Professor H. Kern assigning to *ḍāmara* the meaning 'Bojar,' i.e. feudal landowner or baron.[4]

2. That this interpretation is the right one, is proved beyond all doubt by a careful examination of all the numerous passages in which Kalhaṇa has occasion to speak of Ḍāmaras. Among these, however, it will suffice here to consider only those which furnish characteristic evidence. In this respect the first mention, iv. 348, is already of interest.

Kalhaṇa, amongst other curious maxims of administrative wisdom put into the mouth of Lalitāditya, makes that king warn his successors not to leave with the cultivators of the land more than what is necessary for their bare sustenance and the tillage of their fields. The reason assigned for this draconic injunction is, that "If they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Ḍāmaras, and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king." It is clear that the danger against which the Macchiavellian advice of the king is directed, cannot have been a sudden transformation of his Kaśmīrian agriculturist subjects into fierce hillmen. It is manifestly the growth among this *misera contribuens plebs* of a well-to-do land-holding class, capable of forming a powerful rural aristocracy, against which he wishes his successors to guard.

It is unmistakably a representative of this class to whom we are introduced in the curious anecdote related of King Avantivarman's visit to the shrine of Bhūteśvara.[5] The

[1] Compare *Essay*, pp. 51, 70 sqq.

[2] See Troyer's note, iii. pp. 639 sq.; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, iii. pp. 1020, 1055, 1065 sqq.

I, myself, had been partially influenced by this view when preparing my edition of the text. There the word *ḍāmara* has been distinguished, wrongly as subsequent inquiry has shown me, as a proper name.

[3] See *P.W.*, iii. p. 185. The etymology proposed is from *ḍāmara*, 'strife, riot.' That Ḍāmara could not everywhere be a tribal name the authors rightly concluded from iv. 348.

[4] See *P.W.*, vii. p. 1747.

[5] v. 48 sqq.

temple-priests, questioned by their royal visitor about the evident destitute condition of the shrine, ascribe it to DHANVA, a powerful Ḍāmara of the district (Lahara) who has appropriated the villages forming the temple's endowments. Dhanva, who owes his unrestrained local predominance to the patronage of the king's powerful minister S'ūra, neglects summons after summons. When he ultimately arrives to receive his due punishment, he appears on the scene with a host of armed attendants. Kalhaṇa clearly wants to describe to us here not a marauding hill-chief, but a member of that land-grabbing oligarchy which in his own time was threatening to destroy all remnant of royal power.

3. The process by which the Ḍāmaras during a long period of weak reigns and internal troubles gradually became the most powerful element in the state, is fully illustrated by the story of the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma.[6] When King Cakravarman had been driven a second time (A.D. 935) from his capital by his mutinous prætorians, the Tantrins, he took refuge with Saṁgrāma, an influential Ḍāmara, resident in Maḍavarājya. After the conclusion of a solemn compact the Ḍāmara rose in support of the deposed king, and with the help of others of his class who joined him, succeeded in reinstating him. The Tantrins were exterminated and the Ḍāmaras, who are referred to among the vassals (*sāmanta*),[7] obtained great influence. Subsequently, the ungrateful conduct of Cakravarman led to a conspiracy among the Ḍāmaras and to his murder.[8]

There is comparatively little mention made of the Ḍāmaras in the remainder of Book v. and in the next. But there are characteristic indications of their growing influence even during the period of comparative consolidation which followed Yaśaskara's accession and Queen Diddā's advent to power. Both under Unmattāvanti and Diddā special mention is made of the success of royal commander-in-chiefs in coercive measures against Ḍāmaras.[9]

4. It is, however, in the subsequent period, after the accession of the house of Lohara (A.D. 1003), that we meet with the fullest development of the Ḍāmara power. During the long succession of weak reigns from Saṁgrāmarāja to Utkarṣa's death (1003-1089 A.D.), the position of the Ḍāmaras as semi-independent feudal lords seems firmly to have established itself. Ḍāmaras set up pretenders, and siding either with father or son maintained Anantadeva and Kalaśa in their internecine struggle.[10] The commanders of the royal troops are more than once represented as engaged in regular expeditions against these turbulent barons of various districts.[11]

In the midst of these troubles Kalhaṇa relates to us incidentally the personal story of a Ḍāmara, which throws an interesting light on the origin and growth of this feudal class.[12] JAYYAKA, the clever son of a householder at the village of Selyapura (the present S'il'pōr in Dūnts), had gradually raised himself to the position of a Ḍāmara.[13] By the revenue of his lands and by exporting victuals to distant regions, he accumulated exceptional wealth, which he kept safe by having great quantities of coin buried in the soil. He ultimately found his death in an attempt to seize, by armed force, territory in the neighbouring district of Bhangila. His buried treasures were confiscated by King Kalaśa, and were so great as to relieve the latter of all his money-troubles. This story proves clearly that the position of Ḍāmara was not necessarily restricted to a particular tribal division or set of families; it also indicates the means by which this status could be attained apart from direct inheritance.

5. Another incidental note referring to the time of Kalaśa helps to show that sometimes strongholds important for the safety of the whole land were in the power of Ḍāmaras.

[6] v. 306 sqq.
[7] v. 395.
[8] v. 405 sqq.
[9] v. 447, vi. 354.
[10] vii. 154, 167, 357 sqq., 765, 914.
[11] vii. 228, 266, 576, 579, etc.
[12] vii. 494 sqq.
[13] *kramād ḍāmaratām agāt*, is Kalhaṇa's characteristic expression.

Lakkanacandra, a Ḍāmara, had held the castle of *Dugdhaghāta* which guarded the old route to the Darad country, corresponding to the present Dud^ekhut Pass.[14] He had been executed by order of King Ananta. Subsequently his widow had offered the hill fort to King Kalaśa, apparently, as the succeeding narrative shows, with a view to better assuring the safety of the neighbouring tract from inroads of the Darads. King Kalaśa refused the offer. The stronghold then fell into the power of the Darad king, from whom Harṣa subsequently vainly endeavoured to recover it with the assistance of the neighbouring Ḍāmaras. The circumstances here alluded to justify the conclusion that strongholds as well as lands had practically become hereditary possessions in the families of these feudal lords, whenever the central authority in the land was unable or unwilling to assert the right of resumption.

6. An attempt in this latter direction may have been the real reason for the cruel persecution of Ḍāmaras of which we read in Harṣa's reign.[15] In narrating the war of extermination by which Harṣa endeavoured to rid the eastern portion of the valley of the powerful Ḍāmaras, Kalhaṇa indiscriminately also uses the term LAVANYA to designate them. This becomes quite evident by a comparison of the verses quoted below.[16] The same observation holds good for a series of passages in later portions of the Chronicle.[17]

The explanation is not far to seek. Lavanya, as shown in note vii. 1171, is a tribal name still surviving to this day in the Krām name *Lūn'*, borne by a considerable section of the agriculturist population of Kaśmir. From the way in which Kalhaṇa employs the name in the passages referred to, and from numerous others in which the Lavanyas are mentioned, it must be inferred that the mass of the Ḍāmaras was recruited from that tribal section. If this was the case the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations is easily accounted for. It finds its exact parallel in the way in which, e.g. common usage in the Western Panjāb designates all shopmen as 'Khattris,' or all English-knowing clerks as 'Bābus.' Examples for the same substitution of terms could no doubt be quoted in hundreds from all parts of India.[18]

7. Harṣa's efforts to suppress the Ḍāmaras produced the reverse of the object aimed at. The exasperated Ḍāmaras conspired with the refugee princes, Uccala and Sussala, and by a successful rising put an end to Harṣa's rule and life.[19] The reigns which followed this revolution, represent an almost uninterrupted series of struggles between the central authorities and the Ḍāmaras, and between various factions of the latter themselves.

The local barons whom Kalhaṇa now often mentions by the characteristic if not very complimentary term of "robbers,"[20] seem to have usurped all power in the land except in the immediate vicinity of the capital and the places occupied by the royal troops. The most that the rulers are able to do, is to play off one of their sections against the other or to secure a footing by the support of one or the other great Ḍāmara house.[21] Thus GARGACANDRA, the chief feudal lord in Lahara (Lār) becomes a true "king-maker." When Sussala ultimately fell out with him, he could secure the Ḍāmara's submission only by regular sieges of his strongholds, and the creation of a powerful rival.[22] To similar prominence rose subsequently PṚTHVĪHARA

[14] vii. 1171 sqq.

[15] vii. 1227 sqq.

[16] Compare vii. 1228 with vii. 1229 sq.; also vii. 1236 with 1237; vii. 1254 sq.

[17] Compare viii. 627 with viii. 910 sq., 1127; viii. 2009 with 2012.

[18] As a very curious instance may be mentioned the fact noted in Mr. J. M. DOUIE's *Gazetteer of the Karnal District*, p. 35, that village-people in the Panjāb districts round Delhi are still in the habit of calling all native officials by the term of *Turk*. The custom originated, of course, in the times of the Mughal régime.

[19] viii. 1263 sqq.

[20] See note viii. 7 (*dasyu*).

They must have amply merited this designation by their exactions which, no doubt, weighed heavily on the tillers of the soil and on trade. Their skill in looting when occasion offered, is more than once illustrated by Kalhaṇa's narrative; see e.g. vii. 1572; viii. 795, 816, 1157, 1415 sqq., etc.

[21] Compare e.g. viii. 15 sqq.; viii. 588 sqq.; 651 sqq., 801, sqq., etc.

[22] See viii. 415 sqq., 588 sqq.

and his sons, Ḍāmaras of S'amālā (Hamal), *Ṭikka* of Devasarasa (Div'sar), *Mallakoṣṭhaka* of Lahara, *Nāga* of Khūyāśrama (Khuy'hōm) and others.

8. Throughout these troubles Kalhaṇa's narrative brings out strongly the local character of the Ḍāmaras' power. The districts to which they belong are regularly mentioned,[23] and show that their homes were invariably in the fertile cultivated portions of the valley. These alone, in fact, were able to support a large class of territorial barons of this type. Their seats (*upaveśana*) which evidently formed strong places capable of defence, are often referred to.[24]

Kalhaṇa with the mass of the officials and Brahmans must have cherished bitter feelings against this turbulent class of petty territorial lords, and does not hide his sentiments. He takes more than once occasion to refer to the Ḍāmaras' boorish habits, and again to their ostentatious extravagance when in power.[25] In a curious sketch of city-life he shows to us also the small fry of the class, "the Ḍāmaras from the environs of the city, who are more like cultivators, though they carry arms."[26]

In another passage where he praises the wife of the Ḍāmara Koṣṭhaka who became a *Satī* when her husband was mortally wounded, he does not omit to contrast this conduct with that of the ordinary Ḍāmara women who did not show much regard for their character as widows.[27] Kalhaṇa plainly attributes the exceptional conduct of Koṣṭhaka's wife to her noble descent from a family of Rājpūts. The mention of this marriage is instructive. Either the Lavanyas originally could not have held a very low position as a caste; or with their rise to wealth and power that gradual elevation in the social scale had already set in, which forms so interesting a feature in the modern history of many an Indian caste.[28] The same conclusion is indicated in a fashion even more marked by the marriages of daughters of Ḍāmaras to members of the royal family.[29]

9. From the above sketch it will appear that the materials which Kalhaṇa's Chronicle supplies, are sufficient to give us a just idea of the political power and the social position held by the Ḍāmaras in his own times. But they leave us in the dark as to the conditions under which their landed property, the basis of their influence, was acquired and held. If we compare the conditions prevailing in other parts of India where a similar class of landed aristocracy is still extant, the view suggests itself that a kind of service-tenure, the grant of land in return for military or other services, may have been the original foundation of the system. Yet even as regards this point the absence of all exact data prevents us from going beyond mere conjecture. Still less can we hope to ascertain the exact relations in which the Ḍāmaras may have stood towards their sovereign and towards the cultivators in matters of revenue, administration, etc. It is well known how multifarious and complicated the conditions regulating feudal tenure usually are even within a single Indian province or Native State.

10. The references to Ḍāmaras in the later Chronicles are comparatively few and do not furnish additional information. In most cases the term is found as a title applied to local grandees whether Hindu or Muhammadan, without there being any characteristic indication in the narrative as to their positions or functions.[30] As the political conditions of the country do

[23] Thus we have the *Ḍāmaras* of *Nīlāśva*, vii. 1681; viii. 424, 3115; of *Holaḍā*, viii. 733, 1430, 3115; of *S'amālā*, vii. 1022; viii. 591, 1517, 2749, etc.

[24] Compare vii. 1254; viii. 1070 note.

[25] viii. 856 sqq., 1535 sqq., 1545.

[26] viii. 709.

[27] viii. 2384 sqq.

[28] With respect to the latter explanation which, on the whole, is the more probable, the status of the Jaṭs of the Panjāb plains might be quoted as an exact parallel. From this agricultural caste of low social position there had risen during the times of Sikh ascendency, a powerful landed aristocracy, which has supplied most of the families ruling the Panjāb Native States.

One of these Jaṭ chiefs has not so long ago succeeded in obtaining a wife from a poor but noble Rājpūt family, notwithstanding the aversion with which such a *mésalliance* is regarded among the proud Rājpūts of the Panjāb hills. (See my note *Epigr. Ind.*, ii. p. 493.) The history of this Jaṭ aristocracy seems also in other respects to illustrate the origin and growth of the Ḍāmara class.

[29] viii. 459 sqq., 2953.

[30] Compare *Jonar.* 96 sq., 466 sqq.; *S'rīv.* iv. 284, 414, 595, 606, etc.; Fourth Chron. 39, 44 sqq., 58, 72.

not seem to have undergone any material change previous to the advent of the Mughal power, the class represented by the Ḍāmaras probably continued to be an influential element also in the time of the Muhammadan Sultāns. But it is difficult to say whether the term *ḍāmara* as used in the narrative of these reigns was more than an archaism. In any case, its real significance must have been understood yet by the Paṇḍits of the sixteenth century.

11. Kṣemendra's *Samayamātṛkā* and the *Lokaprakāśa* are the only works outside the Chronicles in which I have been able to trace the word *ḍāmara* in the meaning above discussed. Kṣemendra describing the adventures of the courtezan Kaṅkālī, one of the heroines of his curious poem, makes her for a time grace the house of the Ḍāmara Samarasiṁha, who resides at Pratāpapura (the modern Tāpar).[31] Brief as the description is, we can yet see that Kṣemendra wants to represent to us the Ḍāmara's house as a place of comfort and plenty, and the master, himself, as another Bhīmasena, full of fighting spirit, quarrelsome, and a lover of good things. Living under Ananta and Kalaśa, Kṣemendra had, no doubt, plenty of models to draw this figure from. The name he gives to his Ḍāmara, *Samarasiṁha*, 'Lion of the battle,' is also significant. In the Lokaprakāśa the term occurs in a mere list containing various official designations without any comment.[32]

NOTE *H*.—iv. 495.

THE TERM DĪNNĀRA AND THE MONETARY SYSTEM OF KAŚMĪR.

1. The numerous passages of the Chronicle which state in exact figures prices of commodities, amounts of salaries and the like, or otherwise refer to the currency of the country, furnish valuable materials for the numismatic and economic history of Kaśmīr. Their evidence, however, cannot be fully utilized unless the character and value of the monetary system to which they refer, is clearly established.

The first question which presents itself, concerns the value of the term Dīnnāra, which we find almost invariably used or implied in Kalhaṇa's monetary statements. This word, undoubtedly derived from the *denarius* of the West, is well known to Sanskrit lexicography as the designation of a gold-coin, usually spelt *dīnāra*. But the manifest impossibility of accepting this meaning for the passages of the Chronicle which mention sums in Dīnnāras, had already struck Dr. Wilson.[1] Noticing that in two passages figures are given which if calculated in gold, would be large beyond all credence, he suggested that the 'Dinars' meant might have been of copper. Curiously enough, however, none of the subsequent interpreters seems to have followed up the suggestion thrown out by Wilson, or to have otherwise paid attention to the subject.[2]

[31] *Samayam.* ii. 21 sqq.

[32] See now Weber, *Indische Studien*, xviii. p. 307.

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[1] See Wilson, *Essay*, pp. 56, 62 notes.

[2] Troyer, i. p. 528, reproduces Wilson's suggestion with reference to the price of rice mentioned, v. 71. Lassen, iii. p. 1009, is content to call the daily payment of 100,000 gold coins to a court poet "an evident exaggeration." In Mr. J. C. Dutt's translation I cannot find any notice of the point.

2. If we examine the passages in which Dinnāras are spoken of by Kalhaṇa, we cannot fail to note that they range themselves under two heads. *Either* Dinnāras are mentioned in a general way without any particular amount or quantity being specified.[3] *Or* we have exact statements of cash amounts, coupled with the term *dīnnāra* and expressed in figures which with rare exceptions move in round hundreds, thousands, lakhs and crores.[4] That in the first case the term *dīnnāra* had to be taken in the general sense of 'coin' or 'money,' was made quite evident by the passage, vii. 950, which mentions under King Harṣa, 'Dīnnāras of gold, silver and copper.' Here we have clearly the word *dīnnāra* in the sense of *mudrā*, 'coin,' distinctly given to it by the Uṇādikośa.[5]

As regards the second class of passages we have important evidence in the note of the old and well-informed glossator A_2. Explaining Kalhaṇa's expression '*dīnnārāṇāṁ daśaśatīm*' (ten hundred Dīnnāras) in vi. 38, he states plainly that *dīnnārāḥ* means the same as *dyār* in Kaśmīrī.[6] The latter word is commonly used to this day in the sense as 'money,' in particular, 'coined money' or 'cash.' It is evident that according to the interpretation of the glossator *dīnnāra* is not the designation of any particular monetary value, but a term of much more general significance, corresponding somewhat to our 'cash' or 'currency.'

3. It fully agrees with this interpretation that we see in numerous passages plain figures, without the addition of the word *dīnnāra*, used exactly in the same way for the indication of money amounts. If we compare the passage iv. 495, which mentions 'one lakh Dīnnāras' as the daily pay of the Sabhāpati Udbhaṭa with another, vii. 145, where the daily pay of Rudrapāla S'āhi is referred to by the simple term of 'one lakh and a half,' it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the currency meant is the same in both cases.

Equally significant evidence may be deduced from the anecdote which is told in Uccala's reign of the depositor and the trader. Here the sum originally deposited is described, viii. 124, as "a lakh Dīnnāras" (*dīnnāralakṣa*). In the subsequent narrative the fraudulent Baṇiā is made to give details as to the various items of expenditure which are supposed to have exhausted the deposit (vii. 136 sqq.). These items are then invariably expressed by figures moving in round hundreds, to which neither the word *dīnnāra* nor any other term indicative of monetary value is added.

This fictitious account is instructive also from another point of view. When we find that for such trifling expenses as the repair of a shoe and whip, purchase of honey and ginger for a sick child, a load of broken pots, etc., sums of "one hundred," "three hundred," etc., are charged in the account, it is manifest that the basis of the currency to which these figures refer, must be a very low one. The same conclusion is forced upon us by those passages where Kalhaṇa relating events near his own time and known to him evidently on good authority, mentions sums which unless calculated on such a basis would appear on the face of it extravagant and impossible. Thus we have, apart from the *daily* allowances of 1,50,000 and 80,000 Dīnnāras mentioned, vii. 145 sq., the statement made, vii. 163, as to an assignment of 96,00,00,000 Dīnnāras to the faithful Ekāṅgas; the estimate of a single jewel at 7,00,000 Dīnnāras, vii. 418; the ransom of 'thirty-six lakhs' paid for a court favourite at a time of financial pressure, viii. 1918, etc.

4. The indications thus furnished by the Chronicle are by themselves not sufficient to give any distinct idea as to the ancient monetary system of Kaśmīr. But, fortunately, we are able to supplement and elucidate them by the evidence of the coins, and by the short

[3] See iii. 103; v. 84 sq., 87, 89, 106; vii. 496 sq., 500, 950; viii. 151 sqq., 883, 3335.

[4] See iv. 495, 617, 698; v. 71, 116 sq., 205; vi. 38; vii. 163, 1118, 1220 sq.; viii. 124, 1918.

[5] See the reference quoted in *P.W.*, s.v.

[6] *Dīnnārāḥ dyār iti kaśmīrabhāṣayā.*

but very valuable account which Abū-l-Faẓl has left us of the Kaśmir currency in the time of Akbar. His description of the system is as follows[7]: "*Rab Sāsnū* is a silver coin of nine māshas. The *Pancūhū* is of copper, equal to the fourth of a *dām*,[8] and is called *kasira*.[9] One-fourth of this is the *bārakāni*,[10] of which again one-fourth is called *shakrī*.

4 *kasiras* = 1 *hat*.
40 *kasiras* = 1 *sāsnū*.
1½ *sāsnū* = 1 *sikka*.
100 *sāsnūs* = 1 *lakh*, which, according to the imperial estimate, is equal to one thousand *dāms*."

5. The merit of having first recognized the value of this account and explained its true bearing on Kaśmir numismatics belongs to General Cunningham, who has discussed it at length in his *Coins of Mediæval India*. He realized the plain decimal basis of the system described by Abū-l-Faẓl, notwithstanding the defective forms in which the names of the several coins are recorded. He also found the links which connect this system with the extant coinage of the Hindu kings of Kaśmir.

Owing, however, to a certain want of arrangement and to inaccuracies of detail easily accounted for by the circumstances mentioned in the note,[11] his exposition of the subject is scarcely as convincing as it might be otherwise. In giving an analysis of his results as far as they affect the object of our inquiry, I shall restrict myself to the points which appear to me established for certain. But I shall add the philological evidence which helps to support those conclusions.

The numerical relation indicated by Abū-l-Faẓl between the *Pancūhū*, *Hat* and *Sāsnū*, viz. 1 : 4 : 40, makes it quite certain that Gen. Cunningham was right in connecting these terms with the modern Kaśmīrī words for 25, 100 and 1000.[12] The Kaśmīrī terms intended by

[7] I have followed in the above extract the text of the Āin-i Akbarī as found in Prof. Blochmann's edition, ii. p. 564. The translation published by Col. Jarrett, ii. p. 354, deviates from this text by substituting certain corrections for the Kaśmir coin names and by equating 100 Sikkas to 1 Lakh, which throws the whole reckoning out of order. The *rāhat* of the translation (for *hat*) originates from a wrong division of كسيرا وهت.

[8] Forty *dāms* were in Akbar's time equivalent to one rupee; see Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ed. Thomas, p. 21; also Thomas, *Pathān Kings of Delhi*, pp. 407, 421.

[9] The term *Kasira* is at present unknown as a monetary term in Kaśmir. The glossator of MS. ش in Prof. Blochmann's edition makes it the equivalent of one-fourth of a *falūs* or copper. From verbal information I gather that Kasira is still used in the Western Panjāb as a designation of one-fourth of a British Pice. I am unable to trace the term in the works of reference accessible to me at present.

[10] Col. Jarrett proposes to read this name in its Kś. form as '*bahgagni*,' recte *bāh*ᵉ*gạnⁱ*, see below, § 6.

[11] The work was published in 1894, after the death of its distinguished author, and was evidently prepared during the last years of his long life. Considering this circumstance and the deficient information possessed by him as regards the earlier sources of Kaśmīr history, Gen. Cunningham's account of the monetary system of Kaśmir as given there, pp. 30 sqq., deserves every commendation. It serves to illustrate that remarkable combination of natural acumen and extensive antiquarian experience which enabled Gen. Cunningham to find often, as it were intuitively, the true solution of a difficult question even where his evidence was defective and his argument shaky.

It would serve no useful purpose to review here the few references which Gen. Cunningham makes to Kalhaṇa's notices of coins and money, pp. 34 sq. It is evident that their true significance had escaped him owing to the defects of the text or translation he used.

[12] It may be noted that the connection of Abū-l-Faẓl's *sāsnū* with Kś. *sās*, 'thousand,' and of *hat* with *hăth*, 'hundred,' is already alluded to in the brief note which the translation gives on the passage from information supplied by P. Rādhā Kiṣan, late Governor of Jammu. But I have no doubt that Gen. Cunningham, whose study of Kaśmīr coinage extended over more than half a century, and who possessed some knowledge of the Kaśmīrī language, had ascertained the true meaning of the terms long before the publication of this note.

Abū-l-Faẓl are, in fact, *pūntshu*, *hāth* and *sāsün*. All of these, as we shall see below, still survive in popular use to the present day as designations of monetary values. *Pūntshu* is clearly a derivative of *pūntsᵃh*, 'twenty-five' (< *Skr. pañcaviṁśati*), *hāth* (Skr. *śata*) is identical with the ordinary Kś. word for 'hundred,' and *sāsün* plainly derived from *sās*, 'thousand' (Skr *sahasra*).[13] The coin or value meant by the *hat* was equivalent to 1 Dām of Akbar or $\frac{1}{40}$ Rupee, as shown by the equation of 1 Pūntshu = $\frac{1}{4}$ Dām. The Pūntshu itself was a copper coin and may, according to the accepted value of the Dām of Akbar (323·5 grains, see for references above, note 8) have weighed about 81 grains.

6. Descending below the *pūntshu*, or 'Twenty-fiver,' we find in Abū-l-Faẓl's table the *bārakānī*. as the edition reads. This is described in the text as one-fourth of the *pūntshu*, but it is easy to show that Gen. Cunningham was right in treating this coin, or value, as representing one-half of the former.[14] The *bārakānī* of the edition is, as the translation already correctly recognized, nothing but a wrongly spelt form of the Kś. *bāhᵃgan'*, which in the popular reckoning to be described below, represents one-half of the *pūntshu*. The clerical error is easily accounted for by the peculiarities of the Persian characters (باراکانی wrongly written for باهگنی).

Bāhᵃgan' undoubtedly contains in its first part the Kś. numeral *bāh*, "twelve" (Skr. *dvādaśa*), and may thus rightly be rendered with Gen. Cunningham by "Twelver." That this numerical value of the term *bāhᵃgan'* was actually understood in or before the seventeenth century, is shown by the gloss of A_2 on Rājat. v. 117, which gives the word *bāhagaṇye* as the Kś. equivalent of 'twelve Dinnāras,' and renders accordingly the thirty-six Dinnāras of the text by three "Bāhaganye."[15] It should be noted that Abū-l-Faẓl does not speak of the *bāhᵃgan'* as a coin being in actual use. This can still less be assumed of a further subdivision, the *shakri*, which is described as one-fourth of the *bāhᵃgan'*. I am unable to trace a corresponding term in the modern system of reckoning, but have indicated below (§ 11, with note 29) what may be its Sanskrit equivalent in the Lokaprakāśa's monetary terminology.

7. Turning now to the higher monetary values, we have the *hāth* or "Hundreder," which was equal, as we have seen, to the copper Dām of Akbar. The *sāsün* or "Thousander" was the equivalent of 10 Hāths, and must hence be reckoned as 10 Dāms, or one-fourth of a Rupee of Akbar. The *lakh*, as its name shows, was equal to 100 Sāsüns, and accordingly represented the value of 1000 Dāms; exactly as Abū-l-Faẓl's final remark puts it.

The *sikka* which is mentioned as = $1\frac{1}{2}$ Sāsüns, stands apart from this purely decimal scale of monetary values. We receive no indication as to the particular coin, if any, which may be intended by this term. The latter means simply 'coin,' and was one of the designations applied to the silver coins of the Delhi kings approximating the standard of 175 grains troy which was subsequently adopted by Akbar as the standard for his Rupee.[16]

As $1\frac{1}{2}$ Sāsüns were equal only to 15 Dāms it is clear that Abū-l-Faẓl in our passage cannot mean Akbar's Rupee of 40 Dāms. The reading *tanka* which one of Prof. Blochmann's

[13] *Panchi*, as Gen. Cunningham consequently writes for Abū-l-Faẓl's *pancūhā*, is not a form known to Kaśmīrī.

The MS. ش spells the terms of Abū-l-Faẓl as پونسو and ساسن.

[14] Gen. Cunningham retains throughout the form *bārahkānī*, probably on account of the apparent resemblance between *bārah* and Hindi '*bārān*, twelve.' But *bārah* is an impossible form in Kaśmīrī.

[15] *dvādaśadīnnārāṇāṁ bāhaganye iti kaśmīradeśabhāṣayā. parigaṇane ṣaṭtriṁśaddīnnārāḥ tribāhaganya iti jñeyāḥ.*

[16] Compare Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, pp. 19 sqq., and Yule, *Cathay*, i. p. ccxlvii., where the curious history of the word Sikka (the Zecchino of Europe) is traced with much learning.

MSS. offers for the word *sikka*, does not help us to clear the point as its application is equally general. Fortunately, the question as to the real character of the coin, or monetary value, intended by Abū-l-Faẓl's 'Sikka' does not affect the general basis of calculation. It can, hence, safely be left unconsidered here.[17]

Omitting this doubtful reference to the Sikka, and the equally irrelevant Shakri, Abū-l-Faẓl's account shows the Kaśmīr currency system of Akbar's time correctly as follows:—

2 Bāhᵃgaṇⁱ	=	1 Pūntshu, or "Twenty-fiver."
4 Pūntshu	=	1 Hăth, or "Hundreder."
10 Hăth	=	1 Sāsūn, or "Thousander."
100 Sāsūn	=	1 Lakh.

8. It is a striking illustration of the tenacity with which tradition and custom have maintained themselves in Kaśmīr, that with but one exception all the above monetary terms have survived to this day in the popular system of reckoning, notwithstanding the repeated changes which the currency of the country has undergone since Akbar's time. In this popular system of calculation with which I acquainted myself by repeated inquiries, both among the Sarāfs of the city and among villagers, the term *hăth* is used for a copper coin corresponding in value to the British pice. Ten coppers or pices are reckoned as one *sāsūn*. The *pūntshu* represents one-fourth of the *hăth*, and the *bāhᵃgaṇⁱ* one-eighth.

As long as small shells or cowrees were also used for fractional payments, 16 of these were reckoned to the Pūntshu, and 8 to the Bāhᵃgaṇⁱ. But as cowrees have practically disappeared from the Kaśmīr markets since the early part of Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh's reign, the above equation is remembered now only by persons above middle age.[18] The use of *hăth* and *sāsūn* is also now likely to disappear soon, since the introduction of British coin as the sole legal tender (1898) has supplied a fixed unit of currency in place of the varying currencies hitherto employed (Khām or Harisinghi, "Chilki," and British or "Double" Rupees).

9. But while the monetary terms of Akbar's time can thus still be traced in current popular use, we also note a considerable debasement in the intrinsic value of the coin, real or imaginary, denoted by them. Whereas in Abū-l-Faẓl's time *hăth* was the designation of a coin equivalent to the Dām or $\frac{1}{40}$ Rupee, it now is used for the copper Pice or $\frac{1}{64}$ part of a Rupee. Following the same ratio the *sāsūn* has come to represent $\frac{10}{64}$ of the Rupee or $2\frac{1}{2}$ Annas instead of $\frac{10}{40}$ or 4 Annas. We see thus that the retention of old monetary terms has been compatible in Kaśmīr as elsewhere in India, with considerable changes in the value and tokens of the currency.

It is necessary to call special attention to this point, because the testimony of the passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the later Chronicles, to which we now return, incontestably shows that the monetary terms and the system of reckoning which we have traced from Akbar's time to the present day, were already in use in Kalhaṇa's time and probably centuries earlier. In the *pañcaviṁśati*, *śata*, *sahasra*, and *lakṣa* which we meet there so often in statements of money, with or without the addition of the word *dīnnāra*, it is easy to recognise the Pūntshu, Hăth, Sāsūn and Lakh of Abū l-Faẓl and the modern Sarāf. The passages showing

[17] Gen. Cunningham has assumed that 1¼ Sāsnūs made up a 'Rop Sāsnū,' called also Sikka, and has endeavoured to reconstruct on this basis the old silver coinage of the Hindu kings, see below note 40, p. 318.

[18] Pandit Īśvarakaula in his *Kaśmīraśabdāmṛta-rakośa* (MS.) renders *bahagaṇ* correctly by *aṣṭavarāṭakāḥ* (8 cowrees) and *Pūntshu* by *ṣoḍaśa-kapardikāḥ* (16 cowrees).

sums calculated in those terms are given below.[19] Besides the latter we find also the term Koṭi or Crore, corresponding to one hundred Sāsūns (10,000,000 Dinnāras).[20] In one passage, v. 117, the mention of thirty-six Dīnnāras is clearly intended, as the gloss of A₂ already quoted shows, to represent the round sum of three Bāh'gan' or three *Dvādaśa*. The earliest reign in which Kalhaṇa takes occasion to indicate a sum by one of the terms here specified, is that of Jayāpīḍa falling within the second half of the eighth century.[21]

10. The same system of money reckoning which we have now traced in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the later Chronicles, is amply illustrated also by that curious Kośa known as Kṣemendra's LOKAPRAKĀŚA. The authorship of Kṣemendra (middle of eleventh century) can be admitted only for a very small portion of the work. Additions to it have been made as late as the time of the Emperor Shāh-Jahān. But it is certain that it has preserved for us a great deal of what belongs to the genuine old tradition of Kaśmīr in matters of official terms, formulas and the like.[22]

In the second Prakāśa of this text we have a large number of forms for commercial contracts, bonds, official orders, etc., all drawn up in that queer Sanskrit jargon which, as I believe, represents the medium of correspondence used by the official classes of Kaśmīr during the last centuries of Hindu rule and the period immediately following. In these forms the use of the word *dinnāra* (also written *dīnāra*) in the general sense of 'money,' 'cash,' is extremely common. Sums of money are regularly expressed by the word *dinnāra*. This is prefixed either fully or in the abbreviated form *di* to the amounts which are ordinarily stated in round hundreds, thousands, and lakhs.

The true meaning of the term *dinnāra* is brought into relief by passages where it is used in evident contrast to *dhānya*. Grain, in particular rice, has formed, practically to the present day, a regular medium of currency in Kaśmīr, as will be seen from the remarks in the concluding portion of this note (§ 35). It is, therefore, characteristic that we find *dinnārojjāmacirikā* side by side with *dhānyojjāmacirikā*, the first term denoting a 'bond of debt for cash,' the other one for grain.[23] Similarly, the list of *huṇḍikās* or letters of exchange (the modern Huṇḍi) opens with *dinnārahuṇḍikā* and *dhānyahuṇḍikā*.[24] Thus, too, we have in the form of a supply-contract the payment of 95,000 Dinnāras figuring by the side of six thousand Khāris of rice.[25] Not less characteristic is the *dinnārakhāri* mentioned in another contract. It corresponds exactly to the 'Kharwār in money,'[26] in which Abū-l-Faẓl estimates part of the Kaśmīr land revenue.[27]

It is unnecessary to enumerate here all the numerous passages of the Lokaprakāśa in which sums of money or the interest payable on them are indicated in the manner above described. It will suffice to refer to the quotations given in the extracts of Professor Weber, and to the

[19] The *Pañcaviṁśatika* or "Twenty-fiver" is distinctly referred to, *S'rīv.* iii. 214, as an old copper coin which Ḥasan Shāh (A.D. 1472-84) re-issued in a debased form owing to financial pressure; see also *S'rīv.* iv. 584. In *Rājat.* v. 71; viii. 137, fifty Dinnāras are spoken of, evidently as the equivalent of two Pūntshus.

Sums of *śata* or round hundreds i.e. Hāths, are mentioned, v. 116; vii. 1220; viii. 136–143 (in eight items of the trader's account already referred to); *S'rīv.* i. 202.

For *Sahasras* or Sāsūns compare iv. 698; v. 71 (*daśaśatī*), 205; vi. 38; vii. 116; *S'rīv.* i. 202; Fourth Chron. 847 (*sahasradaśabhir niṣkaiḥ*).

For sums estimated in *lakṣas* or lakhs see iv. 496 (one 'Lakh' daily pay); vii. 145, 414 (seven 'Lakhs' paid for a jewel); 1118 (a 'Lakh in gold', see below, § 14); viii. 124, 1918.

Also Kṣemendra uses the term in this specific sense, *Samayam.* viii. 88 sq.

[20] See iv. 495, 617 (one hundred Koṭis in copper coin), vii. 112, 115, 163 (ninety-six Koṭis as an endowment), *Jonar.* 788, 977; Fourth Chron. 371 (*niṣkakoṭi*).

[21] Compare iv. 495.

[22] Prof. A. WEBER has recently published in his *Indische Studien*, xviii. pp. 289–412, valuable excerpts from the work. These will readily facilitate reference to it until a critical edition can be attempted.

[23] See *Lokapr.* ii., *Ind. Stud.* xviii. p. 330; for *ujjāma*, comp. my note viii. 147.

[24] See *loc. cit.*

[25] *Lokapr.* iii., *Ind. Stud.* xviii. p. 378.

[26] Compare note v. 71.

[27] See below, § 30.

formula of a contract which has been reproduced below as a typical example.[28] The amounts stated range, just as we have found in the case of the Chronicle, from very small figures (*dinnâraṣatka*, i.e. half a Bâh^agan^i)[29] to lakhs. The information which may possibly be derived from the Lokaprakâśa's figures as to prices of articles and the relation of metals, will be discussed below.

The successive additions which the text has received make it impossible to fix with certainty the date to which particular portions of the text must be ascribed. But it is just this circumstance which makes the Lokaprakâśa's evidence so valuable for our inquiry. It must be assumed that the work had remained for centuries in uninterrupted use as a practical manual. As it does not show a trace of any other system of reckoning, it clearly proves that the identical system of account continued from the time of Hindu rule well into the seventeenth century. Its evidence thus fully confirms and explains the agreement we have traced above between Abū-l-Faẓl's notice and the data of the Râjataraṅgiṇî.

11. This agreement alone, however, cannot suffice to give us a correct view of the condition of the Kaśmîr monetary system for the periods embraced by Kalhaṇa's narrative. We have had already occasion to note that whereas the terms of currency recorded by Abū-l-Faẓl have continued in use to the present day, the monetary values designated by them have undergone a very considerable change during the three intervening centuries. This fact as well as the evidence deducible from similar changes in the history of other currencies in India and Europe, warns us that it would not be safe to assume that the S'atas, Sahasras and Lakṣas in Kalhaṇa's time and earlier, necessarily represented monetary values equivalent to those known by the same names in the Kaśmîr of Akbar's reign. The question thus raised is manifestly one of considerable interest and importance for the history of the economical conditions of old Kaśmîr. In order to throw some light upon it, we must turn to the coins themselves, which are our only available witnesses.

12. The Hindu coinage of Kaśmîr has been fully treated by General CUNNINGHAM in his posthumous work already quoted. It is remarkable for having retained the same coin-type during the whole of its history, which in the coins extant and known can be followed for at least eight centuries. If we go back to the coinage of the Indo-Scythian rulers from which this type—the standing king and the sitting goddess—was originally copied, the coin-type of Kaśmîr may be said to have remained unchanged for upwards of twelve centuries.[30] Parallel to this uniformity of type we notice also a great constancy in the matter of metal and weight. From S'aṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) onwards, we have a long and uniform series of coins which illustrates almost without a break the whole succession of kings down to the end of the twelfth century. This period practically coincides with the one to which the Chronicle's monetary notices refer. Our comparison of the latter with the extant coinage can thus be based on ample materials.

13. The coinage with which we are here concerned, consists almost exclusively of copper. The vast majority of the coins range in weight from eighty-five to ninety-five grains each, the average weight, as ascertained by General Cunningham from thirty well-preserved specimens of thirty (*recte* twenty-nine) different rulers, being ninety-one grains.[31] Copper coins of this

[28] The form of a debt acknowledgment in *Lokapr.* ii. runs as follows: deyaṁ śrî prâpte sati viṣaye Jayavaneya (the modern Zevan) ḍâm[ara] amukenâmukaputreṇa kuṁ vâ neśâne sati dharmataḥ *dînârasahasradaśake aṅke dî* 10,000 etc dînârâ adyârabhya saṁvatsaraṁ tâvat | prâptalâbhâd *dî*[*nnâra*] *sahasra* ekaṁ nyâyaprâ-vaparihare sati ruddhâ nibandhaṁ nyâyatâṇ-ḍatavyâ (?) yasya hastoyaṁ huṇḍikâ tasyaivaṁ.

For a similar Huṇḍikâ form see *Ind. Stud.* xviii p. 312

[29] Could this *ṣatka* be the original of Abū-l-Faẓl's *shakrî* which we have found above as a subdivision of the bâh^agan^i? Skr. *ṭ* often appears as *r* in Kś.; see notes iii. 11; viii. 177.

[30] See CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 37.

[31] See *Coins of Med. India*, p. 32. Gen. Cunningham's table of kings from S'aṁkaravarman onwards, pp. 45 sqq., shows thirty names of kings. But as it erroneously distinguishes two Jayasiṁhas (I. and II.) whereas the Chronicles know

description are found from most of the kings in considerable quantities. The issues of S'aṁkaravarman, Kṣemagupta, Diddā, and her successors, are in particular still extremely common. The above estimate of their average weight may hence be accepted with full confidence. There can be scarcely an doubt that General Cunningham was right in taking these coins to correspond to the Pūntshu or Kasira of Abū-l-Faẓl's account.

As the Pūntshu was valued according to the latter at a quarter of a Dām, and as the intentional weight of Akbar's Dām is known to have been 323·5 grains copper,[32] we should expect a coin of about 81 grains. To this the copper coins of the Muhammadan kings of Kaśmir with an average weight of 83 grains,[33] approach so closely that their identity with the Kasiras or Pūntshus cannot be doubted. It is equally clear that the reduced weight of these Muhammadan coins as compared with the Hindu copper coins of 91 grains which they succeeded, is due to a gradual course of debasement, so common in Indian numismatic history. For this the disturbed political condition of the country during the century preceding the Mughal conquest offers a sufficient explanation.

Of this process of deterioration in the copper currency of the country, we have in fact a distinct record in a passage of S'rīvara's Chronicle, iii. 214. This relates that in the reign of Hasan Shāh (A.D. 1472-1484), "owing to the exhausted state of the treasury the old copper *Pañcaviṁśatika* was somewhat reduced [in weight]." It may safely be assumed that this fiscal expedient had recommended itself already to more than one of the earlier rulers to whose financial straits Kalhaṇa's narrative and the later Chronicles bear so eloquent testimony.[34]

If then these Hindu copper coins of 91 grains average weight represent the old "Twenty-fivers" or Pūntshus referred to in the last quoted passage, we must with General Cunningham recognize Bāhagān's in the rare half coins of Kṣemagupta weighing 45 grains each.

By the side of the very great quantities of later Hindu copper coins which are still to be met with in Kaśmir,[35] it is strange to note the extreme rareness of silver coins of the same period. Gen. Cunningham possessed only a single silver coin struck by King Harṣa and showing that particular coin-type (elephant to r., Obv.),[36] which we know from the Rājataraṅgiṇī, vii. 926, to have been copied from the coinage of Karṇāṭa. I myself have, notwithstanding a prolonged search, failed to obtain in Kaśmir any silver coin of the later Hindu period. I believe Gen. Cunningham was justified in assuming that this unique silver coin of Harṣa, which weighs 23·5 grains, was intended to represent 5 Hāths, 'Five Hundreds,' or a half Sāsun.

To 'one hundred Dinnāras' or one Hāth would correspond four Pañcaviṁśatikas or 91 × 4 = 364 grains copper. If we take the relative value of copper to silver as 72·7 to 1, as calculated by Mr. Thomas,[37] and accordingly divide 364 by 72·7, we obtain the result of almost exactly 5 grains silver to 1 Hāth. Allowing for loss by wear and similar possible causes, we find that the calculated weight of 25 grains silver for 5 Hāths is very closely approached by the actual weight of Harṣa's coin.

Harṣa is also the only Kaśmir king of whom real gold coins have yet come to light.[38] The

only one ruler of that name, the number is reduced to twenty-nine. It may be noted here that the coin at the head of the table (Plate iv. 1) which it ascribed to an "Ādityavarman" (probably meant for Avantivarman), belongs in reality to Nirjitavarman.

[32] See E. Thomas' note in Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 21; also *Pathān Kings of Delhi*, p. 407.

[33] Compare *Coins of Med. India*, p. 32.

[34] Already Harṣa had been forced to proceed to the far more radical expedient of breaking up and melting down divine images; see vii. 1091 sqq., 1344.

Sultān Shahābu-d-dīn (A.D. 1355-1373) was advised to coin money out of the copper statues of S'iva-Vijayeśvara and the 'Bṛhadbuddha'; see *Jonar.* 437 sqq.

[35] The copper coins of Diddā, Saṁgrāmadeva, Ananta, and Harṣa (the latter often more resembling brass) are so common in the Bazars that they might be supposed never to have quite gone out of circulation.

[36] See *Coins of Med. India*, Plate v. 23.

[37] Compare *Useful Tables*, p. 21, note.

[38] The coins of the earlier Kārkoṭa dynasty which Cunningham's table figure as *N*, are in reality coins of mixed metal; see below, § 16

I possess a gold coin with the name of Queen Diddā. But I suspect that it is a modern forgery cast from one of Diddā's ordinary copper coins.

two coins described by General Cunningham weigh 73 and 72 grains. As the exact relative values of gold and silver in Kaśmīr for the time of Harṣa are not known,[39] it is impossible to say with any certainty what amount in the ordinary currency of the country this coin was intended to represent. Gen. Cunningham assuming a ratio of 1 : 8 between gold and silver, thought that Harṣa's gold coin was intended for one half of a gold piece representing 25 Sāsūns.

The assumptions regarding the silver value of a Sāsūn, from which he proceeded in his calculations, do not appear to be well-founded.[40] But it must be allowed that the estimate itself is possibly correct. We arrive at a similar result if we start from the value of 5 grains silver for the Hāth as above suggested, and assume a ratio of 8·5 : 1 for the relative value of gold to silver. The equivalent of 73 grains gold would thus be 73 × 8·5 or 620·5 grains silver. This again divided by 5 gives us 124 Hāths or 12,400 Dinnāras which comes reasonably close to the 12½ Sāsūns of Gen. Cunningham's estimate. It is, however, evident that any view on the point must remain mere conjecture as long as the real ratio of exchange for the period, when the standard of the gold coin was adopted, cannot be fixed with precision, and as long as the original weight of the coin cannot be tested by a larger number of specimens.

14. The extreme rareness of the silver and gold coins of the later Hindu kings is in full accord with the very scant notice we find of these metals as currency in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. In the anecdote of Yaśaskara's time, told vi. 45 sqq., we read, it is true, of gold coins called *suvarṇarūpakas*. But they are brought from abroad as the savings of a Kaśmīrian emigrant, and have thus nothing to do with the coinage of the country. The same king when proceeding to a Tīrtha in his fatal illness, is said to have left his palace with two and a half thousand pieces of gold bound up in the hem of his dress.[41] But the expression is so general that it is even not certain whether real coins are meant.

[39] The lucid explanations of Sir H. Yule, *Cathay*, pp. 442, ccl., show the difficulties in the way of any safe estimate of these exchange rates in mediæval India. The relation between the two metals was subject to considerable fluctuations, and is likely to have varied also locally in secluded regions like Kaśmīr.

[40] Gen. Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 32 sq., reconstructs the system of Kaśmīr silver coinage on the basis of the assumption that Abū-l-Fazl knows of a "Rop Sāsnū" equal to 1½ Sāsuns and valued at 15 Dāms. He thus arrives at a "Rop Sāsnū" of 67·25 grains silver. But no such Kaśmīr coin has yet been found, and we have seen already that Abū-l-Fazl does *not* give the supposed equation.

All we know of the "Rop (text *Rob*) Sāsnū" is that it was "a silver coin of 9 *māshas*" (see above, § 4). Immediately previously Abū-l-Fazl speaks of the weights used in Kaśmīr, one Tōla in that country being = 16 *māṣas*, and each *māṣa* = 6 Sarkhs or Ratis. *If we may assume that the 9 Māṣas in the "Rop Sāsnū" were of the Kaśmīr weight as the context would lead us to suppose, and not the ordinary Indian Māṣas of which 12 (of 8 Ratis each) go to the Tōla, it appears very probable that we have specimens of the "Rop Sāsnū" in the silver coins of the Muhammadan kings.* These, according to Gen. Cunningham (*Coins of Med. India, p. 32*), are of an average of 94 grains. We do not know the exact weight of the Kaśmīr Tōla. If we assume that it had the present weight of 180 grains, the 9 Kaśmīr Māṣas of the "Rop Sāsnū" would be equal to 101 grains. Compared with this supposed standard of weight the deficiency of the actual Muhammadan silver coins of 94 grains is scarcely greater than the loss which the Rupee suffered in the course of its deterioration during the eighteenth century (compare *Useful Tables*, pp. 24 sqq.). Some percentage must also be allowed for loss by wear.

If the "Rop Sāsnū" was originally a coin of about 101 grains silver, it must have been intended for a Double Sāsūn or 2000 Dinnāras. For we have found above, para. 13, with reference to Harṣa's silver coin that the Hāth or 100 Dinnāras must be estimated at 5 grains silver, and the Half-Sāsūn or 500 Dinnāras at 25 grains silver. This gives us for the Double Sāsūn 25 × 4 = 100 grains silver, i.e. almost exactly the weight we have calculated for the "Rop Sāsnū."

With regard to what has been said as to the deficiency in the weight of the actual coins, it is certainly curious to note that the 94 grains of the coins I take for Double Sāsūns, contain exactly four times the weight of Harṣa's coin of 23·5 grains. This striking agreement supports our view regarding the intentional values of these two coin-species. I must add that Gen. Cunningham though, as we have seen, wrong in his assumptions about the "Rop Sāsnū," had correctly recognized a "Double Sāsnū" in the Muhammadan silver coins.

[41] vi. 102 (*dve sahasre suvarṇasya sārdhe*).

The only reference to Kaśmīr gold and silver coins is made in the account of Harṣa's reign (A.D. 1089-1101). Under him, Kalhaṇa tells us, "the use of gold and silver money (*dīnnāra*) was plentiful in the land, but that of copper money rare." [42] In strange contrast to this statement we have the extreme abundance of Harṣa's copper (and brass) coins. They are to this day far more frequently found in the Bazars of Kaśmīr and even outside the Valley, than the coins of any other Kaśmīr king. On the other hand there is the fact that the gold and silver coinage of that ruler is practically represented by unique specimens. The verse above quoted follows immediately after a poetically extravagant description of the glories of Harṣa's court. We shall, therefore, scarcely do injustice to the author if we see in the passage nothing but the poetically exaggerated statement that under Harṣa there circulated *also* gold and silver coins besides the ordinary copper currency.

It may be assumed that Kalhaṇa means gold coins of Harṣa when relating the story how this extravagant prince presented 'a lakh of money in gold' (*kāñcanadīnnāralakṣa*) to Kanaka, the brother of Caṇpaka, whom he wished to compensate for the trouble he had been put to by taking singing lessons from himself.[43] But it is difficult to make quite sure of the actual value intended. If Kalhaṇa means a lakh of gold coins such as we estimated above at 12,500 Dinnāras each, the equivalent of the sum calculated in the ordinary currency, viz. 125,00,00,000 or 125 Crores of Dinnāras would appear astonishingly large. If, on the other hand, we take Kalhaṇa's expression to mean 'a Lakh of Dinnāras (ordinary currency) paid in gold' the amount of the royal present would be reduced to a sum which even under the modest economic conditions of Kaśmīr would scarcely excite attention on the score of extravagance. As we find Crores of Dinnāras elsewhere mentioned, even in the possession of private individuals,[44] it appears to me, on the whole, more probable that in Kalhaṇa's story, whatever its worth, the former amount or one approximately equally large was intended.

15. It must be concluded from these scarce notices that gold and silver cannot have formed in Hindu times an important part of the actual coined currency of Kaśmīr. Yet there are indications to show that the country as far as its natural resources admitted, had shared in old days that accumulation of precious metals which has at all times been so characteristic a feature in the economic history of India. From the manner in which under King Ananta a system of gold assay is referred to as the means of ascertaining the savings of the people, we see plainly that in Kaśmīr, too, as in the rest of India it must have been the common practice to invest savings in gold and silver ornaments.[45] Of King Sussala it is

[42] vii. 950.

[43] vii. 1118; regarding Kanaka's relationship to Kalhaṇa, compare the Introduction.

[44] Thus we read vii 112 of a certain favourite who beginning with a cowree accumulated crores. 96,00,00,000 Dinnāras are referred to vii. 163 as an assignment to royal bodyguards. Zainu-l-'ābidīn is said to have presented in a single day ten crores of Dinnāras to children; *Jonar.* 978. For charitable gifts in crores, see also Fourth Chron. 371.

[45] See vii. 211 sq

Compare for a later period Śrīv. iv. 100, where the gold bracelets of persons are mentioned who had not owned before a cowree.

A description like that of Harṣa's flight (see vii. 1607, 1621) shows how readily such ornaments could be used as substitutes for money in times of difficulties.

In this connection reference may be made to a curious form for a marriage contract, found in the third book of the Lokaprakāśa, in which the quantity of gold to be given in ornaments for the bride is specified. The passage in its queer Sanskrit runs thus: atra alaṁkaraṇād bhartṛpakṣāt sau[varṇa]tolakapañcakaṁ 5 tatpravyād (?) di[nnāra]sahasracatvāriṁśati veda (for vedaṁ ?) mule dattaṁ praviṣṭaṁ tathāsmadīyapitṛpakṣāt sau[varṇa]tolakaṁ tatpravye dīnārasahasrāṣṭakaṁ caivam ubhayapakṣād di[nnāra]sahasra aṣṭacatvāriṁśati, etc.

Though I am unable at present to explain some of the terms employed, it is clear that the contract indicates five Tōlas' weight as the quantity of gold to be given on the part of the bridegroom and one Tōla as that presented by the girl's father. The former quantity is represented as equivalent to 40,000 Dinnāras and the latter accordingly as equal to 8000 Dinnāras.

It is difficult to see how the relative value here assumed for the gold can be made to accord with what we know of the exchange rate for gold, and with the ascertained value of the Kaśmīr currency. Taking 1000 Dinnāras as equivalent to ¼ of a silver Rupee or Tōla, we cannot imagine in the most benighted corner of

recorded that he transmitted gold ingots to his treasury in the Lohara Castle, in order to hoard there the wealth he accumulated by an oppressive fiscal system.[46]

That bullion in some respects took the place of coined silver or gold as a medium of exchange may be inferred also from the notice we read in Jonarāja's Chronicle of the poll-tax (Jizyah) levied during Muhammadan rule on Brahmans who refused to be converted.[47] This tax is stated to have been under the earlier Sultāns two *palas* of silver yearly per head. As this weight is equivalent to eight Tōlas the impost was justly felt as cruelly heavy. Zainu-l-'ābidīn is praised for having reduced it to one Māṣa per annum.[48] In contrast to the above passages we meet in the latter portion of the Fourth Chronicle with comparatively frequent mention of gold and silver coins.[49] We may safely take this as an indication of the great change which Akbar's conquest of Kaśmīr and the preceding relations to the Mughal Empire must have effected in the economic and monetary conditions of the Valley.

16. We have been obliged to discuss at some length the coinage of the later Hindu rulers, because it is immediately connected with the monetary system we have to elucidate. But our survey of the available numismatic evidence would not be complete without some reference to the Kaśmīr coins of an earlier period. These coins, though all exhibiting that general type already referred to which characterizes the Kaśmīr coinage throughout its existence, are yet clearly marked off by peculiar features of their own from the coinage of S'aṁkaravarman and his successors. For a detailed description of these coins I must refer to General Cunningham's work which illustrates the several classes hitherto known.[50] For our purposes a notice of the following points may suffice.

The class of coins which stands nearest in time to those already described, belongs to the dynasty which Kalhaṇa treats in Book iv., and which is known as that of the Kārkoṭas. This class includes coins of seven distinct kings, several of them not known to us from the Chronicle. It is distinguished by a type of bold but rude execution, and the fact that most of the coins are made of mixed metal containing only a small alloy of gold. Whereas certain types are common enough in this mixed metal,[51] the number of specimens in copper is small. General Cunningham was inclined to treat the latter as 'simple forgeries that have been originally gilt.'[52] Good specimens of the mixed metal coins seem to have an average weight of about 120 grains. The specimens in copper are somewhat lighter, the four described by General Cunningham weighing 101, 93, 110, and 118 grains, respectively.

The difference of metal and weight seems to exclude any close and immediate connection between this class of coins and the later coinage. The same may be inferred from the form of

Asia, a rate of exchange which would have made 8 × ¼ or 2 Tolas silver equal in value to 1 Tōla gold.

The only explanation I can suggest is that the gold which the parties agree to accept, is of the poorest description, i.e. silver containing only a small alloy of gold. That it was once the custom in the Valley to use such 'gold' for marriage gifts is asserted by the tradition of my Brahman friends. A trace of it survives in the popular designation of bad gold as *kōr'sun*, 'girl's gold.'

[46] viii. 839.

[47] See iv. 1077 sq. in the Bombay Ed. of Jonarāja's Chronicle. The Calcutta Ed. which has here an undoubted lacuna, shows a portion of the passage in v. 815.

[48] Regarding the *pala* compare note iv. 201–203; for the *māṣa* see above, § 13, note 40.

Under the Cakk rulers of the sixteenth century the poll-tax amounted to 40 *paṇas* yearly for each male member of the Brahman community invested with the *yajñopavīta*. Akbar on conquering the Valley abolished the tax for which he is duly praised by the Chronicler; see Fourth Chron. 885 sqq. What coin is meant in this passage by the paṇa is not clear. Perhaps the term, which according to the lexicographers signifies a coin equivalent to 4 Kākiṇis, is here used for the Pūntshu or Kasīra; 40 Paṇas would thus make a Sāsün.

[49] See Fourth Chron. 559, 901 sq., 909.

[50] See *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 42 sqq. and Plate iv.

[51] Thus coins of Durlabha, Kalhaṇa's Durlabhavardhana. pl. iii. 7; Pratāpa or Pratāpāditya II. (Durlabhaka), pl. iii. 10; Vinayāditya or Jayāpiḍa, pl. iii. 14 (compare iv. 517). Very common mixed metal coins are those of a king whom Cunningham calls Vigraha, but whose name seems to me to read Viśraṁśadeva, pl. iii. 8.

[52] See *loc. cit.* p. 29.

the types both on obverse and reverse. Their extremely rude modelling leaves scarcely anything resembling human shape in the figures of the standing king and seated goddess. That the far better recognizable types on the coins of S'aṁkaravarman and his immediate successors should have been copied from the ungainly caricatures of the Kārkoṭa coins appears to me highly improbable. In view of these differences and the absence of any distinct evidence on the point, it is impossible to ascertain at present what the relations in regard to monetary value may have been between the Kārkoṭa coinage and that of the later dynasties.

17. Among the coins which Gen. Cunningham shows as anterior to those of the Kārkoṭa kings there are two with the names of Narendra[53] and Gokarṇa,[54] which in type, metal, and general execution closely attach themselves to the latter class. Of the remaining coins two show the name of PRAVARASENA. In this king we must recognise Pravarasena II. of Kalhaṇa's list, the great conqueror of Kaśmīr tradition and the founder of S'rinagar.[55] His coins which are of superior execution and clearly represent a much closer approach to the original type taken from the Indo-Scythian coinage, are known to us only in gold and silver.

His apparently unique silver coin in the British Museum weighs 120 grains, and may hence, as suggested by Cunningham,[56] have been intended for 25 Hāths or 2500 Dinnāras of the later currency. But considering that the silver coinage of the later Hindu period is known to us for the present only by a single coin of Harṣa, and taking into account the long interval, at least five centuries, between Pravarasena and Harṣa it would be manifestly unsafe to rely on this proposed valuation. The same remark would apply to the gold coin of Pravarasena (pl. iii. 3) of which, however, no weight-statement is given in Gen. Cunningham's list.

18. Among the earlier coins which can be safely attributed to Kaśmīr, there is one class which pre-eminently deserves our attention in connection with this inquiry. I mean the copper coins bearing the name TORAMĀṆA, which are found to this day in remarkable quantities all over *Kaśmīr* and the neighbouring regions.[57] The interest which these coins can claim from us, is due to two reasons. In the first place we have in the Rājataraṅgiṇī an important passage which distinctly mentions these coins and connects them with a curious historical tradition. Secondly, it is certain from a comparison of the types that the coins bearing the names of Toramāṇa have been the direct models for the later copper coinage of Kaśmīr. Hence a certain relation to the latter in regard to monetary value is also more probable in their case than in that of any other of the earliest Kaśmīr coins.

The copper coins with Toramāṇa's name are found in the several varieties which show differences both in the characters of the legend and in execution, though the general type is preserved throughout. This fact, in combination with the great quantities of these coins still extant, suggests that they may have been struck during a prolonged period. The coin reproduced by Cunningham (pl. iii. 2) represents the best executed and probably earlier variety, and may be taken as a good specimen of the original type.

The obverse shows the figure of the standing king wearing short trousers which gradually develop into the kilt or fustanella of curiously exaggerated dimensions we see in the later coinage. To the left of the figure is the legend *S'rītoramāṇa* in Brāhmi character of about the fifth or sixth century. The reverse is occupied by the figure of the seated goddess with the letters *Ki* (*Ke* ?)-*da-ra* written perpendicularly to the left. These letters are found in the same peculiar arrangement on the coins of Pravarasena and on all Kārkoṭa coins. They are undoubtedly copied from the coins of the later Kuṣana rulers of Gandhāra, and are usually believed to contain the name of the founder of the kingdom of the 'Little Yue-tchi,' called

[53] See note i. 347.

[54] See note i. 346.

[55] iii. 324 sqq.

[56] See *Coins of Med. India*, p. 33; for the coin, pl. iii. 4.

[57] Compare above, note iii. 103.

Ki-to-lo in the Chinese Annals.[58] With the historical questions which the use of this Kuṣana mint mark on Kaśmir coins raises, we are not concerned in the present place.

In other, and as I think later, issues of Toramāṇa's coins the legend of the obverse, engraved now in bolder but less careful characters, appears reduced in various fashions to *S'ritora, S'rito, Tora,* etc. On the reverse the Kuṣana legend disappears altogether, and the figure of the goddess becomes more and more like the coarse representation found on the later coins. The weight of all specimens seems to range between 100 and 120 grains.

19. As the coins just described are the only Kaśmir coins showing the name of Toramāṇa, it cannot reasonably be doubted that the tradition which Kalhaṇa, iii. 103, records of the coins struck by TORAMĀṆA, the brother of King Hiraṇya, must be understood to refer to them. The passage is unfortunately very short, and in one word probably corrupt. It informs us that "Toramāṇa suppressing the undue abundance of [coins] struck by . . . . , put in circulation coins (*dīnnārāḥ*) struck in his own [name]."[59] I have already in the note appended to the translation, indicated the reasons which make it impossible to give a satisfactory interpretation of the word *balā-*, left here untranslated. The word which, as it stands in the text, is unintelligible, seems to hide a designation of the ruler whose coins Toramāṇa wished to replace in circulation by his own issue. But neither the context nor other information help us to a satisfactory emendation.

The Chronicle represents Toramāṇa as the younger brother and Yuvarāja of *Hiraṇya*, and relates that the latter, angered by Toramāṇa's assumption of the royal privilege of coining in his own name, subsequently imprisoned him. Pravarasena II., Toramāṇa's son, however, ultimately attained the throne. It is unnecessary in the present note to examine this account of Toramāṇa's personality as to its historical truth. Nor need we consider here his suggested identity with Toramāṇa, the king of the White Huns and father of Mihirakula. The questions thus raised have been discussed elsewhere. But it is important to point out that the coins of Toramāṇa, as far as our present knowledge goes, represent the earliest distinct issue of the Kaśmir mint,[60] and that the traditional account, too, recognized the close connection between Toramāṇa and Pravarasena II., which is so plainly attested by the coins.

20. If the copper pieces of Toramāṇa were the first independent coinage of Kaśmir, as Gen. Cunningham believed, or at least the commencement of a new system of coinage, it is easy to understand why their issues should have been so abundant, and why they have remained so long in circulation. On the latter point the passage of S'rīvara's Chronicle, iii. 213, furnishes very remarkable evidence. We read there that Sultān Ḥasan Shāh (A.D. 1472-1484) finding "that the coins of the illustrious Toramāṇa were no longer circulating, put into circulation a new [coin called] *Dvidīnnārī* made of lead."[61] The next verse which has already been quoted above, § 12, then mentions the fact that the old copper Pañcaviṁśatika or Pūntshu, was by the same ruler somewhat reduced [in weight] owing to the exhausted state of the treasury.

The words of S'rīvara make it perfectly clear that even in the fifteenth century there must have been coins in circulation which were known by the name of *Toramāṇa*. As "the old

[58] See CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 27 sqq.; *Later Indo-Scyth.* pp. 61 sqq. where the coins of Toramāṇa are discussed. For Ki-to-lo, see SPECHT, *Études sur l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 12, 14.

[59] The text of the passage is: *balāhatānāṁ prācuryaṁ vinivāryāsamañjasā | Toramāṇena dīnnārāḥ svāhatāḥ sampravartitāḥ ||*.

For Gen. Cunningham's repeated attempts to interpret the passage, see note iii. 103 and *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 62. They are vitiated by his belief that the word *āhata*, 'struck,' could be connected with the Kś. term *hāth*. We have seen, however, that this appears always correctly as *śata* in the text of the Chronicle. It is scarcely necessary to show at length that *bāla-* (recte *balā-*) in the first word of the verse cannot mean 'great king' as CUNNINGHAM, *Later Indo-Scyth.* p. 63, assumes.

[60] Gen. CUNNINGHAM already had clearly realized the numismatic evidence on this point; see *Later Indo-Scyth.* p. 63.

[61] The text is: *S'rītoramāṇadīnnārān nispracārān avetya ca | dvidīnnārī nāgamayī navā tena pravartitā ||*.

copper Pañcaviṁśatika," i.e. the ordinary copper piece of the later Hindu and Muhammadan coinage is separately referred to, it follows that S'rīvara could have meant only the copper coins with Toramāṇa's name as actually known to us. As their weight was different from that of the usual copper coins, it was necessary to distinguish them by a separate designation, and for this the name so clearly shown in their legend offered itself most conveniently. We find this conclusion strikingly illustrated by the fact that the Lokaprakāśa in a miscellaneous list of words, mentions the terms '*toramāṇāḥ*' immediately before *niṣkāḥ* and *dinnārāḥ*.[62]

21. The fact of a circulation prolonged through at least eight centuries, the actual abundance of the coins and the variety of the dies used for them—all these point to the conclusion that 'Toramāṇas' were struck, not only by the king who bore this name, but by a succession of rulers after him. It is certainly significant that from certain Kārkoṭa kings like Vinayāditya-Jayāpīḍa, Durlabha, etc., we have no genuine copper coins by the side of the large quantities of mixed metal coins.

May we not reasonably suppose in explanation of this curious fact that the copper coinage under this dynasty consisted of pieces of Toramāṇa, supplemented by fresh issues reproducing the original name and coin-type more or less successfully? It is impossible now to guess the reason which led to the retention of the earlier copper coins. But it would be easy enough to quote parallel cases from the numismatic history of both Europe and India down to quite modern times.[63] It must also be noted that in the case of copper money the small advantage derived from melting it down has always tended to secure a prolonged circulation to the earlier coinage.[64]

22. The assumption here indicated may help to explain the reference which Kalhaṇa, iv. 617, makes to the large quantity of copper coins issued by Jayāpīḍa. The story is related there that the king, thanks to the indication of the Nāga of the Mahāpadma lake, found a mine rich in copper. "From this mountain which was in Kramarājya, he obtained copper sufficient to coin hundred crores less one Dinnāras which bore his name." Jayāpīḍa is then said to have offered to other kings the wager that they should produce a complete hundred of crores. The legendary character of the story as told in the Chronicle, is evident enough. But it is possible that the tradition of Jayāpīḍa having coined copper money in large quantities had some foundation in fact. In Jonarāja's time the copper mine in Kramarājya seems still to have been known, and to have been popularly connected with Jayāpīḍa's minting operations.[65] In the note on the passage, I have already pointed out that genuine copper coins with Jayāpīḍa's name are unknown. We could account for the above tradition if some part of the abundant issues of Toramāṇa coins were to be attributed to him.

23. The average weight of the 'Toramāṇas' as we have seen, is considerably in excess of that of the copper pieces of the later Hindu kings, being about 110 grains against the 91 grains of the latter. It must, hence, be assumed that while in circulation by the side of the lighter pieces they commanded a premium. An exchange of 8 Toramāṇas against 10 Pūntshus would have approximately represented the relation in value. On this point, however, no evidence is available.

General Cunningham was inclined to connect the 'Toramāṇas' with the barbarous pieces of the later Kuṣana princes which, he supposes, Toramāṇa had collected and recoined in his own name. These coins, according to him, vary in weight from 100 to 125 grains.[66] On

[62] Compare Prof. Weber's abstract, *Ind. Stud* xviii. p. 358. The old birch bark MS. deposited by me in the Imperial Library, Vienna, correctly reads *toramāṇāḥ*, instead of *toramā* of the Poona and Berlin MSS.

[63] Compare, e.g., the continued circulation in the Red Sea Littoral of the Maria Theresa dollars which, I believe, the Vienna mint used to coin until quite recently The fact that all silver coins which formed the circulation of India in the first third of this century bore the name of Shāh 'Ālam is another striking instance; see Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 27.

[64] Compare Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 38.

[65] See *Jonar*. 884.

[66] See *Later Indo-Scyth* p. 68.

historical grounds this connection appears plausible enough. But I have not been able to find exact statements as to the weight of these Kuṣana coins.

More important it would be for us to ascertain the cause of the change in weight which attends the new issue of Kaśmir copper coins from Avantivarman onwards. Our available materials do not permit us to form a final opinion on the point. But judging from whatever indications there are, it appears probable that this change represents only an early step in that course of gradual debasement which we traced above in the history of the later Kaśmir coinage down to the time of Akbar.

24. If this explanation is correct we must take the Toramāṇa for the Pañcaviṁśatika of the period preceding Avantivarman's accession, and accordingly assume that the monetary system of the later Hindu times existed already under the Kārkoṭa dynasty and earlier, but with a somewhat higher intrinsic value. In favour of such a view we might refer to two passages of Kalhaṇa's Book iv., where sums of money are specified in terms exactly corresponding to those used in later portions of the narrative. Thus we read, in iv. 495, of Jayāpīḍa's Chief Paṇḍit drawing a daily pay of one lakh Dinnāras. Again, in iv. 698 sq., we are told that Mamma, one of the regents of the state under Ajitāpīḍa, at the consecration of a temple presented Brahmans with eighty-five thousand cows (or, we must presume, their equivalent value in money), and gave with each cow 5000 Dinnāras as an outfit.

It is evident that such large figures can be understood only on the basis of a currency in which a "Thousander" represented a value not greatly in excess of Abū-l-Faẓl's Sāsün (one-fourth of a Rupee).

A deterioration of the currency such as we are led to assume here, might, partially at least, be accounted for by the disturbed state of the country during the nominal reigns of the last Kārkoṭa rulers. Kalhaṇa's narrative shows us for more than half a century a succession of puppet-kings, and the division of all royal power between contending court factions. It can thus scarcely be a mere coincidence that we find the accession of Avantivarman's dynasty (A.D. 855) which closes this period of internal troubles, marked also by a modification in the value of the currency tokens.

25. *Having completed our survey of the coinage of Kaśmir as far as it can throw light on* the old monetary system of the country, it will be useful to summarize here briefly the results of our inquiry concerning this system. The comparison of Abū-l-Faẓl's account, and of the still surviving tradition with the data of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the later Kaśmirian texts, has shown us that the currency of Kaśmir, at least from the ninth century onwards, was based on a decimal system of values starting from a very small unit. The values which can be shown to have been actually used in reckoning, are given in the following table with their Sanskrit and modern designation:—

12 Dinnāras	= 1 *Dvādaśa ("Twelver"), *Bāhᵃgan*ⁱ.
2 *Dvādaśa	= 25 Dinnāras or 1 *Pañcaviṁśatika* ("Twenty-fiver"), *Pūntsǔ*
4 Pañcaviṁśatika	= 100 Dinnāras or 1 *Śata* ("Hundreder"), *Hāth*
10 S'ata	= 1000 Dinnāras or 1 *Sahasra* ("Thousander"), *Sāsün*.
100 Sahasra	= 100,000 Dinnāras or 1 *Lakṣa* ("Lakh").
100 Lakṣa	= 10,000,000 Dinnāras or 1 *Koṭi* ("Crore").

In using the designations here indicated it was usual, but not necessary to add the word *dinnāra* in the general sense of "money" (modern *dyār*), in order to mark their character as monetary terms.

The following table shows the coins which can be assumed to have represented monetary values of the above description at successive periods, together with their metal and weight. The equivalent values for Akbar's time, calculated on Abū-l-Faẓl's estimate, are shown in a separate column.

Value in Dinnāras.	Designation.	Early Hindu Coins (up to A.D. 855).	Later Hindu Coins (from A.D. 855 onwards).	Muhammadan Coins.	Equivalent values on Abū-l-Faẓl's estimate.
12	Dvādaśa (Bāhagani)	... ...	Æ 45 grs.	... ...	$\frac{1}{8}$ Dām or $\frac{1}{320}$ Rupee
25	Pañcaviṁśatika (Pūntshu)	Æ 110 grs. (?)	Æ 91 grs.	Æ 83 grs.	$\frac{1}{4}$ Dām or $\frac{1}{160}$ Rupee
100	S'ata (Hāth)	... ...	... ...	... ...	1 Dām or $\frac{1}{40}$ Rupee
500	... ...	... ...	Æ 23·5 grs.	... ...	5 Dāms or $\frac{1}{8}$ Rupee
1,000	Sahasra (Sāsūn)	... ...	.. ...	... ...	10 Dāms or $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee
2,000	... .	.. ...	... ...	Æ 94 grs.	20 Dāms or $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee
2,500	... ...	Æ 120 grs. (?)	... ...	.. ...	25 Dāms or $\frac{5}{8}$ Rupee
12,500	... ...	.. ...	AV 73 grs. (?)	... ...	125 Dāms or $3\frac{1}{8}$ Rupees
100,000	Lakṣa (Lakh)	... ...	... ...	.. ...	25 Rupees
10,000,000	Koṭi (Crore)	... ...	... ...	.. ...	2500 Rupees

26. The table shows that the only denomination of coins which can be traced throughout, is the copper coin representing 25 Dinnāras. Taking into consideration also the vast preponderance of these coins in quantity, the old currency of Kaśmīr must be described as one in copper.

Abū-l-Faẓl's valuation of 4 Pūntshus or 100 Dinnāras at $\frac{1}{40}$ Rupee enables us to estimate the intrinsic value of sums expressed in terms of the Kaśmīr currency. But inasmuch as his valuation relates to a debased form of the currency in which the Pūntshu was represented by a coin of about 81 grs. instead of one of circ. 91 grs., an addition of 12 per cent. is required to arrive at a correct estimate of the metal value of the currency for the period from A.D. 855 to the close of the Hindu rule. A still more considerable addition, circ. 35·8 per cent., would have to be made for the earlier Hindu period in case the suggestion should prove correct that the Toramāṇa coins of circ. 110 grs. represent the Pūntshu of the earlier coinage.

27. The question naturally presents itself as to the unit underlying the system of monetary account here described. The only passage of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle which mentions a single Dīnnāra, unfortunately does not make it quite clear whether a separate monetary token is meant, or whether the unit is referred to only as the subdivision of a larger figure convenient for reckoning.[67] If the Dīnnāra was more than a mere abstract unit of account, it could not well have been represented by any other token than the cowree. For the weight of copper which would correspond to the twenty-fifth part of a Pañcaviṁśatika, viz. $\frac{91}{25}$, or 3·64 grs., is manifestly too small for a real coin. No copper pieces of this diminutive size are actually ever found in Kaśmīr.[68]

That the cowree was from early times used as a monetary token in Kaśmīr as elsewhere in India, is amply shown by our texts. Kalhaṇa names in a characteristic fashion the lowest and highest monetary values when he speaks of a favourite of King Saṁgrāmadeva, who, starting with a cowree (*varâṭaka*) had amassed crores.[69] Kṣemendra, who had a keen

[67] Kalhaṇa in his account of a famine under Harṣa, vii 1220, mentions that the Khāri of rice sold for 500 Dinnāras and 2 Palas of grapes (*mṛdvīka*) for 1 Dinnāra. The Khāri contains 1920 Palas (see note v. 71), and what Kalhaṇa evidently wants to say is that a Khāri of grapes cost 960 Dinnāras.

[68] The smallest old copper coins of India seem to weigh 9 grains; see CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Anc. India*, p. 46.

[69] vii 112.

eye for the small affairs of his own country and time, humorously describes the miserly trader, who in the evening after plundering his customers, is with difficulty induced to give three cowrees to his household.[70] Elsewhere he tells of an equally close-fisted merchant who sends as his contribution to a dinner-party one Tōla of oil, two of salt, and two cowrees for vegetables.[71] Cowree and crore are contrasted as above also by Jonarāja, 588, while S'rīvara speaks of soldiers of fortune who before did not own a cowree, and now sport gold bracelets.[72]

28. We have seen already above that the popular reckoning in Kaśmīr as surviving to the present day, counts the Bāhᵃgaṇ¹ as equal to 8 cowrees, and the Pūntshu as equal to 16 cowrees. As 4 Pūntshus go to the Hāth, which is represented now by the pice or $\frac{1}{64}$ of a rupee, it follows that 16 × 4 × 64, or 4096 cowrees are, or were until quite recently, reckoned in the rupee. In Akbar's time the term Hāth applied, as we have seen, to a copper coin of greater intrinsic value, equivalent to $\frac{1}{40}$ of a rupee.[73]

The conditions of traffic and freight which practically alone affect the relative value of these small shells, can in regard to Kaśmīr scarcely be said to have altered materially between the Mughal period and the early part of this century. We may, hence, reasonably assume that the relation between silver and cowrees in Kaśmīr was then approximately the same as in recent times. Dividing accordingly 4096 by 40, we obtain 102·4 cowrees to the Hāth or 'Hundreder' of Abū-l-Faẓl. This result comes so strikingly close to the one we must expect if the unit of the Kaśmīr monetary system was in reality the cowree, that it seems to me to give considerable weight to the above explanation.

It might be objected that as the copper coins of the later Hindu kings were by some 12 per cent. heavier than those upon which Abū-l-Faẓl's estimate is based, they could be supposed—*caeteris paribus*—to have represented a proportionately greater number of cowrees. As a set-off against this, however, we may point to the undoubted change which the Muhammadan conquest must have brought about in the conditions of trade and traffic from India to Kaśmīr. In Hindu times the country was jealously guarded against all foreigners, particularly from the south, as Alberūnī's account clearly shows us.[74] The facilities of commerce with India proper from where alone the cowrees could be supplied, must necessarily have been far more restricted than in the succeeding epoch. We could thus readily understand that whereas at the earlier period a coin of 91 or even more grains copper was the equivalent of 100 cowrees, the same quantity of shells could subsequently be obtained for 83 or 81 grains.[75]

29. The facts I have indicated create a strong presumption that the unit of the Kaśmīr monetary system was originally the cowree. But it must be owned that the data at present available do not permit us to settle this point with absolute certainty. Irrespective, however, of any view which we shall ultimately have to take of this question, it is certain that the unit of the Kaśmīr currency was an exceptionally small one. This fact alone is of considerable interest for the study of the old economic conditions of the country. But it is even more important for this purpose that we are now able to estimate with approximate accuracy the real value of the prices, salaries, etc., which we find recorded in Kalhaṇa's work and the later

[70] See *Kalāvilāsa*, ii. 5, 7.

[71] *Samayamātṛkā*, viii. 80 (the word for cowree is here *kapardikā*).

[72] S'rīv. iv. 100.

[73] The very slight difference in pure silver weight between Akbar's Rupee and the present standard of the British Rupee can safely be ignored here.

[74] See *India*, i. p. 206.

[75] It would, in fact, seem worth considering whether the debasement of the Kaśmīr copper coinage we have traced above, was not to some extent caused or facilitated by the gradual diminution of the value of the cowree.

Thomas in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 23, quotes from Sir H. M. Elliot's 'Glossary of Terms used in the North-Western Provinces of India,' curious evidence as to how facilities of commerce have in recent times depressed the value of the cowree in more accessible parts of India.

Chronicles. As a comparison of these notices is best adapted to illustrate the purchasing power of the monetary values we have discussed, it will be convenient to examine them in the present place.

80. Considering the paramount importance which rice, the staple produce of the valley, has at all times possessed for the material condition of its inhabitants, it is only natural that most of our notices refer to it. The first mention of rice-prices we find in the reign of Avantivarman. His extensive drainage operations produced a considerable fall in the rates of this produce. Previously the price of a Khāri amounted to 200 Dinnāras on the average in good years,[76] and at a time of famine rose as high as 1050 Dinnāras.[77] The extension of cultivation on the lands reclaimed by Suyya is said to have brought it down as low as 36 Dinnāras or, as the old glossator A₂ plainly tells us, three *Bāhᵉgan'*.[78] If we take into account that the Khāri, which is still in Kaśmīr the standard measure of weight, corresponds to about 177 pounds,[79] the latter price appears even for Kaśmīr almost incredibly low. Subsequently, 500 Dinnāras for the Khāri are referred to as the price at famine rates in the time of Harṣa. As late as the reign of Zainu-l-'ābidīn (A.D. 1420-70) 300 Dinnāras were the price in ordinary years, while 1500 Dinnāras were paid in a famine.[80]

Against this figure the 10,000 Dinnāras quoted as a famine price under Muḥammad Shāh in the sixteenth century, show already a considerable rise.[81] This increase must have been due partly to permanent causes, such as we have alluded to above. For we are informed by Abū-l-Faẓl, that when under Akbar Qāzi 'Alī carried out a revenue assessment of Kaśmīr, 'taking the prices current for several years,' the average price of the Kharwār (or Khāri) 'in kind' was ascertained to be 29 Dāms (i.e. 2900 Dinnāras), and the Kharwār 'in money' was fixed according to the former rate at 13$\frac{8}{25}$ Dāms (i.e. 1332 Dinnāras).[82] The price given here for the 'Kharwār in money' represents the fixed commutation rate at which grain, in accordance with a system surviving in part to the present day, was sold from the State stores to the city population.[83]

81. Of the prices current for other commodities we hear unfortunately but little. In his description of a famine under Harṣa, Kalhaṇa informs us that the Pala of wool sold for 6 Dinnāras.[84] As 1920 Palas go to the Khāri, the price of the latter was accordingly 11,520 Dinnāras. For comparison's sake it may be stated that wool until recent economical changes was priced at about 44 Rupees per Kharwār. This sum converted at Abū-l-Faẓl's rate of 40 Dāms or 4000 Dinnāras = 1 Rupee would correspond to 176,000 Dinnāras. At the same famine rice was sold at 500 Dinnāras for the Khāri. If we accept Rs. 2 per Khāri as a fair average rate in recent years for rice sold in the open market, and assume that the value of wool has risen since Harṣa's time in the same proportion as that of rice, we get the equation 500 : 8000 = x : 176,000. The result shows 11,000 Dinnāras as the price of a Khāri of wool for the period referred to. This agrees closely with the 6 Dinnāras per Pala or 11,520 Dinnāras per Khāri recorded in the text.

At the same famine one Dinnāra is said to have been the price for two Palas of grapes (*mārdvīka*),[85] which gives a price of 960 Dinnāras for the Khāri. I am unable to compare this rate with modern prices, as the wholesale production of grapes in the valley is now practically

[76] See v. 116.
[77] v. 71.
[78] v. 117, and above, § 9.
[79] Compare note v. 71.
[80] Śrīv. i. 202.
[81] Fourth Chron. 347.
[82] Āīn-i Akb., ii. pp. 366 sq.
[83] Compare regarding the 'Kharwār in money' which appears in the Lokaprakāśa as *dinnāra-khāri*, note v. 71. For the system by which the State monopolized the greatest portion of the grain trade, see Lawrence, pp 390 sq. It may be of interest to note that the price of rice as sold from the State stores amounted to 10 annas (British currency) at the end of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh's reign, while in the present year (1896) it is Rs. 1-4 per Khār. The latter rate would correspond to 50 Dāms of Akbar.
[84] vii. 1221.
[85] vii. 1220.

restricted to the State vineyards on the Ḍal, which supply the State wine factory. But fortunately we have a quotation for Akbar's time in a passage of the Āin-i Akbari which informs us that "in Kashmir 8 Sērs of grapes are bought for 1 *dām*."[36] Eight Sērs are equivalent to 160 Palas; hence, at the above rate 1 Pala cost $\frac{100}{160}$ or $\frac{5}{8}$ Dinnāra. We see that what was a famine rate in the eleventh century had become the ordinary price five centuries later.

32. Reference has already been made to the curious specimen of a Baṇiā's account, to which Kalhaṇa treats us in his story of the law-suit wisely decided by King Uccala (viii. 136-143). Small as the amounts named for the several amusing items must appear to us when converted into their real value at the rate now ascertained, we can yet scarcely accept them as genuine quotations of prices.[37] For it is evident from the tenor of the anecdote that the amounts stated are meant to represent the grossly exaggerated charges of a cheating petty trader. But even as such they are characteristic for the extreme cheapness of old Kaśmīr.

Salt has always been a comparatively expensive article in Kaśmīr, as it has to be imported from the Panjab or Ladākh. S'rīvara tells us that at a time when the passes to the south were closed owing to political troubles, the price even in the capital rose to 25 Dinnāras or a Pūntshu for 1½ Palas.[38] At present 8 Sērs salt for the rupee is considered a low rate in the city. At this rate one Sēr costs $\frac{1}{5}$ of a Rupee or 5 Hāths (500 Dinnāras), according to the estimate of Abū-l-Faẓl, which gives for 1 Pala, or $\frac{1}{20}$ Sēr, a price of $\frac{500}{20}$ or 25 Dinnāras. We see that the emergency rate of the fifteenth century was yet 50 per cent. below the present ordinary rate.

33. The prices here examined indicate an extreme cheapness of all indigenous produce in Kaśmīr, not only for the Hindu period, but also for centuries after its close. They might, indeed, excite doubts as to the correctness of our price calculations, had we not the evidence of Abū-l-Faẓl to fall back upon. But Kaśmīr is not the only part of India to astonish us by the cheapness of its commodities. For what Ibn Batūta, the traveller of the fourteenth century, tells us of the prices current in the Bengal of his own time, comes apparently very close to the economic conditions of old Kaśmīr.[39]

An acquaintance of his, Ibn Batūta informs us, used to buy there a twelvemonth's supply for his household of three, for a silver *dīnār*, equivalent to a rupee. The quantity of unhusked rice thus purchased was eighty Delhi rothls, or about 2300 lbs. *avoirdupois*.[40] He saw a milch cow sold in Bengal for three silver dīnārs (or 1½ rupee), eight fat fowls sold for a dirhem (one-eighth of a rupee), etc. And from a note of Sir H. Yule we learn that even at

[36] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, i. p. 65. In the same passage we read that the expense of transporting a maund of grapes was 2 rupees; "the Kashmirians bring them on their backs in long baskets." The cost of transport (to Delhi?) here quoted is characteristic for the obstacles in the way of commerce between Kaśmīr and India. The maund of Akbar may be reckoned at about one-half of the present standard maund, i.e. at 40 pounds; see Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, p. 111. The mode of transport here described is still in vogue for Kaśmīr fruits.

[37] The items are: 600 Dinnāras for bridge tolls; 100 Dinnāras for the repair of a shoe and whip; 50 Dinnāras for Ghee as an ointment; 800 Dinnāras as compensation for a load of broken pots; 100 Dinnāras for mice and fish-juice bought in the bazar as food for a litter of kittens (!); 700 Dinnāras for an ointment and the small quantities of rice, Ghee and honey as required at a S'rāddha; 100 Dinnāras for honey and ginger for a sick child; 300 Dinnāras for an unfortunate beggar (enough to feed him on rice for perhaps three months!); 100-200 Dinnāras for scent and other small offerings to Tantric Gurus.

[38] See *S'rīv.* iv. 584.

[39] I take this curious information from Sir Henry Yule's "*Cathay and the way thither*," where extracts of Ibn Batūta's Travels are illustrated by a profusion of learned notes; see pp. 456 sq., for the account of Bengal prices.

[40] Another valuation of the rothl (or maund) of that period at 24·7 lbs., would reduce the purchase to about 1976 lbs., still a respectable quantity

the end of the seventeenth century 580 lbs. of rice were bought at Chittagong for a rupee, and sixty 'good tame poultry' for the same money.[91] Such were the prices in a large province boasting of easy communications by sea and river, and forming part of a great empire. We can, hence, scarcely wonder at the cheapness that reigned in the Kaśmir of Hindu times, when the great obstacles to commerce arising from the valley's natural situation were increased by a system of rigid political isolation.

34. It is manifest that the rates of victuals, and in particular those of rice, as recorded by Kalhaṇa, afford the best gauge for an estimate of the relative value which cash sums, such as salaries, represented in the Kaśmir of Hindu times. We shall scarcely err considerably if for the purpose of such an estimate we take 200 Dīnnāras as a fair average rate for the Khāri of rice.[92]

Estimated by this standard the 100,000 Dīnnāras daily pay which Udbhaṭa, Jayāpīḍa's Chief Paṇḍit was lucky enough to draw,[93] was a very respectable remuneration indeed, corresponding in value to 500 Khāris of grain. Calculated at the rate indicated by Abū-l-Faẓl, and increased by 12 per cent. in accordance with the greater intrinsic value of the earlier copper coinage, the Lakh of Udbhaṭa's daily pay would amount to 28½ rupees. This daily allowance, though acceptable enough even for a Paṇḍit of the present day, would scarcely excite the attention of a modern Chronicler. But if we convert the sum named by Kalhaṇa into its equivalent in grain, and estimate the present value of the latter according to the commutation rate of 1¼ rupee for the Khāri,[94] we arrive at the sum of 625 rupees as representing approximately for the present day the same purchasing power which Udbhaṭa's 100,000 Dīnnāras had in his own time.

Calculated on the same basis even the sum of 2000 Dīnnāras of Lavata, the favourite of S'aṁkaravarman, was a large daily allowance for one who had been a load-carrier by occupation.[95] And it is not difficult to realize that the subsidies paid by King Ananta to the refugee S'āhi princes, amounting to 150,000 Dīnnāras daily in the case of Rudrapāla, and 80,000 Dīnnāras in that of Diddāpāla, constituted a serious drain on the royal treasury.[96] The quantities of grain which these sums could purchase in the Kaśmir of the eleventh century, would at the present day represent values of about 937 and 500 rupees respectively, calculated according to the above standard. We can thus well understand the astonishment which Kalhaṇa expresses at the fact that even such magnificent allowances did not prevent their high-born recipients from being troubled by debts.

35. We are all the more justified in taking the prices of grain as the true standard by which to estimate the relative value of the cash amounts mentioned in the Chronicle, because there is good reason to believe that rice has already in early times formed a kind of subsidiary currency in Kaśmir.

This belief is based primarily on the fact that such a system has survived in Kaśmir to the present day. As by far the greatest part of the land revenue was until quite recently collected in kind,[97] it was the regular system for the State to pay all salaries, grants, etc., in grain or other produce taken from the State stores. Since the reign of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, the amounts payable to servants of the State were nominally fixed

[91] See *Cathay*, supplem. note, p. ccli.; quoted from Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, ed. 1744, ii. p. 23.

It is probable that similar evidence for low prices of agricultural produce could be collected for other parts of India also. But I am unable at present to refer to the works which are likely to furnish these data.

[92] We have seen that 200 Dīnnāras was the usual rate *before* Avantivarman extended the area of cultivated land (v. 117). In the fifteenth century the ordinary price was still only 300 Dīnnāras (see S'rīv. i. 262). Our assumed average of 200 Dīnnāras is thus certainly not too low.

[93] iv. 495.

[94] See above, note 83.

[95] See v. 205.

[96] Compare vii. 144 sqq.

[97] See note v. 171.

in rupees. These sums were then converted into 'S'ali' (rice) or other produce available in the State granaries according to the established commutation rates already referred to. Previously, however, even these nominal cash rates were unknown in official use, and all salaries, etc., were actually fixed in Kharis of rice. The custom thus established extended to the wages of all sorts of private servants, and has in this sphere been maintained to the present day.

The following remarks of Mr. Lawrence graphically describe the state of things as it existed till the introduction of recent administrative reforms:[98] "In 1889, when I commenced work, it might be said that money prices did not exist. Salaries were paid in grain, and I remember that in 1889, I was requested to take oil-seeds, in lieu of cash, in payment of the salary of myself and my department. Oil-seeds were looked upon as an appreciated currency. Not only did the State pay its officials in grain, but private persons paid their servants in the same fashion, and 16 to 20 Kharwārs of Shali was the ordinary wages of a domestic servant. The currency was to a great extent Shali, and silver played a subsidiary part in the business of the country."

36. That the system here described has come down from an earlier time is proved beyond all doubt by the detailed account of Abū-l-Faẓl, which shows that the revenue administration of Kaśmir was in the sixteenth century materially the same as in recent times.[99] The same must be concluded for the Hindu period from such indications as Kalhaṇa gives us.[100] By far the greatest portion of the land revenue being assessed and collected in Kharis of grain, it necessarily follows that the consequences in respect of the currency must have been similar to those prevailing to our time. The *Lokaprakāśa* fully supports this conclusion. Kharis of rice (*dhānyakhāri*) are stated there in fixed quantities as payments of rents, fines, interest, etc., even in cases where the original amounts forming the subjects of contracts are quoted in Dinnāra figures.[101]

37. The system of reckoning revenues in grain is widely spread throughout Asia, and is naturally well adapted to the economic conditions of a mainly agricultural country.[102] In a territory isolated by great mountain barriers, and hence far removed from the influences of export trade like Kaśmir, such a system based on the staple produce of the country and the main food stuff of its inhabitants, must have specially recommended itself by its stability.

Its existence in old Kaśmir, which we conclude from the evidence above indicated, greatly helps us to understand the facts we have ascertained regarding the cash currency of the country. A monetary system based on the cowree unit and represented in its main bulk by a copper coinage, becomes far more intelligible if we realize that it was supplemented in all important transactions of public business and private life by the ample stores of another circulating medium, the Khari of rice.

[98] Compare *Valley*, p. 243.

[99] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 366 sqq.

[100] See notes v. 171 sqq.

[101] Compare, e.g., *Ind. Stud.* xviii. pp. 346, 378.

In another place of Book ii. the yearly pay of a servant is fixed at 15 Kharis of rice, which together with some small perquisites are valued as the equivalent of 5000 Dinnāras.

[102] Friar Odoric in his account of the Chinese province of Manzi, speaks of a certain rich man who "hath a revenue of thirty *tuman of tagars* of rice. And each tuman is ten thousand, and each tagar is the amount of a heavy ass-load" (our Kharwār, i.e. Persian *Khar-bār*). See *Cathay*, p. 152. Sir H. Yule in his note remarks: "Revenues continued to be estimated in China in sacks of rice until lately, if they are not so *still*. In Burma they are always estimated in baskets of rice."

NOTE I.—v. 97-100.

THE CONFLUENCE OF THE VITASTĀ AND SINDHU.

1. The interest of this passage as well as its difficulty lies in the exact topographical indications which it furnishes with reference to the ancient junction of the VITASTĀ and SINDHU Rivers. These indications, if correctly interpreted in the present note, enable us to trace at this point an important result of Suyya's regulation of the Vitastā.

The Vitastā and its largest tributary, the Sindhu (see note i. 57), meet at present opposite to the large village of *Shād'pūr*, 74° 34′ long. 34° 11′ lat., and about nine miles in a direct line to the north-west of S'rinagar. That this has been the point of junction since at least the fourteenth century, is proved beyond all doubt by the name of the place itself. The modern name *Shād'pūr* is, as a notice of Abū-l-Faẓl shows, only a contraction of the original form of the name *Shahābuddīnpūr*.[1] From Jonarāja's Chronicle, 409, we learn that Shahābuddīnpūr took its name from Sultān Shahābuddin (A.D. 1354-1373), who founded a 'town' called after his own name at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu.

2. Considering that only two centuries lie between Kalhaṇa's time and the date of Shahābuddin, and that the Chronicle of Jonarāja makes no reference to any change in the river-course during the intervening period, we can safely conclude that the confluence of the two rivers was also in Kalhaṇa's time at the same point where we see it at present. Kalhaṇa in our passage distinctly attributes the junction of the two rivers, as it existed in his own time, to the operations of Suyya. Seeing then that this junction has not changed to the present day, we must acknowledge that our author's prediction, v 98, as to the durability of Suyya's achievements at this particular spot has so far been fully realized.

3. For the identification of the place where the rivers met previous to the operations of Suyya, we have to rely chiefly on the indications which Kalhaṇa gives us as to its position relative to *Trigrāmī* and the temple of *Viṣṇu Vainyasvāmin*. These indications will be best understood by a reference to the detailed map of "Parihāsapura and Confluence of Vitastā and Sindhu,' prepared by me.

The evidence of other passages, as already indicated in note iv. 323, had made it easy for me to recognize TRIGRĀMĪ in the modern village of Trigām, situated on the left bank of the Vitastā, about one and a quarter miles to the south-west of Shād'pūr. But for the identification of the Vainyasvāmin temple and the full comprehension of the data given in our passage as to the position of the former confluence, a careful examination of the topography and ancient remains of the neighbourhood was necessary. This I was able to effect on a visit which I paid to this locality in October, 1892. The information then collected I took occasion to revise and to supplement on a fresh visit in May, 1896.

4. *Trigām* is the name given to a collection of small hamlets situated at a short distance from each other on the raised ground which stretches from the left bank of the Vitastā in the direction of the Par'spōr plateau described in Note F. These hamlets are Parēpūr on the east, Gunḍ-i Khalil in the centre, Krāl'pūr to the west, and Zerpūr to the south. Close up to Gunḍ-i Khalil, the position of which is approximately indicated by the triangulation point 'Trigām' of the larger Survey map, there reaches from the south-west a swampy depression about a quarter of a mile broad, and filled throughout the year with stagnant water. This

[1] "Shahābuddīnpūr is on the banks of the Bihat and about it are large plane-trees, which is a favourite resort. The Sind joins the Bihat at this point." *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 364.

swamp runs with a gradually deepening bed for about three quarters of a mile in a south-westerly direction past Zerpūr, and towards the small village of Malikpūr. Close to the latter it joins the deep-cut marshy depression known as *Badrihēl Nāla*, which separates the plateau of Parᵉspōr from the lands of Trigām.

Going round the bank of the Trigām swamp to the south-east we come to Zerpūr and then to the hamlet of Malᵉpūr, which lies on an inlet of the swamp running to the north-east. On the south bank of this inlet and almost bordering on Malᵉpūr, lies Malikpūr in the shade of magnificent plane-trees. The fields of Malikpūr occupy the narrow strip of raised ground which separates the southern end of the Trigām swamp from the Badrihēl Nāla.

5. Immediately behind the houses of Malikpūr and to the south of them are found the basement walls of an ancient temple, now partly used as an enclosure for the small Ziārat of Sayyad Aḥmad Kirmānī. These walls, which are formed of large well-carved slabs, are visible in most places to a height of several feet above the ground and seem to have belonged to a square cella. The side running east to west, which is best preserved, measures about sixty-eight feet. Near the basement walls and inside the enclosure formed by them are found numerous sculptured capitals, bases of Liṅgas and other architectural fragments evidently belonging to the original building. To this ruined temple the tradition of the local Brahmans, if correctly communicated to me by Paṇḍit Mukund Rām of Trigām and others, gives the name of Vainyasvāmin.

Accepting this identification we are able to comprehend fully the bearing of the statement made by Kalhaṇa in v. 97, as to the direction of the old river-beds at their former junction. If we place ourselves at the south-west extremity of the raised ground on which the temple lies, about 400 yards from the latter, and turn towards Shādᶦpūr, we have on our left the above described swamp running north-east, in the direction of Trigām, and on our right the Badrihēl Nāla which divides the plateaus of Trigām and Parᵉspōr. In the swamp on the left, I believe, we have to recognize the former course of the Sindhu, and in the Badrihēl Nāla the old bed of the Vitastā. Their relative position corresponds exactly to Kalhaṇa's description of "the two great rivers. the Sindhu and Vitastā, which formerly met near the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Vainyasvāmin* flowing to the left and right of *Trigrāmī* [respectively]."

6. In support of the first identification I have to mention that the swamp which now ends beyond Zerpūr, is said by the villagers to have stretched within a few generations ago much further to the north and to have reached beyond Guṇḍ-i Khalil. This extension is still clearly indicated by a shallow dry Nallah known by the name of *Sar*, 'lake,' which passes close to the west of the houses of Guṇḍ-i Khalil and can be traced for some distance further, running in a north-easterly direction towards Shādᶦpūr. A glance at the map will show that this Nallah and the swamp lie in the direct continuation of the course, from north-east to south-west, which is followed by the Sind River from below Kövguṇḍ (map 'Kowgood') to its present junction with the Vitastā.

Thus also the south-westerly direction which the 'Nōr' canal (map 'Noroo') first follows where it leaves the Vitastā at Shādᶦpūr, becomes quite intelligible. This canal plays an important part in Kaśmīr river-navigation, as it affords a direct route of communication between S'rinagar and Sopūr, and enables boats, for a great part of the year, to avoid the dangerous passage of the Volur lake.

From the enlarged map it will be seen that the Nōr leaves the Vitastā exactly opposite to its present junction with the Sindhu, and practically continues the course of the latter to the south-west for nearly half a mile. After thus approaching in a comparatively broad bed to within one-third of a mile of Guṇḍ-i Khalil the Nōr turns abruptly to the north-west and continues thereafter to follow the latter direction in a narrow and evidently artificial channel.

It appears to me highly probable that we have in the first portion of the Nōr channel, the

old bed of the Sindhu which once continued yet further in the now dry 'Sar' of Guṇḍ-i Khalil, and ended in what is now the swamp of Trigām.

7. Turning now to the Badrihēl Nāla we find it clearly marked as an old river-bed by the formation of its banks. It is in fact still known as such to the villagers. The Badrihēl Nāla, which is about 320 yards broad at its narrowest point (see below), connects the great swamp known by the name of the *Pạnz'nōr Nambal* on the east, with the marshes stretching between Hār'trạṭh and And'rkōṭh on the west. Though dry during the greatest part of the year, this channel serves still regularly as an outflow for the Pạnz'nōr Nambal whenever the latter is flooded from the Vitastā at times of high water.

A large dam stretches across the Badrihēl Nāla at the point where the south-west extremity of the high ground of Trigām approaches nearest to the Par'spōr Plateau. It is known as the *Kanyesuth,* and is constructed entirely of large sculptured slabs and other architectural fragments, probably taken from the ancient temple-site close by, which will be mentioned below. According to the tradition of the villagers, the Kanyesuth ('stone-dam' in Kś.) was constructed in Paṭhān times, with a view to its serving as a causeway across the Badrihēl Nāla, which was then a marsh, and also to stop the passage of floods from the Pạnz'nōr Nambal. The Kanyesuth is now broken in the middle and does not any longer stop the flow of flood water towards the marshes in the west. That it still acts as an obstacle to the drainage was shown to me by some large pools, which I found near it in 1896 as late as the end of May.

The low level of the whole of the Badrihēl Nāla is further proved by the fact that the portion lying immediately to the north-west of the Kanyesuth still contains a fairly deep little lake known as *Udan Sar* (see map). This lake is said to have been more extensive even within the recollection of the older villagers, and their statement is fully borne out by the marshy nature of the ground adjoining the lake.

8. The topographical facts here indicated point distinctly towards the conclusion that we have in the Badrihēl Nāla that portion of the ancient bed of the Vitastā which Kalhaṇa had in mind when describing the former confluence of the two rivers. This conclusion receives further support by the character of the tract lying immediately to the east of Trigām and Par'spōr around the Pạnz'nōr Nambal. Here the soil is throughout "low and peaty, reclaimed at various times from swamp." "The cultivated land lies below the level of the Jhelam bed," and requires constant protection by means of embankments. In consequence, "the people near Panjinara (Pạnz'nor) always live in expectation of a flood." The points here reproduced from Mr. Lawrence's description of this tract [2] become at once clear if we realize that the old course of the Vitastā before Suyya's regulation must have led through the Pạnz'nōr Nambal.

By forcing the river to pass to the north of Trigām instead of south of it, it became possible to reclaim a great portion of the land between the Vitastā and the Sukhnāg River on the south. But the results of this change must have made themselves felt yet over a far larger area. The wide, low-lying tracts which stretch to the south of the Volur Lake, have remained to the present day the scene of the cultivator's constant struggle against floods from lakes and rivers. It is clear that the task of protecting and reclaiming these lands, must have been considerably facilitated when the Vitastā was prevented from entering their very centre from the side of Par'spōr.

9. By keeping the main channel of the Vitastā to the north the river was made to pass direct into that part of the Volur which, owing to its well-defined natural boundaries, is best adapted to act as a temporary reservoir for the surplus water of dangerous floods. Whereas such floods, if conducted into the Volur by the shortest route direct from the south, would invariably submerge the low-lying shores of this side, they now in normal times find time and

[2] See Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 211.

room to spread themselves over the wide expanse of the lake before they can raise the latter to a dangerous level.

The change which Suyya effected in the place of junction of the Vitastā and Sindhu, was thus closely connected with a scheme of regulating the course of the united rivers from their confluence to the Volur. It is fully in keeping herewith that Kalhaṇa immediately after mentioning the above change, refers to the stone embankments constructed by Suyya along the Vitastā, and to the regulation of the Volur.[3] In the lines which follow next, the reclamation of the land for new villages is directly mentioned as a result of these operations. Kalhaṇa names particularly (v. 106) as such villages localities known by the name of *Kuṇḍala*. Villages thus designated[4] (Marᵃkuṇḍᵃl, Utsᵃkuṇḍᵃl) are actually situated along the course which the Vitastā at present follows from S͟hāḍⁱpūr to the Volur.

10. Kalhaṇa was evidently anxious to mark with all possible clearness the change which had taken place in the site of the river-junction. He has taken care to let us know in detail of the sacred buildings which stood by the side of the confluence before and after Suyya's regulation. The translation of the couplet, v. 99-100, has been given above as follows:—

"On the two banks of the original (?) confluence there stood the [temples of Viṣṇu] *Viṣṇusvāmin* and *Vainyasvāmin* situated in *Phalapura* and *Pa[r]ihāsapura* [respectively]; whereas on the bank of the present [confluence] which has got to the vicinity of *Sundaribhavana*, [there stands the temple of] Viṣṇu *Yogaśāyin*, the object of *Suyya's* worship."

The temples here referred to are not otherwise known, and we have to rely for their identification on this very passage. The interpretation of the latter is unfortunately complicated by the fact that the first words of verse 99 as found in our two MSS. contain an undoubted corruption. The *adhyapyāstāṁ* of A_1 gives no sense, as little as the correction of a later hand in that codex, *adyapy°*. In the absence of something better I had adopted in the Ed. the conjectural reading of the Calcutta and Paris Editors *adyāpy°*, but a closer examination of the text shows that this conjecture is untenable. From the use of *tu* with *adyatanasya* in the next verse, it follows that Kalhaṇa wants to refer there to the modern confluence in contradistinction from the earlier one. Hence the word *adya*, 'now,' in v. 99, would be meaningless; nor could it be brought into agreement with the use of the imperfect verb *āstāṁ*.

The proper emendation seems to be indicated by the reading of L, *abhyasyāstāṁ*. The Akṣaras [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] being distinguished in S'āradā writing only by a slight difference, the restoration of the correct reading *ādyasyārtāṁ* is rendered palæographically very easy. We thus get the proper contrast between the 'original' (*ādya*) confluence described in the first verse and the 'present' (*adyatana*) one in the next, which the context imperatively requires.

11 In our discussion above, we have already shown that the temple of *Vainyasvāmin* must be identified with the extant temple ruin at Malikpūr. The position of the latter corresponds exactly to that indicated in v. 97 for the Vainyasvāmin shrine, with reference to the former river-junction. Kalhaṇa, v. 99, speaks of this temple as 'situated in Parihāsapura,' and in order to understand this description we must refer once more to the topography of this neighbourhood.

The Malikpūr ruin, as already explained, lies on the narrow neck of raised ground which separates the Trigām swamp from the east end of the Badrihēl Nāla. On the opposite or southern side of the latter rises with steep banks the plateau of Parᵉspōr, the ancient Parihāsapura, with the great temple ruins described in Note F, iv. 194-201.[5]

[3] See v. 103 sq. and note.

[4] Compare note v. 106.

[5] The northern group of these temples (A, B, C on map) lies at a distance of less than one mile to the S. of Malikpūr. As their ruins are far more conspicuous than the remains at Malikpūr, the question might arise whether we ought not to look rather among them for the temple of Vainyasvāmin. My reasons against the latter view are briefly the following:

In the first place, I see at present no ground for doubting the correctness of the information

The great town which King Lalitāditya had founded there, must have given its name at an early date to the surrounding district. We find the term Parihāsapura used in this extended sense in *Śrīv.* iv. 362; Fourth Chronicle, 554, and subsequently the Pargaṇa of 'Paraspūr' in Abū-l-Faẓl's list of territorial divisions of Kaśmīr (*Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 370). The villages around the Parᵉspōr Uḍar continued, in fact, until some sixteen years ago to form a separate Pargaṇa, which was officially known by the name of Parᵉspōr, and is also correctly shown on the Survey map.

It is now interesting to note that Malikpūr, according to the uniform evidence of the villagers and small local officials examined by me, was included in the Parᵉspōr Pargaṇa, whereas already Trigām along with Shādⁱpūr and other neighbouring villages belonged to the Pargaṇa known as Sāiru-l-mawāẓiʿ Pāin. In view of the tenacity with which the old territorial limits have maintained themselves throughout in Kaśmīr until the recent changes in the administration, we have every reason to assume that the location of Malikpūr in the Pargaṇa of Parᵉspōr is of old date. If, then, the Malikpūr ruins mark the site of the Vainyasvāmin temple, it is clear that Kalhaṇa was justified in speaking of the latter as 'situated in Parihāsapura.'

12. In order to ascertain the probable position of the second shrine which Kalhaṇa mentions by the side of the former confluence, that of the temple of VIṢṆUSVĀMIN, we must return once more to the neighbourhood of Trigām. As the Viṣṇusvāmin temple is distinctly said to be situated in Phalapura, while the Vainyasvāmin shrine opposite to it lay in Parihāsapura, it is quite certain that we cannot look for the former on the Parᵉspōr plateau. Accepting Malikpūr as the site of the temple of Vainyasvāmin, the above indication must necessarily lead us to search for the position of the Viṣṇusvāmin temple on that strip of raised ground which stretches to the S.W. of Trigām along the western bank of the Trigām swamp.

Proceeding from Guṇḍ-i Khalīl, the central hamlet of Trigām, in the above-marked direction by the path which leads towards Divar, we pass at short distances two old sites, known as Kanetsuth Masjid and Utar Khāv. There the foundations of small temples can still be traced. Going further in the same direction we reach a narrow neck of raised ground which projects between the Trigām swamp and the little lake known as Udan Sar. Immediately below it to the south is the embankment of the Kanyesuth stretching across the Badrihēl Nāla, as described above.

given to me as regards the traditional name of the Malikpūr ruin (see above, para. 5).

Secondly, it must be remembered that, as shown in Note F, all the chief ruins on the Parᵉspōr plateau must belong to the great sacred buildings which Lalitāditya constructed there. Now it is worth noting that the ruined mound A, which falls nearest to the old place of junction, and accordingly would have to be thought of in the first place under that assumption, is by far the most extensive of all the ruins of Parihāsapura. If this had been the Vainyasvāmin temple, we could scarcely explain why the latter name does not occur in the lengthy account Kalhaṇa gives in iv. 194-214 of the numerous structures erected at Parihāsapura by Lalitāditya and his court.

Thirdly, attention must be paid to the fact that the position of the Parihāsapura ruins relative to the old river-junction is not the one which we should expect to be taken up for a shrine erected in honour of a sacred *Saṅgama*. And that the Vainyasvāmin temple had this character, is clear from the manner in which Kalhaṇa refers to it in v. 97 and v. 99. The spot to which the confluence of two sacred streams gives special sanctity, and which accordingly figures as the Tīrtha proper, is in the case of Kaśmīr Saṅgamas invariably located in the angle formed by the two streams. This is illustrated, e.g. by the position of the Tīrthas of Ciramocana (i. 149), Śāradā (Madhumatī and Kṛṣṇagaṅgā (i. 37), Mārisaṅgama (see note iii. 339-349), etc. In the same way we find at the present junction of Sindhu and Vitastā that the pilgrims perform their ablutions and sacrifices in the angle of the two rivers, i.e. on the right bank of the Vitastā, and not on the side of Shādⁱpūr.

The same position is assigned to the most sacred of Saṅgama Tīrthas, that of Prayāga at Allahabad; see CONSTABLE's *Hand Atlas of India*, pl 14.

On the top of this projecting neck I found scattered a quantity of large carved slabs and architectural fragments, which belonged undoubtedly to some ancient building. They are found chiefly near a spot where the outlines of a square enclosure or building can still be partly traced in the form of foundation walls. This spot, which seems at one time to have been used as a Ziārat and burying-ground, is now known to the villagers as *Timbar Shāhun Marguzār* ('the cemetery of Timūr Shāh').

It appears to me very probable that the temple of Viṣṇusvāmin stood once on or close to this spot. The position corresponds exactly to the indications furnished by Kalhaṇa's words. On the opposite or eastern side of the Trigām swamp, which represents the former bed of the Sindhu (see above, para. 6), we have Malikpūr with the remains of the Vainyasvāmin temple, the direct distance between the two sites being scarcely more than half a mile. The scattered condition of the remains of Timbar Shāhun Marguzār and their comparative insignificance is easily accounted for. The Kanyesuth which, as already stated, is constructed entirely of ancient stone materials, lies immediately below this site. It is evident that the latter, which of all the ruined sites lies nearest to the Kanyesuth, has supplied most, if not all, the sculptured slabs, etc., of which this embankment is composed.

13. The temple of Viṣṇusvāmin was according to Kalhaṇa's words situated in PHALAPURA. It follows from what has been said above as to the similar location of the Vainyasvāmin shrine in Parihāsapura, that Phalapura is probably used here as the designation of a small territorial division. Trigām has, as already explained, always been counted with the riveraine Pargaṇa of Sāiru-l-mawāẓi' Pāin (map 'Salimozapaieen'), and Phalapura must hence be assumed to correspond to the latter tract or a part of it.

Phalapura is referred to in iv. 184, 673, apparently as a town or village founded by Lalitāditya, and is placed by the gloss on the second passage, 'in the neighbourhood of Parihāsapura.' This is very likely the original application of the name. Just as the town of Parihāsapura gave its name to the Pargaṇa of Parᵉspōr, so also the name of Phalapura evidently came to be used as the designation for a small district. The subsequent creation of a larger territorial division known by the Persian term *Sāiru-l-mawāẓi'*[6] would account for the disappearance of the name Phalapura.[7]

14. It remains now for us only to examine the reference which Kalhaṇa makes in v. 100, to the confluence of the two rivers such as it existed in his own time. We have already in the introductory remarks of this note indicated the evidence which proves that the river-junction which Kalhaṇa knew, has remained unchanged to the present day. It is, therefore, but a matter of minor importance that the locality of *Sundaribhavana* which Kalhaṇa names as in the vicinity of the modern junction, can no longer be identified. The place is nowhere else mentioned, and I have not been able to trace in that neighbourhood a local name which might be derived from it.

The temple of Viṣṇu YOGAŚĀYIN, which our verse mentions as situated by the side of the new junction and evidently as a foundation of Suyya, is also otherwise unknown. But its site is, perhaps, indicated by the remains of an ancient temple found on the right bank of the Vitastā, a little below its actual junction with the Sind and close to the park known as NARĀN BāGH. These remains have, during the late Mahārāja's reign, been built up into a

[6] Compare regarding the origin and significance of this term *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 367.

[7] TROYER and LASSEN (iii. p. 1002) evidently following WILSON, *History*, p. 63 note, identify Phalapura with Shahābuddinpūr or Shādipūr. But the passage of the Āin-i Akbari to which they refer (ii. p. 364), merely mentions Shahābuddinpūr as situated at the junction of the Bihat (Vitastā) and Sind Rivers.

The modern village *Pālᵉpūr*, about three miles below S'rīnagar on the right bank of the Vitastā, which Wilson in his note on Moorcroft's *Travels*, ii. p. 219, took for Phalapura, cannot be thought of in this connection. It lies too high up the river, and its name is clearly derived from *Pāla*, a Krām name widely spread among Kaśmīrī Muhammadans; see LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 307.

solid platform to form the base of a new temple which Paṇḍit Rajakāk Dar, of S'rinagar, intended to erect here. Judging from the character of the ornaments displayed on many of the slabs, these materials could well have belonged to a temple of Avantivarman's time.

The Purohitas of the neighbouring Gayātirtha knew nothing of the origin or name of this temple, but had heard by tradition that it was dedicated to Viṣṇu.

15. The spot which is actually held to mark the Tīrtha, and where accordingly the ablutions and sacrifices take place, lies about 200 yards from the remains described, at the very angle formed by the uniting rivers. Opposite to this point there rises in the bed of the Vitastā a small island built of solid masonry. On it stands an old Cinar tree, and under the branches of the latter are placed a large Liṅga and a few old sculptures.[8] The Tīrtha to which this little island belongs is visited by numerous pilgrims at certain Parvans throughout the year, and is now known through the whole of Kaśmir by the name of *Prayāga*. It is easy to explain how this name came to be attached to this particular Tīrtha.

The confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu Rivers has, as the Saṁgama of the two chief rivers of Kaśmir, enjoyed great sanctity evidently since early days. It is mentioned in the character of an important Tīrtha by the *Nīlamata*, vv. 297 and 1076. The first passage (*Gaṅgā Sindhus tu vijñeyā Vitastā Yamunā tathā | sa Prayāgasamo deśas tayor yatra tu saṁgamaḥ*) identifies the Sindhu River with the Gaṅgā,[9] and the Vitastā with the Yamunā. In accordance with this identification the term *Prayāga*, which applies to the confluence of the great rivers of the Indian plains, near Allahabad, has been transferred to the junction at Shād'pūr. The old Cinār on the above described little island has taken the place of the famous Ficus Indica tree of the real Prayāga (see iii. 430).

The only text in which the name Prayāga is actually given to the Shād'pūr junction, is the Vitastāmāhātmya, xxi. 74. The recent date of this composition, or at least of its extant redaction, is sufficiently proved by the modern form of many of the local names found in it, e.g. the name *S'āradāpura* (!) given to Shād'pūr itself.

The passages, vi. 306 and vii. 214, in which Kalhaṇa mentions the erection of shrines, Maṭhas, and other sacred buildings at the junction of the Vitastā and Sindhu by Queen Diddā and King Ananta, must, of course, refer already to the new junction created by Suyya. A pilgrimage to it is alluded to in viii. 3149. Also Maṅkha in his description of Kaśmir *S'rīkaṇṭhacarita*, iii. 20, does not fail to advert to this Saṅgama as a spot dear to S'iva. General references to the locality are found, *Rājat.* vii. 900, 1595; viii. 508; *S'rīv.* i. 441.

[It is curious to note that also the Tīrtha of the real Prayāga near Allahabad has quite recently been shifted by an artificial change of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā. I take the following from the *Pioneer* of January 27th, 1898:—

"Any apprehensions which may have been entertained as to the acceptableness to the *Magh Mela* pilgrims of the artificial confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna recently constructed under the orders of the Government, have been entirely dispelled by the event. It will be remembered that the purpose in cutting a canal from the Ganges to the Jumna was, by establishing a temporary confluence four miles nearer to Allahabad than the natural confluence, to facilitate the otherwise impracticable task of supplying filtered water from the municipal reservoirs to the huge assembly which gathers every year on the apex of shifting sand formed by the two rivers. So far from rejecting this artificial confluence, the pilgrims have utilized it to the almost entire exclusion of the natural confluence; and although on the great day of the Solar Eclipse the immense throng of bathers proved too heavy a tax on the limited capacity of

[8] Compare for a description of the Prayāga island at Shād'pūr, Hügel, *Kaschmir*, i. p. 331; Vigne, *Travels*, ii pp. 96, 146, Ince, *Handbook*, p. 207.—The Cinār tree of the island, according to a popular legend, does not grow in size or decay; comp. *Tīrthas.*, also the Rev. Hinton-Knowles' *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, p. 173.

[9] Compare regarding this identification, which is also alluded to by Kalhaṇa, note i. 57.

the work, the surplus thousands overflowed peaceably along the northern bank of the Jumna, east and west of the canal, content to perform their ceremonial ablutions in sight of, if not in contact with, the actual mingling of the two waters. Thus a difficult measure has been successfully carried through; and the action of the Government, which might ignorantly or mischievously have been misinterpreted, has been recognized as a benefaction."

It is evident that the pious visitors of the Kaśmir 'Prayāga' must have acquiesced with equal ease in the transfer of their Tirtha consequent on Suyya's regulation.]

NOTE J.—v. 152-155.

THE S'ĀHI OF UDABHĀṆḌA.

1. The historical data furnished by this interesting passage together with other available information regarding the S'āhi dynasty have been fully discussed by me in my paper *Zur Geschichte der Çāhis von Kābul*, contributed to the 'Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth. Zum Doctor-Jubilaeum 24. August 1893, von seinen Freunden und Schülern,' Stuttgart (Kohlhammer), pp. 195-206.

I have shown there that the rulers, which in Kalhaṇa's narrative figure as the S'ĀHIS of UDABHĀṆḌAPURA, belong to the 'Hindu *Shāhiya* dynasty' which we know from a famous passage in Alberūnī's *India* (ii. p. 13) to have ruled the Kābul Valley and Gandhāra previous to the conquest of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. According to Alberūnī's account this dynasty succeeded to the 'Turkish *Shāhiyas*,' who were traditionally believed to have ruled over the Hindu kingdom of Kābul for sixty generations. The last king of this race, Lagatūrmān, was deposed by his Brahman Wazir who, having risen to great power and influence, seized the royal throne and became the founder of the Hindu Shāhiya dynasty.

2. In this usurper who, in the extant text of Alberūnī is called *Kallar*, we have in all probability to recognize the LALLIYA S'ĀHI of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Kalhaṇa subsequently, v. 233, mentions Lalliya as the father of *Kamaluka*. The latter prince is certainly identical with the *Kamalū* who, in Alberūnī's genealogy of the Hindu Shāhiyas, appears as the ruler next but one after 'Kallar.' The 'S'āhi,' whom Kalhaṇa mentions in the last-named passage, without giving his name, as Kamaluka's predecessor, is probably the *Sāmand* (Sāmanta) who in Alberūnī's list follows immediately after Kallar.

The description which the Chronicle gives of Lalliya S'āhi's great power and repute, agrees singularly with what Alberūnī has to tell us of the energetic founder of the Hindu Shāhiya dynasty. The proposed identification of 'Kallar' with Lalliya finds further support in the convincing conjecture by which Prof. Ch. Seybold, in his remarks on the above quoted paper (*Zu Bîrûnî's Indica*, *Z.D M.G.*, xlviii. p. 700), has explained the apparent difference of the names. Prof. Seybold sees in the form كلر of the single MS. which has preserved for us the text of the Indica, a misread للّى or لليه (i.e. Lalliya), and accounts for such a corruption by well-known palæographic peculiarities of Arabic manuscripts.

[At the time of sending this note to the press, I notice that the above identification of 'Kallar' and Lalliya had suggested itself already to General Cunningham; see *Archæol. Survey Reports*, v. p. 83.]

3. Besides Kamaluka and the nameless S'āhi, the Chronicle mentions of Lalliya's successors BHĪMA S'ĀHI, of *Udabhāṇḍapura*, vi. 178, vii. 1081, the grandfather of Queen Diddā,

and TRILOCANAPĀLA S'ĀHI, vii. 47-69. Under the last-named prince († A.D. 1021/2, according to Albērūnī), the S'āhi kingdom finally succumbed to the Turuṣkas, i.e. the Muhammadan invaders from the west, whose advance on India it had barred for centuries. Kalhaṇa, as already Albērūnī before him, has duly recorded the deep impression which this memorable event had made on contemporaries.[1]

The families of the S'āhis and their fame long survived that catastrophe, which occurred in the reign of Saṁgrāmadeva of Kaśmīr. Under the latter's successor, Anantadeva, we find several scions of that house, designated as *S'āhiputrāḥ* or *S'āhivaṁśajā rājaputrāḥ*, in positions of great honour and power at the Kaśmīr court, comp. vii. 144 sqq., 178, 274. Among the wives of King Harṣa there were Vasantalekhā and other *S'āhi* princesses; vii. 956, 1470.

When Harṣa succumbed to his rebel foes (A.D. 1101) these royal ladies worthily maintained the fame of their race for valour and courage. They set fire to the stormed palace and found a heroic death in its flames (vii. 1550-1571). Kalhaṇa also takes occasion to mention the great repute enjoyed in his own time by the numerous Kṣattriya clan which claimed descent from the S'āhi race, viii. 3230.

4. UDABHĀṆḌAPURA, the residence of the S'āhi kings, has been identified by me in the above quoted paper, with the ancient capital of Gandhāra, which is repeatedly mentioned by Albērūnī under the name of *Waihand* (*India*, i. pp. 206, 259, 317). Its position is marked by the modern village of *Und* situated on the right bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.

Udabhāṇḍapura is referred to by Kalhaṇa in two passages besides our own, viz. v. 232; vii. 1081. In both these the name had been rendered unrecognizable by erroneous readings of the former editions (C. has *tadābhāṇḍāpure* and *tadabhuṇḍapure* !), and verse v. 153 was altogether missing in them. Udabhāṇḍapura is also mentioned in Jonarāja's Chronicle, 372, where we read of its capture by Sultan Shahābu-d-din of Kaśmīr (circ. 1354-1373). Govindakhāna, the lord of Udabhāṇḍapura, is in the same passage, 374 sq., distinctly spoken of as the ruler of the Indus-region (*Sindhupa*) and Gandhāra.

Albērūnī, i. pp. 206, 259, accurately describes *Waihand* as the capital of Qandhār, i.e. Gandhāra, situated to the west of the Indus and above its junction with the Kabul River at Attock. It was the last foothold which the S'āhis retained across the Indus. The hard-contested battle which opened for Maḥmūd the road to the Panjāb, was fought before Waihand (probably A.D. 1009; comp. ELLIOT, *History of India*, ii. pp. 33, 446 sq.).

5. The correct identification of the site of Waihand with that of the modern village *Und* (also written as Hund, Ohind, Uhand, etc.) was apparently first made by V. DE ST.-MARTIN, *Mémoire analytique* (1858), p. 61. He, too, was the first to recognize in the Waihand of Albērūnī's time the great and rich city of *U-to-kia-han-ch'a*, which Hiuen Tsiang had visited in Gandhāra nearly four hundred years earlier. The Chinese pilgrim describes correctly its position as bordered on the south 'by the River Sindh' (*Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 114), and his biography informs us that 'the king of Kapiśa (i.e. Kābul) formerly dwelt in U-to-kia-han-ch'a' (*Life*, p. 192).

A detailed account of the topography and antiquities of Und has been given by General CUNNINGHAM, who evidently had arrived independently at the same identification, in *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 52 sqq.[2] His description of the numerous old remains built up in the ruined houses of the place I found fully confirmed on a visit I paid to Und in December, 1891.

[1] See note vii. 47-69.

[2] The antiquarian remains of *Und* were noticed already by General Court, one of Ranjit Singh's French officers; see *J.A.S.B.*, v. p. 395.

The marble slabs with Sanskrit inscriptions in S'āradā characters were removed from there by Sir Alex. Burnes in 1837 (see his *Cabool*, p. 120). They are now in the Imperial Museum, Calcutta.

A much-defaced fragment bearing a few nearly illegible lines in the same characters was picked up by me from the wall of a ruined mosque and deposited in the Lahore Museum.

Gen. CUNNINGHAM, *loc. cit.*, has also made reference to the varying forms *Und* (Oond), *Hund* (Hoond), *Ohind*, *Hend*, by which the name of this old site has been rendered by modern authors and cartographers. The name, as I heard it, was pronounced *Und* by those inhabitants whose mother-tongue is Western Panjābi (Hindki). In the mouth of the Paṭhān land-owners who speak Pushtu, it sounded like *Hind*. In the first-named form *Und* we can trace, I believe, the direct phonetic derivation of the ancient name of the place as recorded by Hiuen Tsiang.

6. *U-to-kia-han-ch'a* has been retranscribed by STAN. JULIEN first as **Utakhāṇḍa* and subsequently as **Udakhāṇḍa*.[3] If we, however, turn to a later publication of the great Sinologist, his *Méthode pour déchiffrer, etc.*, we find that the phonetic values established there for the characters, which compose the Chinese rendering of the name, distinctly point to an original form **Udakahāṇḍa*.[4]

In *Udakahāṇḍa* it is easy to recognise a half-sanskritised Apabhraṁśa form of the name presented to us in its quasi-classical garb by Kalhaṇa's 'Town of Udabhāṇḍa' (*Udabhāṇḍapura*). The Skr. named *Udabhāṇḍa*, literally meaning 'water-pot,' shows *Uda* as the first member of the compound instead of *Udaka*, as required by the rule of Sanskrit grammar (see Pāṇini, vi. 3, 57: *udakasyodaḥ saṁjñāyām*). Against this the semi-Tatsama form recorded by Hiuen Tsiang has the fuller stem *Udaka* in the first part and *hāṇḍa* for Skr. *bhāṇḍa* in the second with the regular Prakrit change of medial *bh* > *h*.

From *Udakahāṇḍa* we arrive at the form *Waihand* through a series of phonetic changes which are well known to the phonology of Apabhraṁśa and the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. These stages may be represented as follows **Ŭdakahā́ṇḍa* >[a] **Ŭayahā́ṇḍ* >[b] *Ụ̆ày(a)hā́ṇḍ* >[c] **Ụaihaṇḍ* (Albērūnī's Waihand).[5] The further contraction into the modern *Und* probably proceeded through forms like **Ukand* and **Uhund* which would account for the varying spelling of the name by earlier travellers.

7. The description which Kalhaṇa gives in v. 152 of Lalliya S'āhi's position between the kingdom of the Darads on the north and the Turuṣka power on the south, is fairly accurate. We know from the Chinese Annals that in the middle of the eighth century Udyāna or the modern Swāt with the neighbouring hill-regions was united with Gandhāra under the rule of 'the king of Ki-pin,' who belonged in all probability to the dynasty of the 'Turkish Shāhiyas' of Kabul (see Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES, *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, in *Journal asiat.*, 1895, vi. p. 349). If the dominions of Lalliya S'āhi extended equally far to the north, they must have bordered on the territories held to this day by the Dard tribes inhabiting the Kōhistān on the Upper Indus, Cilās and Citrāl.

By the Turuṣkas undoubtedly the Muhammadans are meant (comp. viii. 51 sqq.). These

[3] *Vie de Hiouen-thsang*, p. 264; *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, ii. p. 521.

[4] The characters *kia* and *han* are shown under Nos. 582 and 330 of JULIEN's list as regular representatives of the Sanskrit Akṣaras *ka* and *hān* (hāṇ), respectively. From the fact that the characters *kia* + *han* do not appear in the list as expressing Skr. *khāṇ*, it appears that Julien himself had abandoned subsequently the transcription **Udakhāṇḍa*.

For *U* (No. 1318) and *tch'a* (No. 1760) the values of initial *u* and of final *ḍa*, respectively, are fully confirmed by the classified list of Julien's work. *To* (No. 2038), it is true, figures in the list only as the equivalent of Skr. *ḍa*. But that this character could equally well be employed for the rendering of Skr. *da*, may be safely concluded from the fact that other characters of the same phonetic value are used indifferently as representatives of the Skr. syllables *ḍa* and *da*, *ṭa* and *ta*; comp. *Méthode*, Nos. 2060–61, 2065–67, 2026–27, etc.

[5] The stress-accent which is an important factor in this process of phonetic conversion, has been restored in these forms in accordance with the rules set forth by Prof. JACOBI, *Z.D.M.G.*, xlvii. pp. 574 sqq., and Dr. GRIERSON, *On the Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, *Z.D.M.G.* xlix. pp. 395 sqq.

The evidence for the several phonetic changes here assumed will be found in the last-named essay and BEAMES, *Comparative Grammar of Modern Aryan languages*. Compare for [a] BEAMES, i. p. 202; GRIERSON § 37, 1); [b] GRIERSON § 37, 3; [c] GRIERSON § 11.—I indicate by *Ụ* the vowel-sound *u* as an initial in consonantal function, comp. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik*, § 12.

had obtained possession of Kābul in A.D. 871, under the Saffaride Ya'qūb b. al-Layṯ (REINAUD, *Mémoire*, p. 209), and must thus have been menacing the remainder of the S'āhi dominion in the Kābul Valley directly from the west. But for over two centuries earlier the Arabs had warred against the Turkish predecessors of Lalliya S'āhi from Sijistān and Ar-Ruḵẖāj (Arachosia, Qandahār) in the south-west which had fallen early a prey to their invasion.[6] Hence the reference of Kalhaṇa or his source to the 'Turuṣkas' in the south was not far from the truth.

The words in which Kalhaṇa, v. 155, speaks of the relations between S'aṁkaravarman and Lalliya seem intentionally obscure. We may, however, infer from these guarded expressions that the expedition of the Kaśmir ruler was in this direction not attended by any marked results.

NOTE K.—vi. 137.

THE SKANDABHAVANA VIHĀRA.

1. The SKANDABHAVANA VIHĀRA has left its name to *Khand*[u]*bavan*, a quarter of S'rinagar, situated on the right bank of the river, between the Nau Kadal or Sixth Bridge, and the 'Īdgāh on the western outskirts of the city. Khand[u]bavan is the regular phonetic derivative in Kś. of Skr. *Skandabhavana*, a name which in its formation corresponds exactly to other Vihāra names found in the Chronicle, such as *Amṛtabhavana*, *Indradevibhavana*, *Anaṅgabhavana*, *Morākabhavana*.[1] *Skanda* in the first part stands for Skandagupta, the name of the founder of the Vihāra (iii. 380), abbreviated *bhīmavat*, as so frequently in designations of sacred buildings.[2] The designation of a whole city quarter by the name of a particular religious building, is exemplified in S'rinagar by modern Mahalla names like *Did*[u]*mar* (Diddāmaṭha), *Braḍ*[u]*mar* (Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha), *Sud*[u]*rmar* (Samudrāmaṭha).[3]

Skandabhavana is mentioned in viii. 1442 as the place where Sussala's queens burned themselves when the rebels hovering round the city made the usual burning-ground at Mākṣikasvāmin : Māy[e]sum unsafe. I conclude from this that there must have been already in old times ample open space near Skandabhavana. At present, as the map shows, there is a considerable expanse of waste ground both to the E. and N.E. of Khand[u]bavan. It is used largely for Muhammadan burying places. The same inference may be drawn from the passages of *S'riv.* iv. 123, 628, which mention Skandabhavana as a camping ground of armed forces during the troubled times of Muḥammad S͟hāh's first reign (A.D. 1484-86).

2. The position of the Vihāra of Skandabhavana can be fixed with great probability at a spot situated near the southern end of the Khand[u]bavan Mahalla, which Brahman tradition of the neighbouring quarters knows to this day as a sacred site by the name of 'Skandabavan.' This place, which is marked by the entry SKANDABHAVANA on the map, was first visited by me in August, 1891. It is reached by following the Bazar road to the north of the Nau Kadal for about 250 yards. At this point there stands on the left of the road

[6] Compare the Muhammadan historians quoted by ELLIOT, *History*, ii pp. 413 sqq. : REINAUD, *Mémoire*, pp. 172 sqq.

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[1] See iii. 9, 13; iv. 3; iii 356; compare my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 4, 9

[2] Compare *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, p. 5

[3] Compare notes vi. 240, 300, and for *Samudrāmaṭha* > *Suu*[e]*rmar*, *Jonar*. 111, *S'riv*. iv. 121, 160, 290.

the Ziārat of Mullah Muḥammad Basur. It contains within a walled enclosure, partly built of old carved stones, a number of tombs, for the construction of which also materials from some Hindu structure seem to have been utilized.

Immediately adjoining this enclosure on the west is a waste piece of ground surrounded by a mud wall. In its centre rises a mound now about 12 feet high with traces of a square stone wall enclosing its base. The mound, as far as a superficial examination could show, consists of earth mixed with fragments of bricks. The wall or basement at its foot which can best be traced on the N. and E. sides, seems to have formed a square of about 38 feet. Close to the S.E. corner of this square there is a hollow in the ground about 10 feet square which clearly marks the place of an old well or tank. And not far from the latter is a small circular well dug by the Mullah of the Ziārat some ten years before my visit.

3. The old Brahman shopkeepers residing in the vicinity whom I examined, gave interesting information regarding the traditions attaching to the site. It is popularly held to be the place of '*Skandabavan*' (Skandabhavana), a temple of Kumāra or Skanda, which was adjoined by a spring or Nāga. The latter flowed in old times in the hollow already noticed. Its water is supposed to have reached the Mār canal at a place known as Tār‛bal, a little to the west of the site. The Nāga, however, has not been actually seen within living memory.

Rām Cand Riṣi, son of Sāhibrām, an intelligent old Brahman of about sixty years of age, remembered distinctly that when he was a child, a relative of his, Govardhan Dās Yasid, who was then of very advanced age, used to come daily to this spot to do his Pūjā. On Saturdays in particular he used to make small offerings to Kumārā at the foot of a large mulberry tree growing there. This tree was cut down in the time of the Governor Shaikh Ghulām Muḥi-ud-din (A.D. 1842-45), by the Mullah of the Ziārat when, as the pious tradition holds, blood flowed from the trunk. Govardhan Dās and others at that time used to light lamps on Parvan days at the foot of the mound, as is the custom in temples and before divine images.

4. From the statements here reproduced it is clear that the site of Skandabhavana was still within recent memory an object of sanctity and actual worship. That this worship, owing evidently to a wrong interpretation of the name (Skanda being taken for the name of Kumāra), was addressed to a deity which had no relation to the original character of the shrine, is only an illustration of that curious course of adaptation by which popular local worship maintains itself through all religious and political changes. We have other evidence of the same phenomenon in the Muhammadan shrine close by. Its existence is in all probability due to the fact that the site continued to attract local worshippers, even after their conversion to the true faith.[4]

NOTE L.—viii. 2492.

THE CASTLE OF S'IRAHS'ILĀ.

1. The hill stronghold of S'IRAHS'ILĀ which formed the scene of the memorable siege and the subsequent events related in viii. 2492-2709, was identified by me in September, 1892, on occasion of the tour undertaken in search of the *S'āradā Tīrtha*. A brief account of

[4] Muhammadan saints are worshipped near the sites of most Kaśmīr Tīrthas; compare, e.g. notes vi. 178 (Bhīmakeśava); iii. 453 (Raṇasvāmin); iii. 350 (Pravareśvara); iii. 352 (Bhīmasvāmigaṇeśa), etc.

this identification was given in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and in a note communicated to the Imperial Academy of Vienna.[1]

The indications furnished by Kalhaṇa's account of the above siege had clearly shown me that the castle of the Ḍāmara Alaṁkāracakra, in which Loṭhana and the other rebel princes had taken refuge, was to be looked for in the close vicinity of the shrine of S'āradā, and like the latter on the banks of the Kiṣangangā River.[2] When, accordingly, I had found S'āradā's temple at *S'ardi* as described above in Note *B* (i. 37), I lost no time in making inquiries regarding a possible site in the neighbourhood where to locate the stronghold. The fact that Kalhaṇa nowhere mentions the crossing of the river on the way between the Tīrtha and the castle, suggested from the first that the latter was situated on the same, i.e. the left river-bank. It was further clear that S'irahśilākoṭṭa could not be looked for higher up the river, because the valley, as stated in Note *B*,[3] contracts immediately above S'ardi into an almost impassable gorge where the siege operations described in the Chronicle could not possibly have taken place. There remained thus the left bank of the Kiṣangangā below S'ardi as the direction plainly marked for the search.

2. Of rocky ridges rising precipitously above the river-bed, such as would answer the description of Kalhaṇa's narrative,[4] the people of S'ardi seemed to know only one in the immediate vicinity. It was the 'hill of Gaṇeśa' or *Gaṇeś Ghāṭī*, which is visited by the pilgrims on their way to S'āradā,[5] and which I had already noticed the previous day from the opposite bank. One of the villagers added that he remembered having seen traces of an old wall on the summit of the ridge. I set out accordingly the morning after my arrival at S'ardi down by the left bank of the river. After passing the cultivated plateau on which the modern fort of S'ardi and some wooden barracks are situated, I continued my march for about two miles along an easy road by the hillside. Where the open ground between the latter and the river widens to about a quarter of a mile, are some fields which stretch on the west to the side of a rivulet, descending from the range to the south (marked on the map close to the initial letter of the name S'IRAHS'ILĀ).

Above this rivulet on the west rise the cliffs of the *Gaṇeś Ghāṭī* ridge, in some places almost perpendicularly, to a height of about 300 feet. A path leads first a little way up the cool gorge of the rivulet, then along the practicable face of the cliffs to the 'head of Gaṇeśa.' On the face of grey lime rock, about fifty feet high, nature has formed a long projecting nose which curiously resembles the head of an elephant with the trunk hanging down. The rock is covered in this place with the orthodox daub of red paint. This shows plainly where pious tradition places the head of the elephant-faced god, which has given its name to the hill. The path then ascends very steeply the ridge in the direction towards the river, and reaches the summit of the ridge at its rocky northern extremity high above the tossing stream. This northern end of the ridge occupies exactly the point where the Kiṣangangā in a sharp bend turns from a course E. to W. to one N. to S., as seen on the map. It is, in fact, the cause of this deflection in the river's course.

3. The ridge presents to the N. towards the river, a narrow face of precipitous and unscalable rocks on which only a few fir trees have managed to secure a footing. Examining this face on the following day from the opposite (right) bank of the river, I could see the rocks rising straight out of the deep bed which the rapid current of the stream has cut itself at the foot of the ridge. Some of these rocks are overhanging the river, and all along this face of the ridge there are spots where an attempt at descent might land even a trained

[1] See *Academy*, 1893, Nov. 24.
See *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Classe*, Vienna Academy, 1892, No. xxvii.

[2] viii. 2556, 2706 sqq.

[3] See Note *B* (i. 37).

[4] Compare viii. 2526, 2564, and in particular the description of Bhoja's attempted escape, 2583 sqq.

[5] See Note *B* (i. 37), § 6.

mountaineer in a dangerous situation. The ridge rises about 300 feet above the river and its foot where it is washed by the water, is about 250 yards broad.

The narrow fir-covered summit of the ridge runs first from N.E. to S.W., ascending very gradually. Following the path which keeps the same direction, I came at a distance of about eighty yards from the northern end upon unmistakable remains of an old wall stretching across the back of the ridge. For about sixty feet to the east of the path, the wall can still clearly be traced amid the luxuriant forest vegetation which now covers the ridge wherever its surface does not show the bare rock. The wall, which rises in parts still three or four feet above the ground, is over seven feet broad, and consists of well-laid strata of rough masonry. The mass of the stones was evidently brought from the river-bed, but larger blocks, roughly hewn, seem to have been used for the foundation. The summit of the ridge next rises gently in the same direction to a point about sixty yards distant where it forms a small level plateau, measuring about sixty feet across. This plateau also shows traces of old masonry marking, perhaps, the position of a central keep.

The summit of the ridge then continues almost level, but with diminished breadth, for about seventy-five yards to the S.W., where there is a sudden dip separating it from the gradually broadening spur which ascends towards the hill-range to the south. Near this dip passes the route which connects Tehᵃjan (Tejavana) with S'ardi. The back of the spur which I followed for about 600 yards beyond the dip, runs first from N.E. to S.W. for a distance of about 170 yards, and then continues from N. to S. It gradually broadens till it joins the thickly-wooded slopes of the main range to the S. of the valley. On the east side of the ridge along its whole length flows the rivulet already referred to.[6]

4. After a careful survey of the ridge between the river-face and the above mentioned dip, I arrived at the conclusion that it could very well have been the site of a small hill-castle, such as we must picture S'iraḥśilākoṭṭa from Kalhaṇa's narrative. The description of "the castle-hill, narrow below where it projects into the stream and with a long-stretched ridge,"[7] fits the Gaṇeś Ghāṭi hill so accurately that it would almost imply a personal acquaintance with the spot.[8]

The river which, as already stated, turns the ridge at a right angle, washes its precipitous foot both on the N. side and on the W. The main approach of the castle (*koṭṭapratolī*) which Dhanya and his troops occupied after leaving their quarters by the bank of the Madhumati, near S'ardi, and dislodging their opponents from below, is the broad spur ascending to the south.[9] Dhanya by establishing his fortified position in this convenient locality and constructing a line of block-houses round the castle-ridge from the south, effectually cut off the besieged rebels from the scanty supplies they were previously able to collect from the neighbouring hamlets.[10] He was then joined there on the next day by Saṣṭhacandra who had previously visited the shrine of S'āradā.[11]

5. From the commanding position occupied by Dhanya's forces it was easy for them to watch all exits from the castle, and at night so to light up the ground around it that "even an ant could not have moved out by the main road without being noticed."[12] For its water-supply the castle depended either on the rivulet to the east or on the river. From the former the besieged were at once cut off when Dhanya occupied the higher ridge to the south, and at the same time naturally also the eastern bank of the rivulet.

[6] The dotted mark on the map does not correctly indicate the site occupied by the castle. It ought to have been placed vertically instead of horizontally.

[7] viii. 2528.

[8] As Gaṇeś Ghāṭi lies on the pilgrims' route to S'āradā, one of the most famous Tīrthas of old Kaśmīr, it is quite possible that Kalhaṇa had passed the castle on one or the other occasion.

[9] viii. 2552 sqq.

[10] viii. 2541.

[11] viii. 2550.

[12] viii. 2560 sq.

In order to prevent access to the river, the besiegers seem to have kept boats, or rather rafts moving at the foot of the hill.[13] This would be practicable in the low water of the winter-season when the siege took place, by fastening the rafts to ropes fixed on the opposite river bank north of the castle. Owing to the bend in the river, the rafts thus secured could be kept floating from one bank to the other notwithstanding the strong current, just as the ferry-raft which was temporarily used at S'ardi at the time of my visit. Though scantiness of water thus prevailed in the castle, yet the long-continued resistance of the rebels shows that they could not have entirely been deprived of it. It was, in fact, impossible in view of the configuration of the northern and western face of the ridge to close all access to the river by means such as indicated.

6. When Prince Bhoja realized that in the face of the enemy's watchfulness it would be useless to attempt to leave the castle by the main road (*pratoli*),[14] there remained only the perilous descent to the river which seemed to offer a chance of escape. Bhoja was accordingly lowered down by ropes over the precipice, but was unable to reach firm ground, and obliged to take refuge midway on a small projecting rock, which afforded just footing enough for him and his single companion.[15] There he passed five days and nights in constant fear of falling, in sight of the enemy, yet unmolested by them. At last he was forced by hunger and cold to return to Alaṁkāracakra's keeping, who had him hauled up again by ropes into the castle.[16]

The situation described by Kalhaṇa is easily understood if we remember the character of the northern face of the ridge. On this side the castle could not be invested, and the enemy on the other side of the river could not prevent a descent. But the height and steepness of the rocks would make the descent very hazardous, and I doubt whether even a good cragsman could safely climb down without the help of ropes or other appliances.

7. The route which Prince Bhoja chose, after the siege had been raised, for his final escape from the hands of Alaṁkāracakra, fully confirms our identification of the site of the S'irahśilā Castle. When the king's representative arrived at *Dranga*, the modern [Sun°]-Drang,[17] to treat for Bhoja's surrender, Alaṁkāracakra went to meet him, evidently by the shortest route *viâ* Teh'jan (Tejavana), i.e. down the river.[18] Bhoja used the opportunity offered by his Ḍāmara guardian's absence to escape towards the temple of S'āradā which lies in exactly the opposite direction from Ganeś Ghaṭi.[19] Finding the route through *Durāṇḍa*, perhaps the present Drāva district, closed—he would have encountered on the way the returning Alaṁkāracakra,—the young pretender was forced to take refuge with the *Darads*.[20] He reached their territory, about Gurēs on the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā, after ascending the valley of the *Madhumati* to the south-east (by the route marked on the map) and subsequently making his way in deep snow and with great difficulty along the range which forms the watershed towards Kaśmīr.

8. That no more conspicuous remains of the castle which witnessed these interesting events, have survived, cannot surprise us. The manner in which fortifications of this kind have evidently, since early times, been constructed in the hills around Kaśmīr, has been already fully explained in the note on the Castle of Lohara.[21] S'irahśilākoṭṭa, as Kalhaṇa's account of the siege and the site itself shows, cannot have been a large place. Its rubble walls, when once neglected, could not have withstood long the destructive force of heavy snow-fall and of the luxuriant forest which grew up among them.[22]

[13] viii. 2584 sq.
[14] viii. 2581.
[15] vii. 2588 sqq.
[16] viii. 2598.
[17] viii. 2702; compare note viii. 2507, and Note B (i 37), § 2
[18] viii. 2704.
[19] viii. 2706 sqq.
[20] viii. 2709 sqq
[21] See Note E (iv. 177). § 16.
[22] The same fate may be safely predicted to the present fort of S'ardi built exactly in the same manner, if it is allowed to remain unrepaired during the next few centuries.

Local tradition does not seem to have retained any recollection of the stronghold which stood once here. This is possibly due to the fact that during the troubled times when the Bomba chiefs of Karnāv held independent sway on the Kiṣangaṅgā, the Valley about S'ārdi was scarcely at all cultivated.[23]

In another respect tradition has proved more tenacious. For there can be little doubt that the same curious rock-formation, which is now worshipped as a 'self-made' (*svayaṁbhū*) image of Gaṇeśa's head, must be held to account for the old name of the locality, *S'iraḥśilā* or "the rock of the head."

9. According to the corrected reading of the text, viii. 2492, the castle of *S'iraḥśilā* is described as 'situated between the *Sindhu* and the [streams of the] *Madhumatī* and *Muktāśrī*.' By the Sindhu, 'the river,' is, of course, meant the Kiṣangaṅgā.[24] Madhumatī is the name by which the sacred stream of S'āradā : S'ardi is known to this day.[25]

The name Muktāśrī I have not been able to trace. But it may safely be assumed that it is the old designation of one of the streams which join the Kiṣangaṅgā from the south, below S'iraḥśilā : Gaṇeś Ghāṭi. The stream which flows into the Kiṣangaṅgā at Teh^{a}jan : Tejavana, is also held sacred by the pilgrims to S'āradā's temple, and the *S'āradāmāhātmya*, vv. 52, 129, prescribes ablutions, etc., at its Saṁgama. The auspicious name of *Muktāśrī* ('carrying a wealth of pearls') would have been no inappropriate appellation for such a sacred stream. The Māhātmya, however, does not state its name, and the point can hence not be settled.

Tilagrāma is another local name mentioned in connection with the siege of *S'iraḥśilākoṭṭa* which has not come down to our times. In viii. 2507, Tilagrāma is referred to as a place situated on the bank of the 'Sindhu of the castle,' i.e. the Kiṣangaṅgā. Dhanya and his troops occupied it before the commencement of proper operations against the rebels at S'iraḥśilākoṭṭa. Immediately after this passage Kalhaṇa describes the arrangement which Dhanya made to shelter his troops on the bank of the Madhumatī, by the erection of block-houses.[26] Subsequently again Tilagrāma is mentioned as the place from which the attack of the troops under Dhanya against the rebels proceeded in earnest.[27]

From these references, I believe, it can be concluded with great probability that Tilagrāma was the name of a village which existed in the immediate vicinity of the S'āradā temple, corresponding to the present village of S'ardi. The comparatively open and fertile character of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley at this point and the meeting at S'ardi of the routes to Kaśmīr (*viâ* Krōras), to Gurēs and Cilās, make it certain that there existed also in early days a village of some importance at this spot. That Ṣaṣṭhacandra who joins the royal camp before S'iraḥśilākoṭṭa, is said to come from the temple of S'āradā,[28] also supports our conclusion.

S'ardi, in fact, by its position on the main routes and close vicinity to S'iraḥśilākoṭṭa, would at all times represent the natural tactical base for operations against an enemy posted at the latter locality. It can easily be understood how the name of the Tīrtha (S'āradā : S'ardi) should alone have survived the changes in the population of the Valley and completely superseded that of the village.[29]

[23] See Note B (i. 37), § 17.
[24] See note viii. 2507.
[25] Compare Note B (i. 37), § 4.
[26] viii. 2509 seq.
[27] viii. 25[illegible].
[28] viii. 2556.
[29] In a similar way *Is^{a}bar* (< Īśeśvara) has replaced the earlier name *Sureśvarī*; see notes ii. 134; v. 37.

MEMOIR

ON

THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY

OF

KAŚMĪR.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Importance of ancient topography of Kaśmīr.

1. It is impossible to understand correctly, or to utilize fully, the historical contents of the Kaśmīr Chronicle without paying close attention to the country's ancient topography. A detailed study of the latter is indispensable for the interpretation of KALHAṆA's text. It is equally necessary, if we wish to follow the development of Kasmir history as a whole and to ascertain the true proportions of individual events.

In the notes which accompany my translation of the Chronicle, the endeavour has been made to place before the reader the topographical information bearing on particular points of Kalhaṇa's narrative. But it is manifest that the information scattered through these notes cannot take the place of a connected account of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr. As such an account is required for a critical study of early Kaśmīr history, it has appeared necessary to embody it in the present work in the form of a supplementary memoir.

It would be difficult to limit our survey of the old topography of Kaśmīr strictly to the periods dealt with in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. Much valuable information bearing on the Kaśmīr of old Hindu times can be gathered from the later Sanskrit Chronicles, religious texts of uncertain date like the Nīlamata and the numerous Māhātmyas, and even from recent local tradition. We should deprive ourselves of material aid towards the reconstruction of the country's ancient topography were we to exclude all such data from the range of our inquiry merely because they *may* relate to a period later than Kalhaṇa's time. It will hence be more convenient and at the same time safer to extend the chronological limit of our inquiry to the close of the Hindu epoch.

Maps of Ancient Kaśmīr and S'rinagar.

2. The maps which accompany this work, are intended to illustrate the ancient geography of Kaśmīr within the same limits. They have been prepared, with the assistance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, at the offices of the Survey of India, and under the superintendence of Colonel J. WATERHOUSE, late Assistant

Surveyor-General. To this distinguished officer I am chiefly indebted for the successful technical execution of the maps.[1]

It was my object to provide maps showing at the same time the results of my researches and the topographical evidence on which they are based. With this view I adopted the plan of having the best available map of modern Kaśmīr reproduced as a 'ground-map,' and the identified ancient sites and local names shown over it in a distinguishing colour. The 'ground-map' of the larger map is an exact reproduction of the plates engraved for the corresponding parts of the *Atlas of India*, Sheets 27 and 28. These show in full detail, on the scale of four miles to the inch, the results of the survey carried out in Kaśmīr by the Trigonometrical Branch of the Survey of India during the years 1856-60. No subsequent survey has yet been made.

Apart from the spelling of local names which, owing to special difficulties, is rather defective and in need of revision,[2] this map is an accurate representation of the actual topography of Kaśmīr. Over it the entries referring to the ancient topography have been printed in red. The use of distinctive type makes it easy to see at a glance whether any particular old local name is found in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (GROTESQUE type) or is known only from the later Chronicles or other sources (*italic*). The smaller map showing S'rīnagar, the Kaśmīr capital, and its environs has been prepared in the same manner. The ground-map, on the scale of one mile to the inch, has in this case been reproduced from an inset published in an earlier map of the Survey of India Department.[3]

As regards the entry of ancient local names in the maps it may yet be noted that completeness has been aimed at only as far as sites and names mentioned by Kalhaṇa are concerned. In the case of those known only from the later Chronicles and other secondary sources of information, a selection had to be made to avoid overcrowding of the map. The local names selected were those the antiquity of which could be established for certain, and which could also claim special historical interest.

Contents of Memoir.

3. In dealing with the subject of this memoir it will be convenient to examine first the sources of information from which our knowledge of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr is drawn. We shall then notice the part which the general physical features of the country have played in its early economical and political history. In the closing chapter we shall survey what appertains to the political geography

[1] The maps will be published also separately in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which bore the cost of their preparation. The paper accompanying this separate issue explains more fully the technical lines followed in preparing the maps. In the Preface of the present work I have indicated the obligations I owe for the valuable help received in connection with them from Drs. GRIERSON and HOERNLE, and Col. J. WATERHOUSE.

[2] At the time when this portion of the *Atlas of India* was prepared, no fixed system of transliteration had yet been adopted by the Survey of India. Kaśmīrī sounds are for the untrained ear often difficult to catch, and their adequate reproduction would not be easy, even with the system of spelling now observed by the Survey Department. It is only too evident that the surveying parties could have had but scant knowledge of Kaśmīrī, and that many local names were taken down, not from the mouth of the genuine inhabitants, but as pronounced, i.e. transformed, by Panjābis and other foreigners; compare above, e.g. notes i. 36, 102; vii. 494.

In some cases, far more rare, the erroneous local names can be explained in a quasi-palæographical manner, being due to misreadings of draftsmen or errors of the engraver; see e.g. *Harprat* for Ḥārᵃtrāth. *Ballarkallar* (corrected in present ground-map) for Bāravul (note i. 121), *Kadriar* for Khādᵃniyār.

[3] "Map of Jummoo, Kashmir and Adjacent Territories," 1861 (lithographed).

of ancient Kaśmīr, the old administrative divisions of the Valley, its sites of historical or religious interest, etc. Much of the detailed information bearing on these points has already been set forth in the notes on Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. References to the latter will permit us to make this last portion of our survey of old Kaśmīr more succinct than it could be otherwise.

Earlier publications on Kaśmīr topography.

4. Before, however, closing these preliminary remarks we may refer briefly to the few earlier publications bearing on the study of the old topography of Kaśmīr. We naturally turn first to the works which have dealt directly with the interpretation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Dr. Wilson, who was the first European scholar to study the Chronicle in the original, seems to have realized the importance of an accurate and sober examination of the geographical questions connected with the narrative. But the textual materials at his disposal were extremely defective, and European knowledge of Kaśmīr restricted at the time solely to the account of Bernier and Forster. He could hence scarcely do more than indicate the more or less corrupt modern equivalents by which the Persian Chronicles render some of the Kaśmīr local names taken from Kalhaṇa's account. It is, however, evident that only the defective character of the available information prevented that distinguished Sanskrit scholar from doing justice to the task he had himself clearly indicated.

The elaborate commentary with which Mr. Troyer accompanied his French translation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī does not represent any material advance beyond the contents of Dr. Wilson's Essay. Yet Mr. Troyer had already the whole text of the Chronicle to refer to, and in the meantime a considerable amount of information about Kaśmīr had become available through the works of travellers like Moorcroft, Jacquemont, Vigne, Von Hügel, and others. The serious shortcomings which characterize Mr. Troyer's labours, notwithstanding his patient devotion to the task, have already been fully indicated by Prof. Bühler.[4] No detailed reference is hence needed to his topographical notes; they belong to the weakest portions of his work.

The English translation of the Chronicle published in the years 1879-87, by Babu Jogesh Chunder Dutt, makes no attempt whatever to elucidate the many points of topographical interest. Like Mr. Troyer's version it strikingly demonstrates the importance of topographical researches by the frequent instances in which the translator has mistaken local names for words of ordinary meaning or *vice versâ*.[5]

The advantages offered for inquiries of this kind by a direct acquaintance with the country were fully illustrated by the very valuable contributions which General (then Captain) Cunningham was able to make to our knowledge of ancient Kaśmīr in connection with his visit to the Valley in November, 1847. Though his stay was short and primarily devoted to a survey of the conspicuous temple-ruins still extant, he succeeded in identifying correctly a number of important ancient sites such as *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna*, 'the old capital,' *Jyeṣṭheśvara*, *Mārtāṇḍa*, *Padmapura*, *Pattana*, *Khonamuṣa*.[6]

General Cunningham subsequently had occasion to discuss comprehensively these localities in his *Ancient Geography of India*,—a work which, notwithstanding its deficiencies in detail, amply testifies to the great antiquarian experience and the remarkable natural acumen of its author. The chapter on the 'kingdom of

[4] See *Report*, pp. 55 sqq.

[5] For some of the imaginary territories and places which figure in these translations; see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1898, pp. 67 sqq.

[6] See his "Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture as exhibited in the temples of Kashmir," *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 242-327.

Kaśmir' utilizes the evidence afforded by the Chinese sources and Albērūnī, and indicates correctly the old names of the petty hill-states to the south and south-east of Kaśmīr (*Rājapurī, Vallāpura, Campā, Kāṣṭhavāṭa*).[7] It further adds to the identification of particular old sites already mentioned, some others equally important.[8]

Professor LASSEN's "Indische Alterthumskunde" gives an extensive analysis of the historical contents of Kalhaṇa's work. But his explanations as to the ancient localities mentioned are generally only there well-founded where they are based on General Cunningham's researches.[9] Ancient territories and places are often connected with modern localities merely on the ground of a faint resemblance of the names, and without sufficient internal evidence. This tendency has often led that distinguished scholar to ignore the narrow territorial limits within which most of the local and ethnic names occurring in the later portion of Kalhaṇa's narrative have to be looked for. It is only natural that identifications of real or imaginary localities which transferred the scene of contemporary events described by Kalhaṇa, to territories so distant as Lahore, Eastern Afghanistan or Ajmere, have helped to produce a very ill-focussed picture of the political power and extent of the Kaśmīr kingdom in those later times.[10]

The merit of having definitely shown the right methods and means for constructing the ancient geography of Kaśmīr belongs to Professor BÜHLER. In the masterly report on his Kaśmīr tour, he has shown that for a full comprehension of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle a minute study of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr was indispensable.[11] He was the first to call attention to the ample materials which are offered for such a study by the later Sanskrit Chronicles, the Nīlamatapurāṇa, and other Kaśmīr texts. But he also realized that "some of the geographical questions will probably require a final re-examination in Kaśmīr."

Other labours prevented my lamented master from undertaking this task himself. But the very graphic and accurate notices which his Report gives of those old sites in the Valley he had himself been able to visit,[12] prove convincingly—if any proof were needed—that no important point bearing on the old topography of the country could have easily escaped his attention. The particular identifications first made by him will be duly mentioned in their proper places.

[7] See *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 89-103, 128-141.

[8] If particular proof were wanted that an acquaintance with the modern topography of a country and interest in its history, is in itself not sufficient to lead to useful results in regard to its historical geography, Mr. VIGNE's work, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842, two vols.), would supply it. This estimable artist and traveller evidently took a good deal of interest in the antiquities of the country which he traversed in many directions. But his book, as far as the old geography of Kaśmir is concerned, furnishes scarcely anything more than a series of amusingly naive etymologies of local names. Thus, *Hür*ᵉ*pōr* (S'ūrapura) is 'The Diamond City,' *Pāndrēṭhan* (Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna) the place of 'the Pandus and Duryndun' (i.e. Duryodhana), *Sōpūr* (Suyyapura), 'the Golden City,' etc.; see i. p. 267; ii. pp. 37, 167.

Mr. Vigne is responsible for the curious derivation of the name of the Kaśmir capital, *S'rinagar* (Srinagara), or as he spells it 'Siri-Nagur,' from "*Surya Nagur*, the city of the sun" (ii. p. 137). Judging from the persistence with which it has been copied by a succession of modern writers, this erroneous etymology bids fair to establish itself as a piece of orthodox creed with European visitors to the Valley.

[9] See *Ind. Alt.*, ii. pp. 885-915; iii. pp. 984-1128.

[10] I refer to locations like those of *Lohara* (Lohᵃrin) at Lahore, of the [imaginary] province *Kampanā* in eastern Afghanistan; of the *Lavanya* tribe near the Sambhar salt lake; of the feudal Chief *Koṣṭhesvara* at Kōṭgaṛh on the Satlej, etc.; comp. *Ind. Alterth.*, iii. pp. 1057, 1041, 1069, 1105, and for the supposed territorial extent of the Kaśmir state, iii. p. 1119.

[11] See *Report*, p. 58.

[12] See *loc. cit.* pp. 4-18.

CHAPTER II.

ACCOUNTS OF OLD KAS'MĪR.

SECTION I.—CLASSICAL NOTICES.

5. Our sources for the early geography of Kaśmīr may be conveniently divided into foreign notices and indigenous records. As the information supplied by the former is on the whole earlier in date though by no means more precise or important, we shall commence our review with them. Having learned what little the outer world knew or recorded of the secluded alpine land, we shall appreciate all the more the imposing array of Kaśmīrian authorities which offer themselves as our guides in and about the Valley.

Alexander's invasion.

It is significant for the isolated position which its mountain barriers assured to Kaśmīr, that we do not find any mention of the country in those accounts to which we are accustomed to look for the first truly historical notices of the North-West of India. I mean the records of Alexander's invasion. The march from Taxila to the Hydaspes (Jehlam) took the Macedonian forces along a line of route which lay comparatively near to the confines of Kaśmīr. Yet there is no notice in the accounts of Alexander's invasion which can be assumed to imply even a hearsay knowledge of the Kaśmīr Valley. On the other hand, the names of the neighbouring territories on the West and South have long ago been recognized in the names of their rulers, *Arsakes* and *Abisares*. These names clearly represent ethnic appellations derived from *Uraśā* (Ptolemy's *Οὔαρσα*) and *Abhisāra*.[1]

Ptolemy's Kaspeiria.

The only certain reference to Kaśmīr which classical literature has preserved for us, is found in PTOLEMY's geography.

There can be no doubt that D'Anville was right in recognizing its name in that of the region of KASPEIRIA, situated 'below the sources of the Bidaspes (Vitastā) and of the Sandabal (Candrabhāgā), and of the Adris (Irāvatī).'[2] Ptolemy mentions this territory correctly enough between that of the *Daradrai* or Dards on the Indus and *Kylindrine* or the land of the Kulindas on the Hyphasis (Biās) and eastwards. In his subsequent detailed description of Indian territories, however, he makes the region 'held by the Kaspeiraeans' extend eastwards from the land of the Pandoouoi on the Bidaspes as far as Mount Ouïndion or the Vindhya.[3]

It is clear that the limits here indicated, which would embrace a great portion of the present Panjāb with parts of the North-West Provinces and Central India, can have nothing to do with Kaśmīr. It has been suggested that Ptolemy's statement refers to a period when the power of the dynasty ruling over Kaśmīr actually extended over the wide territories above indicated.[4] The assumption, put into a form more in keeping with historical probability, would be that Kaśmīr was

[1] See above, notes v. 217; i. 180.

[2] See Ptolemy VII., i. 42, and pp 21, 40 sq., in *Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde, par M. D'Anville, Premier Géographe du Roi*, etc., Paris, 1775,—a work remarkable for its accuracy and sound judgment, considering the condition of Indian geography at the time when it was written.

[3] Ptol. VII. i. 47.

[4] Compare, e.g. LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, ii. p. 898; V. DE ST. MARTIN, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Sav Étrang., Ire Série, v. p. 380.

then subject to a great foreign dominion, the rulers of which in Ptolemy's source were designated, for one reason or the other, from this part of their realm.

However this may be, it is curious to note that we meet with the name KASPEIRA also in the long list of cities located within the region belonging to the Kaspeiræans. The geographical position assigned to it by Ptolemy's table (or map) would bring Kaspeira close to the junction of the Hydaspes and Zaradros (Satlej), i.e. the neighbourhood of Multān.[5] Yet it seems difficult to believe that the information originally underlying this entry referred to any other locality but Kaśmīr.[6]

It would be useless to seek now for an explanation of the erroneous location. The researches of the most competent scholars have amply proved how little reliance can be placed on the apparent exactness of Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes in the Asiatic portions of his work.[7] None of the other city names in the same list can be connected with Kaśmīr. Nor is the identification of any one of them certain, except that of Μόδουρα ἡ τῶν Θεῶν, the sacred Mathurā. This alone suffices to show how far away from Kaśmīr we are liable to be taken.

The value of Ptolemy's notice of Kaspeiria lies mainly in the fact that it presents us with an accurate enough transcript of that form of the country's name which on independent phonetic evidence we must assume as an intermediate stage between the Sanskrit *Kaśmīra* and the modern Kaśmīrī form *Kaśīr*. A well-established phonetic law indicates for the name an earlier Prakrit form **Kaśvīra* (see below, § 36). Of this form we have in *Kaspeira* (pronounced *Kaspīra*) as close a rendering as Greek writing permitted.[8] The Sanskrit form of the name, Kaśmīra, has, as far as we can go back, been always the one in official use. By it the country has been, and is still to this day, generally known abroad (Hindī *Kaśmīr*, Persian *Kashmīr*). The preservation of the popular Prakrit *Kaśvīra by Ptolemy deserves hence attention.

The Kaspeiroi of DIONYSIOS and NONNOS.

6. It is very probable that we have also to connect with Kaśmīr a curious notice which Stephanos of Byzantium has preserved from the *Bassarika*, a lost poem of Dionysios of Samos. The passage, first apparently noticed by D'Anville, mentions the KASPEIROI as a tribe famous among all Indians for their fast feet.[9] We do not know the time of this Dionysios. Nor can it be guessed from which source he may have taken the reference. That the Kaśmīrīs had abroad the reputation of being good pedestrians may be concluded from a remark of Albērūnī.[10] It is clear that the natural conditions of an alpine valley enclosed by difficult mountains are likely to develop the marching powers of its inhabitants. The Rājataraṅgiṇī gives us several instances of very respectable marching performances. It also shows at the same time the scant use made of riding animals in the mountains.[11] There is thus more than the mere name to justify us in referring the notice of Dionysios of Samos to Kaśmīr.

[5] See the old map reproduced in Dr. McCRINDLE'S *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Bombay, 1885.

[6] This had been rightly seen already by D'ANVILLE. He points out, p. 40, that the error in latitude implied by Ptolemy's position of Kaspeira (if S'rinagar is really meant) is not greater than that which can plainly be proved in the case of his entry for *Barbarei*, the port at the mouth of the Indus.

[7] See YULE, *Cathay*, p. cli.

[8] Thus the tribal name *Aspasioi* in Arrian (iv. 23) reproduces the Sanskrit *Aśvaka*; comp. McCRINDLE, *Invasion of India*, p. 333.

[9] The text of the passage is reproduced by TROYER, ii. p. 307. Another short quotation from the same text mentions the *Arienoi* along with the Κασπεῖροι ποσὶ κλειτοί.

[10] *India*, transl. Sachau, i. p. 206.

[11] Compare vii. 140, 1301; viii. 192, 379, 1588, 1796, 1887, 2673 sq.

We meet with the name of the Kaspeiroi also in the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos, where they are mentioned among the Indian tribes rising in arms against Bacchos.[12] Nonnos refers in the same passage also to the Ariēnoi, whose name we see coupled with that of the Kaspeiroi in the Bassarika. It is hence probable that Nonnos has taken his reference either from the latter work or from some common source.

Kaspatyros of Herodotos.

7. We should, indeed, have a far earlier reference to Kaśmīr in classical literature and one by no less an authority than the 'Father of history,' if the opinion of those scholars could be accepted who recognized the name of the Valley in the KASPATYROS of Herodotos. The facts are briefly these. Herodotos mentions the city of Kaspatyros as the place at which the expedition under Scylax of Koryanda, sent by Darius to explore the course of the Indus, embarked.[13] He distinctly places this city in the Paktyan land (*Πακτυϊκὴ γῆ*) which was to the north of the other Indians, apparently bordering on the Baktrian territory. The place meant by Herodotos is evidently the same that Hekataios knew before him by the name of KASPAPYROS and as a city of the Gandarians.[14]

The notice of Hekataios (circ. 549-486 B.C.) makes it clear that Kaspatyros or Kaspapyros, whichever form may be more accurate, must have been situated in that territory where the Indus first becomes navigable, i.e. in the old Gandhāra, the present Peshawar District. That the designation *Paktyikē* used by Herodotos refers to the same territory and represents the earliest mention of the ethnic name *Pakhtūn* or the modern Indian Paṭhān, is equally certain.[15] The exact site of Kaspatyros has not been identified. Considering the great changes which the local nomenclature of Gandhāra has undergone, it perhaps never will be.

Dr. WILSON was the first who distinctly attempted to connect the name of Kaspatyros with Kaśmīr.[16] But the idea seems to have occurred earlier, as D'Anville thought it necessary to refer to it. Dr. Wilson saw clearly enough that the city of Scylax must have been situated close to the Indus, and hence far away from Kaśmīr. Notwithstanding this patent fact he yet proposed to identify its name with that of Kaśmīr, on the assumption that the borders of the latter kingdom extended as far as the Indus.

Derivation of *Kaśmīra* from *Kaśyapapura

The mistake must be traced to a fanciful etymology of the latter name. Wilson assumed that the name Kaśmīr was derived from **Kaśyapapura*, a name which he supposed to have been given to the country owing to its colonization by the Ṛṣi Kaśyapa. He supports this strange derivation by a reference to 'the uniform assertion of Oriental writers.'[17] But it is difficult to believe that he could

[12] See DIONYSIAKA, xxvi. 165 sqq. I take this reference from TROYER, ii. p. 308.

[13] See iv. 44, also iii. 102. The points bearing on the interpretation of the passage are fully discussed by Sir E. BUNBURY, *History of Ancient Geography*, i. pp. 228, 256.

[14] See Stephanos Byzant. s.v. ΓΑΝΔΑΡΙΚΗ; also MÜLLER, *Fragmenta Historic. Graec.* i. p. 12.

[15] This identification seems to have been first made simultaneously by DORN and LASSEN: compare V. DE ST. MARTIN, *Étude sur la géographie grecque de l'Inde*, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Sav. Étrang., v. IIᵉ partie, pp. 17 sqq.: also his note on Kaspatyros. ib. pp. 81-86, which contains a judicious review of the whole question from the geographical point of view, and a detailed account of earlier opinions.

[16] See *Essay*, p. 117: for a reproduction of the argument see *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 136 sq.

[17] "This (the name of Cashmir) was derived, it is uniformly asserted by the Oriental writers, from the colonization of the country by Casyapa, the first settlement or city being named after him Casyapapur, converted in ordinary pronunciation into Cashappur or Caspapur, the latter of which forms is the proper reading of the Greek text;" *Essay*, p. 117.

have meant any better authorities than the Persian Tārīkhs of Kaśmīr of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, which he had occasion to consult in connection with his above-quoted Essay. They, indeed, indulge in whimsical etymologies like Kashmīr, i.e. *Kashap* (Kaśyapa) + *mar* (maṭha), etc. But neither these etymologies nor the name **Kaśyapapura* are in any way known to our genuine sources.

It may well be doubted whether Wilson would have chosen to put forth such a derivation, had the whole of the Chronicle or the other Kaśmīrian texts been at the time accessible to him. Extensive as this literature is, it does not furnish any evidence whatever for Kaśyapapura or a similar name having ever been used as a designation of the country.[18] This fact is all the more significant, as allusions to the legendary origin of the country are otherwise so frequent. The philological impossibility of deriving *Kaśmīra* from **Kaśyapapura* need scarcely be specially indicated at the present day. A reference to the theory was, however, here necessary, as it has found its way into works of authorities like RITTER, LASSEN, and HUMBOLDT, and has hence been reproduced even by recent writers.[19]

SECTION II.—CHINESE RECORDS.

8. If classical literature has thus nothing to tell us of Kaśmīr but the bare name, it is very different with the Chinese records. Buddhist pilgrims from China on their way to the sacred sites of the Indian plains visited Kaśmīr, and chose it as a resting-place. Their itineraries as well as the records of the political relations established with Kaśmīr during a period of Chinese extension to the west, furnish us with a series of interesting data for the old geography of Kaśmīr.

Earliest Chinese notice.

It seems difficult to ascertain from the materials at present accessible in translations or notices of European scholars, which is to be considered the earliest Chinese reference to Kaśmīr. The difficulty is connected with the use of the geographical term KI-PIN. This name originally and properly designated the Upper Kābul Valley.[20] At a period when Chinese knowledge of India was less developed, it appears to have been used in a vague and general fashion for a variety of territories on the northern confines of India, among them also Kaśmīr. However this may be, our loss seems scarcely to be great as these earlier notices of the Chinese Annalists do not seem to give characteristic local details.[21]

The first clear reference to Kaśmīr which I can trace at present, is contained in a record dating from A.D. 541. The notice is based on the account of an Indian envoy who reached China during the early part of the reign of the T'ang dynasty.[22] Though the name of Kaśmīr is not mentioned, it seems evident that

[18] It is curious to note that Kaśyapapura was according to an Indian authority quoted by Albērūnī, *India*, i. p. 208, one of the old names of Multān.

[19] See RITTER, *Asien*, ii. p. 1087; LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, ii. p. 635 (where for *Kaśyapapura > Kaśmīra an equally unfounded etymology from *Kaśyapamira is substituted); HUMBOLDT, *Asie Centrale*, i. p. 102; for modern works, e.g. MCCRINDLE, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 108; BEAL, *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 148.

[20] Compare the explanations of Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes in their paper *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, *Journal asiat.*, 1895, vi. pp. 371 sqq., together with the supplementary and modifying statements, ib., 1896, pp. 161 sq.

[21] These notices are enumerated by Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes, *Journal asiat.*, 1895, vi. pp. 378 sq.

[22] G. PAUTHIER, *Examen méthodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-Tchou ou l'Inde*, Paris, 1839, p. 40.

M. PAUTHIER who published the extract, was right in referring to Kaśmīr the description given of the northern portion of India as a country 'enveloped on all sides like a precious jewel by the snowy mountains, with a valley in the south which leads up to it and serves as the gate of the kingdom.' The points noticed here are exactly those with which we meet in all Chinese accounts of Kaśmīr.

HIUEN TSIANG.

9. Ninety years after the date of this notice Kaśmīr was visited by HIUEN TSIANG. He reached the Valley from Uraśā in the west and resided in it as an honoured guest for fully two years. The records of the great Chinese pilgrim contain far the fullest and most accurate description of Kaśmīr that has come down to us from a foreign visitor for the period with which we are here concerned.[23] I leave the notices of particular localities he visited to be discussed below in their proper place. Here it will be sufficient to refer briefly to his general description of the country.

Hiuen Tsiang must have entered Kaśmīr by the valley of the Vitastā, as he describes his route as leading to the south-east of Uraśā, the present Hazāra District. After 'crossing over mountains and treading along precipices' he arrived at the 'stone gate, which is the western entrance of the kingdom.' We shall see below that this gate known also to Ou-k'ong and Albērūnī, was the frontier watch-station or Dvāra, in the gorge of Bārāmūla (Varāhamūla). He passed the first night on Kaśmīr soil at *Huṣkapura*, the modern Uṣkür, opposite Bārāmūla, and then proceeded to the capital, which he describes exactly in the position of the present S'rīnagar. There he was lodged in the convent known as the *Jayendravihāra*, and named also in Rājataraṅgiṇī.[24]

A two years' stay, though chiefly passed in the study of 'the Sūtras and S'āstras' must have enabled Hiuen Tsiang to acquaint himself thoroughly with the Valley. His description of 'the kingdom *Kia-shi-mi-lo*,' shows clearly that the geographical application of the term Kaśmīr must have been then, just as now, restricted to the great basin of the Vitastā, and the side valleys drained by its tributaries above the Bārāmūla defile. He notices that the country is enclosed on all sides by mountains which are very high "Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted." These natural bulwarks protected the country from neighbouring states 'which had never succeeded in subduing it.' Though the climate is cold and the snow plentiful, the soil is described as fertile and abounding with fruits and flowers. The inhabitants seem to have changed as little as the soil since Hiuen Tsiang's days. It is still easy to recognize in them the people whom he describes as "light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. The people are handsome in appearance, but they are given to cunning. They love learning and are well instructed." "Since centuries learning has been held in great respect in this kingdom," and Hiuen Tsiang dwells with evident pleasure on the recollection of the learned conferences he had with the Kaśmīr doctors of the sacred law.

Kaśmīr had, in earlier times, played a great part in the traditions of the Buddhist Church. Hiuen Tsiang relates at length the legends how the Arhat Madhyāntika had first spread the law of Buddha in the land; how, in the time of Aśoka, the five hundred Saints had taken up their abode there; and how, finally, under the great Kaniṣka, King of Gandhāra, Kaśmīr had been the scene of the universal Council which fixed and expounded the Sacred Canon. Yet he observes

[23] See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. pp. 148 sqq.; *Vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, transl. Julien, pp. 90 sqq.

[24] See above, note iii. 355.

that in his own time the kingdom, as a whole, was "not much given to the faith, and that the temples of the heretics were their sole thought."[25]

It is probably owing to this not very flourishing condition of contemporary Buddhism that Hiuen Tsiang mentions only a comparatively small number of Vihāras and Stūpas in the Valley. Among the Stūpas there were four ascribed to Aśoka, and one beneath which Kaniṣka was believed to have deposited the canonical texts as fixed by his Council, engraved on sheets of copper. None of these structures has yet been identified with any certainty. But in their description the pilgrim furnishes us incidentally with a valuable topographical indication.

Speaking of the convent which prided itself on the possession of a miraculous tooth of Buddha, he indicates its site as being about 10 li or circ. 2 miles 'to the south-east of the new city, and to the north of the old city.'[26] This proves that the capital of Hiuen Tsiang's time, which corresponds to the present S'rīnagar, was then a comparatively new foundation, exactly as the Chronicle's account has it. At the same time the reference to the 'old city' enables us to fix with absolute certainty the site of the earlier capital, Aśoka's S'rīnagarī, at the present Pāndrēṭhan, the *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* of Kalhaṇa.[27]

Hiuen Tsiang's stay in Kaśmīr.

The two full years which Hiuen Tsiang, according to his own statement, spent in Kaśmīr,[28] represent a longer halt than any which the pious traveller allowed himself elsewhere during his sixteen years' wanderings through the whole length of India and Central Asia.[29] With all due respect for the spiritual fervour of the pilgrim and the excellence of his Kaśmīrian preceptors, it is difficult to suppress the surmise that the material attractions of the Valley had something to do with this long stay. The cool air of Kaśmīr, the northern aspect of its scenery and products, have at all times exercised a powerful charm over those visitors who, themselves born in colder climes, have come to the Valley from the heat and dust of the Indian plains. Just as these advantages attract in yearly increasing numbers European visitors from India proper, so the modern Turkī pilgrims from Kashgar, Yarkand, and other parts of Central Asia, whether on their way to Mecca or on their return, never fail to make a long stay in Kaśmīr.

We should undoubtedly find the example of the modern Ḥājīs followed also by Buddhist pilgrims if there were still any to take their way from those northern regions through Kaśmīr to the holy places of India. It would be an interesting task to examine to what extent the fame of Kaśmīr as the 'paradis terrestre des Indes,'—a fame unknown to genuine Indian tradition,—is the creation of northern visitors, both European and Asiatic. Here it may suffice to add that Hiuen Tsiang before he reached Kaśmīr, must have had already his experience of the torrid heat and the other amenities of a Panjāb summer.[30] We shall also see that the example of the other Chinese pilgrim whom we are able to follow on his visit to Kaśmīr, points exactly to the same conclusion.

Hiuen Tsiang's narrative tells us that he left the Valley going in a south-westerly direction. He reached *Pun-nu-tso*, the PARṆOTSA of the Chronicle and the modern Prūnṭs, after crossing mountains and passing precipices.[31] As the Tōṣᵃmaidān route is the direct and most frequented route to that territory, it is very probable that

[25] See *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 158.
[26] *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 158.
[27] See below, §§ 88, 89.
[28] *Vie de H. T.*, p. 96.
[29] Compare the table of dates for *Hiuen-Tsiang's* itinerary in CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 563 sqq.
[30] See CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 563 sq.
[31] *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 162; *Vie de H. T.*, p. 96.

Hiuen Tsiang also followed it. Parṇotsa as well as Rājapurī (Ho-lo-she-pu-lo) to which the pilgrim subsequently proceeded had, at the time of his visit, no independent ruler, but were subject to Kaśmīr.

Kaśmīr in T'ang Annals.

10. The next Chinese notice of Kaśmīr, and one which is of considerable historical interest, is contained in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty. These mention the arrival at the imperial court of the first embassy from Kaśmīr, sent by King Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li (in or shortly after A.D. 713), and that of another embassy sent by his brother and successor Mu-to-pi. We have had already occasion to note the identity of these two kings with the Candrāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa (Lalitāditya) of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[32]

The description of Kaśmīr, which is coupled with this record of the T'ang Annals, appears to be in the main copied from Hiuen Tsiang's Si-yu-ki. But in addition it furnishes us with a reference to the Mo-ho-to-mo-loung or *Mahāpadma* lake, i.e. the Volur, and an exact statement as to the Kaśmīr capital at the time. In my *Notes on Ou-k'ong's account of Kaśmīr*,[33] I have shown that the *Po-lo-ou-lo-po-lo* of the Annals is a correct reproduction of Pravarapura, the old and official name of S'rīnagar. In the same way the name *Mi-na-si-to* given to the great river which flows to the west of the capital, represents a correct enough transcription of Vitastā. Both names are recorded in the form which they bore in the official Sanskrit, and are, therefore, evidently taken from the information given by the Kaśmīr envoys.

Ou-k'ong.

11. Not many years after Muktāpīḍa's embassy, Kaśmīr was visited by another Chinese pilgrim, Ou-k'ong. Though greatly inferior to Hiuen Tsiang in learning or power of observation, he has yet left us information regarding the country which is of interest and value. The itinerary of Ou-k'ong, the discovery and recent publication of which we owe to Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes,[34] contains the reminiscences of forty years' wanderings, taken down after the pilgrim's return to China, and in a form regrettably brief. But whether it be due to Ou-k'ong's long stay in Kaśmīr or to other causes, his account is fortunately far more detailed in the case of Kaśmīr than in that of any other territory visited by him. His description of the Valley and the several sites mentioned by him have been fully discussed by me in the separate paper already quoted I need hence indicate here only the main results of this analysis.

Ou-k'ong reached Kaśmīr in the year 759 from Gandhāra, presumably by the same route as Hiuen Tsiang had followed. He took there the final vows of a Buddhist monk and spent there fully four years engaged, as his itinerary tells us, in pilgrimages to holy sites, and in the study of Sanskrit.[35] Though he is said to have studied from daybreak to night-fall his diligence does not seem to have brought him much literary culture. This is curiously shown by the popular Apabhraṁśa forms in which our pilgrim records the names of the monasteries he specially singles out for notice. Four of these I have been able to identify with Vihāras mentioned in the Chronicle, and two of them have left their names to villages which survive to the present day.[36]

[32] Compare notes iv. 45, 126.

From Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 189 sqq., it appears that the names of the Kaśmīr kings in this Chinese record, and that of the Mahāpadma lake were first correctly identified by Klaproth, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, ii. pp. 275 sqq., a work which is at present not accessible to me.

[33] See pp. 26 sqq. in the above-quoted paper published in the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy, Vienna (Philos.-histor. Class), 1896, vol. cxxxv.

[34] See *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong, Journal asiat.*, 1895, vi. pp. 341 sqq.

[35] See *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, p. 356.

[36] See above, notes i. 147; iii. 9; iv. 188, 211.

While Hiuen Tsiang mentions only about one hundred convents in the country, Ou-k'ong found more than three hundred, and speaks in addition of the number of Stūpas and sacred images as considerable. We may conclude from this that there had been a rise in the popularity of Buddhism in the period intervening between the visits of the two pilgrims.

Routes from Kaśmīr.

Ou-k'ong describes the kingdom of Kaśmīr correctly enough as enclosed on all sides by mountains which form its natural ramparts. Only three roads have been opened through them, and these again are secured by gates. In the east a road leads to *T'ou-fan* or Tibet; in the north there is a road which reaches into *Po-liu* or Baltistān; the road which starts from 'the western gate' goes to *K'ien-t'o-lo* or Gandhāra.[37]

We have here a clear enough description of the great routes through the mountains which since ancient times have formed the main lines of communication between the Valley and the outer world. The road to *T'ou-fan* corresponds undoubtedly to the present route over the Zoji-Lā to Ladākh and hence to Tibet. The road to *Po-liu* is represented by the present 'Gilgit Road,' leading into the Upper Kiṣangangā Valley and from there to Skardo or Astōr on the Indus. The third road can be no other than the route which leaves the Valley by the gorge of Bārāmūla and follows the Vitastā in its course to the west. We have seen already that Hiuen Tsiang followed it when he entered Kaśmīr by 'the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom.' There can be no doubt that in the gates ('fermetures' of the French translation) closing these roads we have a reference to the ancient frontier watch-stations or Dvāras, which we shall have occasion to discuss below.

Besides these three roads, Ou-k'ong knew yet a fourth: "this, however, is always closed, and opens only when an imperial army honours it with a visit." It is probable that this curious notice must be referred to one of the routes leading over the Pīr Pantsāl range to the south. Owing possibly to political causes these routes may have been closed to ordinary traffic at the time of Ou-k'ong's visit.[38]

The political relations between China and the northern kingdoms of India seem to have ceased soon after the time of Ou-k'ong. This was probably due to the Chinese power under the later T'ang gradually losing ground in Central Asia before the Uigurs and the Tibetans. The pilgrimages of Chinese Buddhists, however, to India continued during the next two centuries. Of one at least of these pilgrim parties it is recorded that it took the route through Kaśmīr.[39] But no detailed account bearing on Kaśmīr has yet come to light of these later pilgrimages.

SECTION III.—MUHAMMADAN NOTICES.

Kaśmīr closed to Arabs.

12. After the Greeks and the Chinese the early Muhammadan writers are our next foreign informants regarding the historical geography of India. If, with one very remarkable exception, they have nothing to tell us in detail regarding Kaśmīr topography, the explanation is not far to seek. The first rush of Arab invasion in the Indus Valley during the eighth century had carried the Muham-

[37] See *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, p. 356.

[38] See *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 24 sq.

[39] Compare Yule, *Cathay*, p. lxxi., and Julien, *Journal Asiat.*, 1847, p. 43.

madan arms at times close enough to the confines of Kaśmīr.[40] No permanent conquest, however, had been effected even in the plains of the Northern Panjāb. Protected in the west by the unbroken resistance of the Śāhis of Kābul and in the south by a belt of war-like Hindu hill-states, Kaśmīr had never been seriously threatened. Even when Islām at last, after a long struggle, victoriously overspread the whole of Northern India, Kaśmīr behind its mountain ramparts remained safe for centuries longer.

Conquest and trade were the factors which brought so large a part of the ancient world within the ken of the early Muhammadan travellers and geographers. Both failed them equally in the case of Kaśmīr. For a classical witness shows us how the system of seclusion, ever easy to maintain in a country so well guarded by nature as Kaśmīr, had been developed and strengthened at the approach of danger until it hermetically sealed the Valley to all foreigners without exception.

We can thus scarcely be surprised at seeing that even the well-informed Al-Mas'ūdī who had personally visited the Indus Valley, is unable to tell us anything more exact about Kaśmīr than that it is a kingdom with many towns and villages enclosed by very high and inaccessible mountains, through which leads a single passage closed by a gate.[41] The notices we find in the works of Al-Qazwīnī and Al-Idrīsī are practically restricted to the same statement. The references of other Arab geographers are even more succinct and vague.[42]

ALBĒRŪNĪ's interest in Kaśmīr.

13. Notwithstanding the circumstances above indicated, Arabic literature furnishes us with a very accurate and valuable account of old Kaśmīr. We owe it to the research and critical penetration of ALBĒRŪNĪ of whom, indeed, it may be said as of an early British explorer of Afghānistān,[43] that he could look through the mountains. The great Muhammadan scholar had evidently utilized every opportunity during this long stay at Ghazna and in the Panjāb (A.D. 1017-30) to collect information on Kaśmīr.

His interest in the distant alpine valley is easily understood. He, himself, tells us in the first chapter of his great work on India, how Hindu sciences, when the victories of Maḥmūd had made the Hindus 'like atoms of dust scattered in all directions,' had retired far away from the conquered parts of the country. They "fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kaśmīr, Benares and other places." [44] In another passage he speaks again of Benares and Kaśmīr as the high schools of Hindu sciences.[45] He repeatedly refers to Kaśmīrian authors, and from the notices shown below it is evident that among his informants, if not among his actual teachers, there were Kaśmīrian scholars.[46]

[40] See REINAUD, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 195 sqq.; ALBĒRŪNĪ, *India*, i. p. 21.

[41] See *Al-Mas'ūdī's* "Meadows of Gold," transl. Sprenger, i. p. 382. The number of towns and villages is estimated at from sixty to seventy thousand; regarding the traditional number here given see below, § 87.

[42] The silence of the early Muhammadan geographers as regards Kaśmīr was duly noticed by RITTER, *Asien*, ii. p. 1115.

For *Al-Qazwīnī*, see GILDEMEISTER, *De rebus Indicis*, p. 210; for *Al-Idrīsī*, ELLIOT, *History of India*, i. pp. 90, sq.

For the notices of other Arabic geographers, see *Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. De Goeje, i. p. 4; ii. pp. 9, 445; v. p. 364; vi. pp. 5, 18, 68; vii. pp. 89. 687; also *Abū-l-Fidā*, ed Reinaud, pp. 361, 506.

[43] Mountstuart Elphinstone.

[44] *India*, transl. Sachau, i. p. 22

[45] *India*, i. p. 173.

[46] ALBĒRŪNĪ, ii. 181, refers particularly to Kaśmīrian informants with whom he conversed regarding the miracle of the '*Kūdaishahr*,' i.e. the *Kapaṭeśvara* Tīrtha (see note i. 32). The way in which the pilgrimage to this spot was described to Albērūnī, makes it quite certain that his informants were personally familiar

The curious fact that Albērūnī, himself, composed certain Sanskrit treatises for circulation among 'the people of Kashmīr,' proves beyond all doubt the existence of special relations between the great *Mleccha* scholar and that jealously guarded country. These relations seem strange considering what Albērūnī himself tells us so graphically about the rigid isolation of Kaśmīr. We can scarcely explain them otherwise than by personal intercourse with Kaśmīrian Paṇḍits.[47]

In view of these indications we can hardly go wrong in attributing a great portion of Albērūnī's detailed knowledge of Kaśmīr topography to these learned informants. But we also know that the chances of war had given him an opportunity of supplementing his knowledge in part by personal observation. Albērūnī refers in two places to his personal acquaintance with the fortress LAUHŪR (or Lahūr) on the confines of Kaśmīr.[48] I have proved that Albērūnī's Lauhūr is identical with the castle of *Lohara*, so frequently mentioned in the Chronicle, the position of which is marked by the present Loh°rin on the southern slope of the Pīr Pantsāl range. 'Loharakoṭṭa' is undoubtedly the same as the Fort of *Lōhkōt* before which, according to the uniform report of the Muhammadan historians, Maḥmūd's attempt at an invasion of Kaśmīr was brought to a standstill. It is hence certain that Albērūnī had accompanied this unsuccessful expedition, which probably took place in A.D. 1021. Though it failed to reach Kaśmīr, it must have given Albērūnī ample opportunity to collect local information and to acquaint himself with the topography of those mountain regions which formed Kaśmīr's strongest bulwark to the south.

ALBĒRŪNĪ'S description of Kaśmīr.

14. Albērūnī's main account of Kaśmīr is contained in Chapter xviii. which gives 'various notes on the countries of the Hindus, their rivers and their ocean.'[49]

with the Tirtha. The same must be said of his note on the pilgrimage to the temple of S'ārada (see Note *B*, i. 37, § 13). The details regarding a local Kaśmīr festival (i. p. 178), the anecdote about the propagation of the *S'iṣyah'tārṛtti* in Kaśmīr (i. p. 135) are such as could not well have reached Albērūnī otherwise but by verbal communication.

Writing himself in A.D. 1030 he refers to a statement contained in the almanac for the S'aka year 951 (A.D. 1029-30), 'which had come from Kashmīr' (i. p. 391) He could scarcely have secured such an almanac except through Kaśmīrian Paṇḍits who, even at the present day, wherever they may be, make it a point to provide themselves from home with their local *nakṣatrapattrikā*.

For references to Kaśmīrian authors or texts specially connected with Kaśmīr, see i. pp. 126, 157, 298, 334; i. p. 54 (Viṣṇudharma), etc. Compare also the very detailed account of the calendar reckonings current in Kaśmīr and the conterminous territories, ii. p. 8

[47] See *India*, Preface, p. xxiv.; and Prof. Sachau's introduction to his edition of the text of Albērūnī's *India*, p. xx.

Is it too much to suppose that Albērūnī had at one time or the other Kaśmīrian Paṇḍits in his employ? We know that in preparing the vast materials digested in his book he worked largely with the help of indigenous scholars. Judging from his own description of the state of Hindu sciences in the conquered territories and the bitter enmity prevailing amongst their Hindu inhabitants against the dominant Mlecchas, it is doubtful whether he could have secured there such assistance as he required.

Albērūnī himself tells us (i. p. 24) where he describes so touchingly the difficulties in the way of his Indian studies: "I do not spare either money or trouble in collecting Sanskrit books from places where I supposed they were likely to be found, and in procuring for myself, even from very remote places, Hindu scholars who understand them, and are able to teach me."

Kaśmīr has always had an over-production of intellect. Bilhaṇa's classical example, amongst other evidence, shows that Kaśmīrian scholars have been as ready in old days as at present to leave their homes for distant places, wherever their learning could secure for them a livelihood (compare BÜHLER, Introd. to the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, p. xvii.; also *Indische Palæographie*, p. 56).

[48] See above, Note *E*, iv. 177, §§ 12. 13.

[49] See *India*, i. pp 206 sqq.

Compared with the description of the rest of India, it is disproportionately detailed.

Albērūnī first sketches in broad outlines but correctly enough the political division of the mountain region which lies between the great Central Asian watershed and the Panjāb plain. He then refers to the pedestrian habits of the Kaśmīrians, and notes the use by the nobles of palankins carried on the shoulders of men, a custom fully illustrated by the Chronicle and accounted for by the nature of the communications in the mountains.[50]

What follows deserves full quotation. "They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people."

We have here a full and clear statement of that system of guarding all frontier-passes which we have found alluded to already in the Chinese records. It explains the great part which is played in the Chronicles by the frontier watch-stations, the *Dvāras* and *Draṅgas*, and is of all the more interest as the last traces of the system, in the form of *rāhdārī*, have disappeared in Kaśmīr only within quite recent memory.[51]

Route into Kaś

Albērūnī next proceeds to describe the 'best known entrance to Kashmīr.' Though the starting point of his itinerary cannot be identified with absolute certainty, it is clear that he means the route which ascends the Jehlam Valley. From 'the town *Babrahān*, half-way between the rivers Sindh (Indus) and Jailam,' eight Farsakh are counted 'to the bridge over the river, where the water of the *Kusnārī* is joined by that of the *Mahwī*, both of which come from the mountains of Shamīlān and fall into the Jailam.' Though there seems to be here some slight confusion I have little doubt that the point meant 'by the bridge over the river' corresponds to the present Muzaffarābād, at the confluence of the Jehlam and Kiṣangaṅgā.

The easiest route to Kaśmīr from the west leads through the open central portion of Hazāra (Uraśā) to Mansahra, hence across the Kunhār and Kiṣangaṅgā rivers to Muzaffarābād, and then up by the right side of the Jehlam Valley to Bārāmūla.[52] In *Kusnārī* it is easy to recognize with Prof. Sachau the present Kunhār River which falls into the Jehlam a few miles below its great bend at Muzaffarābād.[53] The *Mahwī* is evidently meant to designate the Kiṣangaṅgā.[54] If thus interpreted the only error in Albērūnī's description is that it makes the

[50] Compare, e.g. *Rājat.* iv. 407; v. 33, 219; vii. 478; viii. 2298, 2636, 2674, 3165, etc.

Regarding the word *katt*, which Albērūnī gives as the indigenous term of the palankin, see note iv. 407.

[51] Compare my *Notes on the ancient topography of the Pīr Pantsāl Route, J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 382 sqq.; also below, § 40.

[52] This route is described, e.g. by Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 528, 'as the easiest route from the Panjab to Kaśmir.'

[53] *Kunhār* represents the regular phonetic derivative of a Skr. **Kuṣnārī*, medial *ṣ* becoming always *h* under a phonetic law common to Kaśmīrī and the related dialects; for the change *ṣn* > *nh* compare Dr. Grierson, *Phonology of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, Z.D.M.G.*, 1896, p. 33.

[54] I am unable to account for the name *Mahwī*. Could it be the corruption of an Apabhraṁśa derivative of *Madhumatī*, a name of an affluent of the Kiṣangaṅgā, used also in a Māhātmya for the latter river itself? See Note *B*, i. 37, § 16.

Kunhār join the Kiṣangaṅgā, whereas in reality the former falls into the Jehlam after its junction with the Kiṣangaṅgā.

I have shown above, in note v. 215, that the route here indicated, which was a favourite one until a few years ago the "Jehlam Valley Tonga Road" was constructed, is distinctly referred to already in Kalhaṇa's account of S'aṁkaravarman's march to and from Uraśā. The distance of eight Farsakh corresponds according to Albērūnī's reckoning to about thirty-nine English miles.[55]

Referring to the map and the modern route measurements,[56] this distance carries us to a point between Mansahra and the next stage, Abbottabad. It is just in this neighbourhood that according to the evidence given in the above-quoted note, the old capital of Uraśā must be located. 'Babrahān' cannot be identified at present. It is, perhaps, intended to represent the name of this old town which could fairly be described as situated midway between the Indus and Jehlam. From Muẓaffarābād onwards—where there is still a bridge over the Kiṣangangā, just as at the time (1783) when Forster crossed here on his way from Kaśmīr to Attock,[57]—we can follow the route quite plainly.

Albērūnī counts five days of march 'to the beginning of the ravine whence the river Jailam comes,' that is to the entrance of the gorge through which the river flows immediately below Bārāmūla. This estimate agrees closely with the actual road distance between Muẓaffarābād and Bārāmūla which is given by Mr. Drew as eighty-four miles.[58] At the other or Kaśmīr end of the ravine Albērūnī places quite correctly 'the watch-station *Dvār*' (Skr. *Dvāra*), the position of which, as we shall see below, is marked to this day by the site of the old gate known as *Drang*.

Valley of Kaśmir.

"Thence, leaving the ravine you enter the plain, and reach in two more days *Addishtān*, the capital of Kashmīr, passing on the road the village *Ūshkārā*." All this is perfectly accurate. Adhiṣṭhāna, 'the capital,' is, of course, meant for S'rīnagara,[59] and Ūshkārā for *Uṣkür*, opposite Bārāmūla, the ancient Huṣkapura already mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.[60] Albērūnī's mention of Uṣkūr which is on the left river bank, shows that then as now the ordinary road from the 'Gate of Varāhamūla' to S'rīnagara passed on the left or southern side of the Valley. Two marches are still counted for this part of the journey.

The capital is correctly described as "being built along both banks of the river Jailam, which are connected with each other by bridges and ferry boats." It

[55] Compare Prof. Sachau's note, *India*, ii. p. 316. Albērūnī values his *farsakh* at 4 Arabian miles or approximately 4 × 2186 yards. Hence 1 *farsakh* = 4$\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{7}\frac{3}{6}$ English miles.

[56] See Drew, *loc. cit.*

[57] See G. Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, 1808, ii. p. 46.

[58] See *loc. cit.*

According to Mr. Drew's table six marches are counted, but one of them is very short. On the modern route following the opposite side of the river, five marches are now reckoned from Domēl, opposite to Muẓaffarābād, to Bārāmūla.

[59] *Adhiṣṭhāna*, used again ii. p. 181, is a term which indicates that Albērūnī's informant was a Sanskrit-speaking person. The common designation of the capital was *S'rinagara* or simply *Nagara*; see § 91 below.

[60] The text as rendered by Prof. Sachau, speaks of "*Ushkārā* which lies on both sides of the Valley, in the same manner as *Baramūlā*." There is either some corruption in the text here, or Albērūnī's informant has not made himself sufficiently clear. What he must have meant is that Ushkārā lay on the opposite side of the river in the same manner as Baramūlā, that is, at the entrance of the ravine. Barāmūlā as the text spells the word, reproduces an earlier form of the Kaśmīrī *Varahmul*, from Skr. *Varāhamūla*.

is said to cover 'a space of four Farsakh.'. This, if interpreted to mean 'a space of four Farsakh in circumference,' would not be too far from the truth, assuming that all suburban areas around the city are included in the estimate. The course of the river above and below the capital is rightly enough traced as far as the Valley is concerned. "When the Jailam has left the mountains, and has flowed two days' journey, it passes through Addiṣhṭān. Four Farsakh farther on it enters a swamp of one square Farsakh." Here, of course, the Volur lake (Mahāpadma) is meant. "The people have their plantations on the borders of this swamp, and on such parts of it as they manage to reclaim. Leaving this swamp, the Jailam passes the town Ūṣhkārā, and then enters the above-mentioned ravine."

The only mistake, and this one easily explained, is contained in the account of the river's origin. It is described as rising "in the mountains *Haramakōt*, where also the Ganges rises; cold, impenetrable regions where the snow never melts nor disappears." It is easy to recognize here the reference to Mount *Haramukuṭa*, and the sacred Gaṅgā-lake at the foot of its glacier in which Kaśmīrian tradition places the source of the Sindhu river.[61] The latter is the greatest tributary of the Vitastā within Kaśmīr and is traditionally identified with the Gaṅgā, as on the other hand the Vitastā with the Yamunā.[62] The special sanctity of the Sindhu ('Uttaragaṅgā') and the popularity of its supposed source as a pilgrimage place, sufficiently account for the substitution in Albērūnī's notice.

Entering the open plain of the Kaśmīr Valley from the Bārāmūla gorge, 'you have for a march of two more days on your left the mountains of Bolor and Shamīlān, Turkish tribes who are called *Bhattavaryān*. Their king has the title of *Bhatta-Shāh*.' It is clear that Albērūnī's informant here means the mountain-ranges to the north and north-west of the Valley which form its confines towards the Dard country and Baltistān. The latter has been known by the name of Bolor for many centuries.[63] I am unable to trace in Kaśmīrian or other sources the names of 'Shamīlān' and 'Bhatta.'[64] But as a subsequent remark mentions '*Gilgit, Aswira*, and *Shiltās*,' that is the modern Gilgit, Hasōr (Astōr), and Cilās, as their chief places, there can be no doubt that the inhabitants of the Dard territory to the north-west of Kaśmīr are meant, together with the Baltīs.

Mount Kulārjak.

"Marching on the right side [of the river], you pass through villages, one close to the other, south of the capital, and thence you reach the mountain *Kulārjak*, which is like a cupola, similar to the mountain Dunbāwand (Damāwand). The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Tākeshar and Lauhāwar (Lahore)."

I have already shown[65] that the mountain here described is the Taṭakūṭī Peak

[61] See note i. 57.

[62] See below, § 68.

In *Haracar.* iv. 54, the Vitastā itself is designated as the 'Gaṅgā of the North' (*Uttaragaṅgā*) which would render the location of its source in the lake of Haramukuṭa still more intelligible from a traditional point of view.

[63] Compare YULE, *Marco Polo*, i. p. 187 sq.; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.* p. 83.

[64] Albērūnī's *Bhatta* may possibly represent the term *Bhuṭṭa* or *Bhauṭṭa* (the modern Kś. Buṭ*) which is applied in the Sanskrit Chronicles to the population of Tibetan descent generally, from Ladākh to Baltistān (see note i. 312). Albērūnī calls their language Turkish, but it must be remembered that he has spoken previously (i. p. 206) of 'the Turks of Tibet' as holding the country to the east of Kaśmīr. There the Tibetans in Ladākh and adjacent districts are clearly intended.

[65] See Note *E*, iv. 177, § 12.

(33° 45′ lat. 74° 33′ long.) in the central part of the Pīr Pantsāl range. Albērūnī puts the distance between this peak and the Kaśmīr plain at two Farsakh. This estimate is somewhat too low, inasmuch as the direct distance on the map between the peak and the nearest point of the level ground in the Valley is about fifteen miles.

The fortress *Lauhūr*.

He is, however, quite exact in placing the fortress *Lauhūr*, i.e. the present Lohᵃrin to the west of it. The entrance to the Lohᵃrin Valley lies almost due west of Taṭakūṭī. To the south of the peak was 'the fortress Rājagirī' which is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa, vii. 1270; it lay probably somewhere in the upper Sūran Valley. Albērūnī speaks of these two hill fortresses as 'the strongest places' he had ever seen.

He had personally had an opportunity of judging of their strength when accompanying Maḥmūd's expedition against Kaśmīr. On that occasion he had made the observation of the latitude of Lauhūr : Lohara to which he refers in another chapter of his work.[66] The result of this observation, 33° 40′, as shown in the author's *Canon Masudicus*, very closely approaches the real one, which is 33° 48′ according to the Survey map.

It is very probable that he obtained at the same occasion the very accurate information regarding the distance from Lauhūr to the Kaśmīr capital. He gives it as fifty-six miles, "half the way being rugged country, the other half plain." Albērūnī's measurement according to the previously stated valuation, represents about sixty-nine English miles. This is but little in excess of the actual road distance *viâ* the Tōsᵃmaidān Pass as estimated by me, on the tour referred to in the above note. The description of the road, too, corresponds closely with the actual character of the route.

Albērūnī closes his account of Kaśmīr geography with a reference to the town of *Rājāwarī* which is the Rājapurī of the Chronicles, the modern Rajaurī.[67] In Hindu times it was the capital of a small hill-state, situated immediately to the south of the Pīr Pantsāl range and often tributary to Kaśmīr. Albērūnī distinctly names it as the farthest place to which Muhammadan merchants of his time traded, and beyond which they never passed. We have already seen what the connection was which enabled him to collect reliable and detailed information of the region beyond that barrier. As another proof of the accurate knowledge thus acquired, we may finally mention his description of the Kaśmīr climate and its explanation, which is far more exact than any account available to us previous to the second quarter of this century.[68]

SECTION IV.—INDIAN NOTICES.

Deficiency of non-Kaśmīrian notices.

15. Nothing, perhaps, can illustrate better the lamentable lack of exact geographical information in general Sanskrit literature than to turn from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims and Albērūnī, to what Indian authors, not Kaśmīrians themselves, can tell us of the Valley. Were we to judge merely from the extreme scantiness of the data to be gleaned from their extant works, we might easily be led to assume that Kaśmīr was to them a country foreign and remote in

[66] See *India*, i. p. 317, with Prof. Sachau's note ii. p. 341, and above, Note *E*, iv. 177, § 12.

[67] See note vi. 286.

[68] See *India*, i. p. 211, and below, § 77.

every way. However, we observe the same vagueness and insufficiency of local references in the case of territories immediately adjoining the old centres of literary activity. It is hence evident that the conspicuous absence of useful information on Kaśmīr may be attributed equally well to the general character of that literature.

The name *Kaśmīra*, with its derivative *Kāśmīra*, as the designation of the country and its inhabitants respectively, is found already in the Gaṇas to Pāṇini's great grammatical work, and in Patañjali's comments thereon.[69] The Mahābhārata, too, refers in several passages to the *Kāśmīras* and their rulers, but in a fashion so general and vague that nothing more but the situation of the country in the hill region to the north can be concluded therefrom.[70] The Purāṇas enumerate the Kāśmīras accordingly in their lists of northern nations. But none of the tribal names, partly semi-mythical, mentioned along with them in the Purāṇas examined by me, indicate any more distinct location of the country.[71]

VARĀHAMIHIRA.

Varāhamihira (circ. 500 A.D.) in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* includes the Kāśmīras curiously enough in the north-eastern division. Among the regions and peoples named under the same heading there are a number of purely legendary character like 'the kingdom of the dead' (*naṣṭarājya*), the 'gold region,' 'the one-footed people,' etc. But besides these names and others of a different type which cannot be clearly identified, we recognize the names of tribes which undoubtedly must be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Kaśmīr. Thus we have the *Abhisāras*, *Daradas*, *Dārvas*, *Khaśas*, *Kīras*, and somewhat more distant the country of *Kulūta* (Kulu) and the *Kauṇindas* or *Kaulindras* (Ptolemy's Κυλινδρίνη).[72]

Perhaps the most specific piece of information regarding Kaśmīr that Sanskrit literature outside the Valley can furnish, is conveyed in the term *Kāśmīra* or *Kāśmīraja* which designates the saffron, and according to the lexicographers also the root of the *kuṣṭha* or costus speciosus. As both the saffron and the Kuṣṭha are since early times famous products of Kaśmīr, the origin of the term is clear enough.[73]

SECTION V.—THE KAŚMĪR CHRONICLES.

Abundance of Kaśmīrian sources.

16. The want of detailed and exact geographical information just noticed in old Indian literature generally stands in striking contrast to the abundance of data supplied for our knowledge of old Kaśmīr by the indigenous sources. The explanation is surely not to be found in the mere fact that Kaśmīrian authors naturally knew more of their own country than others, for whom that alpine territory was a distant, more or less inaccessible region. For were it so, we might

[69] See the references in *P. W.*, s.v. *Kāśmīra*, and in supplement, v. p. 1273. The references to other texts quoted in this paragraph have also been taken from that work except where otherwise specified.

[70] Compare in particular *Mahābh.* II. xxvii. 17.

[71] Compare *Vāyupur.* xlv. 120; xlvii. 46; *Padmapur.* I. vi. 48, 62; *Bhāgavatapur.* XII. i. 39; *Viṣṇupur.* IV. xxiv. 18.

[72] See *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, xiv. 29 sqq. and *Ind. Ant.* 1893, pp. 172, 181; also ALBĒRŪNĪ, *India*, i. p. 303.

[73] Regarding the saffron cultivation of Kaśmīr, compare LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 342, and below, § 78.

The *kuṣṭha*, now known in Kaśmīr by the name of *kuṭh*, is the aromatic root of the *Saussurea Lappa* which grows in abundance on the mountains of Kaśmīr; see LAWRENCE, p. 77. The *kuṭh* is still largely exported to China. It was, perhaps, one of the medicinal plants which Hiuen Tsiang particularly notices among the Kaśmīr products; see *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 148.

reasonably expect to find ourselves equally well informed about the early topography of other parts of India, which have furnished their contingent to the phalanx of Sanskrit authors. Yet unfortunately this is by no means the case.

The advantageous position we enjoy in Kaśmīr is due to a combination of causes of which the most important ones may at once be here indicated. In the first place, we owe it to the preservation of connected historical records from a comparatively early date, which acquaint us with a large number of particular localities and permit us to trace their connection with the country's history.

Another important advantage results from the fact that Kaśmīr, thanks chiefly to its geographical position and the isolation resulting from it, has escaped those great ethnic and political changes which have from time to time swept over the largest portion of India. Local tradition has thus remained undisturbed and still clings to all prominent sites with that tenacity which is characteristic of alpine tracts all over the world. The information preserved by this local tradition in Kaśmīr has often proved for our written records a most welcome supplement and commentary.

Finally, it must be remembered that in a small mountain country like Kaśmīr, where the natural topographical features are so strongly marked and so permanent, the changes possible in historical times as regards routes of communication, sites for important settlements, cultivated area, etc., are necessarily restricted. The clear and detailed evidence which the facts of the country's actual topography thus furnish, enables us to elucidate and to utilize our earlier data, even where they are scanty, with far greater certainty and accuracy than would be possible in another territory.

Kalhaṇa's topographical data.

17. Epigraphical records on stone or copper, such as elsewhere in India form the safest basis for the study of local topography, have not yet come to light in Kaśmīr. The few fragmentary inscriptions hitherto found are all of a late date, and do not furnish any topographical information. In their absence Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī is not only the amplest, but also the most authentic of our sources for the geography of Kaśmīr. The questions connected with the historical value of the work, its scope and sources, have been fully discussed in the introduction. Here we have only to consider its character as our chief source of information on the ancient topography of Kaśmīr.

It is doubtful whether Kalhaṇa, writing for readers of his own country and time, would have deemed it necessary to give us a connected and matter-of-fact description of the land, even if the literature which he knew and which was his guide, had in any of its products furnished him with a model or suggestion for such description. The nearest approach to it is contained in a brief passage of his introduction, i. 25-38. This acquaints us in a poetical form with the legends concerning the creation of Kaśmīr and its sacred river, the Vitastā, and enumerates besides the most famous of the many Tīrthas of which Kaśmīr has ever boasted in abundance. The few panegyric remarks which are added in praise of the land's spiritual and material comforts, i. 39-43, do credit to the author's love of his native soil. But they can scarcely be held to raise the above to a real description of the country.

Notwithstanding the absence of such a description, Kalhaṇa's Chronicle yet proves by far our richest source of information for the historical geography of Kaśmīr. This is due to the mass of incidental notices of topographical interest

which are spread through the whole length of the narrative. They group themselves conveniently under three main heads.

KALHAṆA'S Topographia sacra.

18. Considering the great attention which the worship of holy places has at all times claimed in Kaśmīr, we may well speak first of the notices which appertain to the *Topographia sacra* of the Valley. Kaśmīr has from early times to the present day been a land abundantly endowed with holy sites and objects of pilgrimages. Kalhaṇa duly emphasizes this fact when he speaks, in the above-quoted introductory passage,[74] of Kaśmīr as a country "where there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tīrtha." Time and even the conversion to Islām of the greatest portion of the population, has changed but little in this respect. For besides the great Tīrthas which still retain a fair share of their former renown and popularity, there is scarcely a village which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and its Ziārat for the Muhammadan. Established as the latter shrines almost invariably are, by the side of the Hindu places of worship and often with the very stones taken from them, they plainly attest the abiding nature of local worship in Kaśmīr.

This cannot be the place to examine in detail the origin and character of these Tīrthas and their importance for the religious history of the country. It will be enough to note that the most frequent objects of such ancient local worship are the springs or Nāgas, the sacred streams and rivers, and finally, the so-called *svayaṁbhū*, or 'self-created' images of gods which are recognized by the eye of the pious in various natural formations. These several classes of Tīrthas can be traced throughout India wherever Hindu religious notions prevail, and particularly in the sub-Himālayan regions (Nepāl, Kumaon, Kāngra, Udyāna or Swāt). Yet there can be no doubt that Kaśmīr has from old times claimed an exceptionally large share in such manifestations of divine favour.

Nature has, indeed, endowed the Valley and the neighbouring mountains with an abundance of fine springs. As each of these has its tutelary deity in the form of a NĀGA,[75] we can realize why popular tradition looks upon Kaśmīr as the favourite residence of these deities.[76] Hiuen Tsiang already had ascribed the superiority of Kaśmīr over other countries to the protection it received from a Nāga.[77] Kalhaṇa, too, in the introductory passage already referred to, gives due prominence to the distinction which the land enjoys as the dwelling-place of Nīla, king of Nāgas, and many others of his tribe.[78]

Kalhaṇa's frequent references to sacred springs and other Tīrthas are of topographical interest, because they enable us to trace with certainty the earlier history of most of the popular pilgrimage places still visited to the present day. The introduction of the Chronicle names specially the miraculous springs of Pāpasūdana and Tri-Saṁdhyā, Sarasvatī's lake on the Bheḍa hill, the 'Self-created Fire' (Svayaṁbhū), and the holy sites of Nandikṣetra, S'āradā, Cakradhara and Vijayeśa. We see here which were the Tīrthas most famous in Kalhaṇa's

[74] i. 38.

[75] Compare my note i. 30 on the Nāgas and their worship.

[76] The *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, 900-972, gives a long list of Kaśmīr Nāgas, and puts their number at thousands, nay Arbudas (see 971).

[77] *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 148.

Hiuen Tsiang, like other Chinese pilgrims, calls the Nāgas by the term of 'dragon,' no doubt because the popular conception represents them under the form of snakes living in the water of the springs or lakes they protect.

[78] i. 28-31.

The Nāgas are supposed to have come to Kaśmīr when Kaśyapa, their father, had drained 'the lake of Satī,' and to have found there a refuge from Garuḍa; comp. *Nīlamata*, 59 sqq.

time. The legends connected with the early semi-mythical kings give him frequent occasion in the first three Books to speak in detail of particular sacred sites. Almost each one of the stories furnishes evidence for the safe location of the latter.[79] But even in the subsequent and purely historical portions of the work we read often of pilgrimages to such sacred places, or of events which occurred at them.

Kalhaṇa shows more than once so accurate a knowledge of the topography of particular Tīrthas that we may reasonably infer his having personally visited them. This presumption is particularly strong in the case of Nandikṣetra, and of the neighbouring shrine of Bhūteśvara.[80] The former, his father Caṇpaka is said to have often visited in pilgrimage, and to have richly endowed. Also the distant Tīrtha of S'āradā in the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley seems to have been known personally to the Chronicler.[81] Pilgrimages to sacred sites, even when approached only with serious trouble, have always enjoyed great popularity among Kaśmīrians. And Kalhaṇa owed perhaps no small part of his practical acquaintance with his country's topography, to the tours he had made as a pilgrim.

Foundation of towns, etc., recorded.

19. Specially valuable from a topographical point of view are those numerous references which Kalhaṇa makes to the foundation of towns, villages, estates, shrines, and buildings by particular kings. Leaving aside the curious list, i. 86-100, taken by Kalhaṇa from Padmamihira, in which certain local names are by fanciful etymologies connected with seven of the 'lost kings,'[82] it may be safely assumed that these attributions are based either on historical fact, or at least on genuine local tradition.

Kalhaṇa specially informs us in his introduction[83] that among the documents he had consulted for his work, there were 'the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants [of land] by former kings.' Such records, no doubt, supplied a great portion of the numerous notices above referred to. But even where such notices were taken from less authentic sources, they may always claim the merit of acquainting us with the names of the respective localities and buildings as used in the official language of Kalhaṇa's time, and with the traditions then current regarding their origin and date.

The system of nomenclature which was regularly followed in Kaśmīr in naming new foundations, must have helped to preserve a genuine tradition regarding the founder. In the vast majority of cases the names of new towns and villages are formed by the addition of *-pura* to the name of the founder, either in its full or abbreviated form.[84] Similarly the names of temples, monasteries, Maṭhas, and

[79] Compare the legends of the *Sodara* spring, i. 123 sqq.; of the *Kṛtyāśrama* Vihāra, i. 131 sqq.; of the Jyeṣṭharudra at *Nandikṣetra* and *S'rinagari*, i. 113, 124; the story of the *Suśravas* Nāga, i. 203 sqq.; the description of the pilgrimage to the *Takṣaka* Nāga, i. 220 sqq.; the story of the *Iśeśvara* temple, ii. 134; of *Raṇasvāmin*, iii. 439 sqq., etc.

[80] See vii. 954; viii. 2365, and note v. 55 sqq. Compare also below, § 57.

[81] See Note *L*, viii. 2492, § 4.

[82] See regarding this unhistorical list, note i. 86. The local names, like *Khonamuṣa*, *Godharā*, *S'amāṅgāsā*, etc., are all genuine enough. What Padmamihira did, was to evolve fictitious names of kings out of these by means of popular etymology.

[83] i. 15.

[84] Thus we have, e.g. the well-known localities of *Huṣkapura*, *Kaniṣkapura*, *Juṣkapura* (which retain the memory of their Indo-Scythian founders); *Pravarapura* (for Pravarasenapura), the old official designation of the present capital; *Padmapura*, *Avantipura*, *Jayapura* (for Jayāpīḍapura), and a host of others. The custom of naming new localities in this fashion, or of re-naming earlier ones in honour of the actual ruler, can be traced through successive periods of Muhammadan and Sikh rule down to the present day; comp. e.g. *Zain*ᵃ*pōr* (named after Zainu-l-'ābidīn); *Shahābuddīnpūr* (the present Shād'pūr); *Muhammadpūr*; *Raṇbīrsinghpūr* (intended to replace Shahābād), etc.

other religious structures show the name of their builder, followed by terms indicating the deity or the religious object to which the building was dedicated.[85] Many of these religious structures left their names to the sites at which they were erected. They can thus be traced to the present day in the designations of villages or city quarters.[86]

The topographical interest which Kalhaṇa's notices of town foundations possess, is considerably enhanced by the fact that in more than one case they are accompanied by accurate descriptions of the sites chosen and the buildings connected with them. Thus Kalhaṇa's detailed account of the foundation of *Pravarapura*, iii. 336-363, is curiously instructive even in its legendary particulars, and enables us to trace with great precision the original position and limits of the city which was destined to remain thereafter the capital of Kaśmīr.[87] Similarly the description given of *Parihāsapura* and its great shrines, has made it possible for me to fix with accuracy the site of the town which Lalitāditya's fancy elevated for a short time to the rank of a capital, and to identify the remains of the great buildings which once adorned it.[88] Not less valuable from an antiquarian point of view is the account given to us of the twin towns *Jayapura* and *Dvāravatī* which King Jayāpīḍa founded as his royal residence near the marshes of Andᵃrkōṭh.[89]

Kalhaṇa's incidental references.

20. Valuable as the data are which we gather from the two groups of notices just discussed, it may yet justly be doubted whether by themselves, that is, unsupported by other information, they could throw so much light on the old topography of Kaśmīr as the notices which we have yet to consider. I mean the whole mass of incidental references to topographical matters which we find interwoven with the historical narrative of the Chronicle.

It is evident that where localities are mentioned in close connection with a pragmatic relation of events, the context, if studied with due regard to the facts of the actual topography, must help us considerably towards a correct identification of the places meant. In the case of the previous notices the Chronicler has but rarely occasion to give us distinct indications as to the position of the sites or shrines he intended. In our attempts to identify the latter we have therefore only too often to depend either on the accidental fact of other texts furnishing the required evidence or to fall back solely on the comparison of the old with modern local names. That the latter course if not guided and controlled by other safer evidence, is likely to lead us into mistakes, is a fact which requires no demonstration for the critical student.

It is different with the notices, the consideration of which we have left to the last. Here the narrative itself, in the great majority of cases, becomes our guide.

[85] Thus in the case of S'iva-temples *-īśa* or *-īśvara* is invariably added (comp. e.g. Pravareśvara, etc.), as in that of Viṣṇu-shrines with equal regularity *-svāmin* (keśava); comp. e.g. *Muktasvāmin* (built by Muktāpīḍa), *Avantisvāmin*, *Bhīmakeśava* (erected by Bhīmapāla S'āhi), etc.

Buddhist monasteries receive the name of their founder with the addition of *-vihāra* or *-bhavana*; comp. *Jayendravihāra*, *Caṅkuṇavihāra*, *Amṛtabhavana* (founded by the queen Amṛtaprabhā, the present Antᵃbavan), *Skandabhavana* (for Skandaguptabhavana), and many more.

For Maṭhas, compare e.g. *Diddāmaṭha*, (Didᵃmar); *Subhaṭāmaṭha*, *Nandāmaṭha*, *Loṭhikāmaṭha*, *Cakramaṭha*, etc. For details on the nomenclature of sacred buildings in Kaśmīr, compare *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 4 sqq.

[86] Compare e.g. notes iii. 9; iv. 192; vi. 137, 300, etc.

[87] See note iii. 339-349, and below, § 92.

[88] Compare Note *F*, iv. 194-204 and below, § 121.

[89] See note iv. 506-511.

It either directly points out to us the locality meant or at least restricts to very narrow limits the area within which our search must proceed. The final identification can then be safely effected with the help of local tradition, by tracing the modern derivative of the old local name or through other additional evidence of this kind.

For the purpose of such a systematic search it is, of course, a very great advantage if the narrative is closely connected and detailed. And it is on this account that Kalhaṇa's lengthy relation of what was to him recent history, in Books vii. and viii., is for us so valuable. An examination of the topographical notes in my commentary will show that the correct identification of many of the localities mentioned in the detached notices of the first six Books has become possible only by means of the evidence furnished by the more detailed narrative of the last two.

In this respect the accounts of the endless rebellions and other internal troubles which fill the greater portion of the reigns of the Lohara dynasty, have proved particularly useful. The descriptions of the many campaigns, frontier-expeditions and sieges connected with these risings, supply us with a great amount of topographical details mutually illustrating each other. By following up these operations on the map,—or better still on the actual ground, as I was often able to do,—it is possible to fix with precision the site of many old localities which otherwise could never have emerged from the haze of doubt and conjecture.

A reference to the notes in which important sites and local names like Lohara, Gopādri, Mahāsarit, Kṣiptikā, Holaḍā, have been identified, will suffice to illustrate the above remarks.[90]

Kalhaṇa's topographical accuracy.

21. It is impossible to read attentively Kalhaṇa's Chronicle and, in particular those portions which give fuller occasion for the notice of localities, without being struck with the exactness of his statements regarding the latter, and with, what I may call, his eye for matters topographical.

We must appreciate these qualities all the more if we compare Kalhaṇa's local references with that vague and loose treatment which topographical points receive at the hands of Sanskrit authors generally.[91] If it has been possible to trace with accuracy the vast majority of localities mentioned in the Chronicle, this is largely due to the precision which Kalhaṇa displays in his topographical terminology. It is evident that he had taken care to acquaint himself with the localities which formed the scene of the events he described.

Striking evidence for this is furnished by his description of the great operations which were carried out under Avantivarman with a view to regulating the course of the Vitastā and draining the Valley.[92] Thanks to the exactness with which the relative position of the old and new confluence of the Vitastā and

[90] Compare notes *E* (iv. 177); i. 341, and viii. 1104-10; iii. 339-349; viii. 732; i. 306.

[91] Nor should we forget the difficulty which Kalhaṇa had to face by writing in metrical form. True indeed it is what Albērūnī says of this form as adopted by Hindu scientific writers: "Now it is well known that in all *metrical compositions there is much misty and constrained phraseology merely intended to fill up the metre and serving as a kind of patchwork, and this necessitates a certain amount of verbosity. This is also one of the reasons why a word has sometimes one meaning and sometimes another*" (*India*, i. p. 19).

Fortunately Kalhaṇa has managed to escape these dangers as far as the topographical notices of his work are concerned. *We find in his local terminology neither that mistiness nor multiplicity of meaning Albērūnī* so justly complains of.

[92] Compare v. 84-121.

Sindhu is described, before and after the regulation, respectively, it has been possible, even after so many centuries, to trace in detail the objects and results of an important change in the hydrography of the Valley.[93] Equal attention to topographical details we find in numerous accounts of military operations. Of these it will suffice to quote here the descriptions of the several sieges of S'rīnagar, under Sussala;[94] the battle on the *Gopādri* hill in the same reign;[95] the blockade of *Lohara*, with the disastrous retreat through the mountains that followed;[96] and —last but not least—the siege of the *S'irahśilā* castle. The topographical accuracy of the latter account, as proved in Note *L*, viii. 2492, almost presupposes a personal examination of the site and is all the more noteworthy, because the scene of the events there recorded was a region outside Kaśmīr proper, distant, and difficult of access.

There are also smaller points that help to raise our estimate of Kalhaṇa's reliability in topographical matters. Of such I may mention for example the general accuracy of his statements regarding distances, whether given in road or time-measure. The number of marches reckoned by him is thus always easily verified by a reference to the stages counted on the corresponding modern routes.[97] Not less gratifying is it to find how careful Kalhaṇa is to distinguish between homonymous localities.[98]

In addition to all this, we must give credit to our author for the just observation of many characteristic features in the climate, ethnography, and economical condition of Kaśmīr and the neighbouring regions. If the advantages thus accorded to us are duly weighed, there seems every reason to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the earliest and fullest record of Kaśmīr history that has come down to us, was written by a scholar of Kalhaṇa's type. Whatever the shortcomings of his work may be from the critical historian's point of view, we must accord it the merit of supplying a safe and ample basis for the study of the historical geography of Kaśmīr.

Sanskrit local names in *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

22. Another point still remains to be considered here in connection with Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, viz. to what extent can we accept the Sanskrit forms found in his text as the genuine local names of the period? This question must naturally arise in view of the fact that the popular language actually spoken in Kaśmīr in Kalhaṇa's time and for many centuries earlier, was not Sanskrit, but undoubtedly an Apabhraṁśa dialect derived from it, which has gradually developed into the modern Kaśmīrī.

Notwithstanding this circumstance I think that Kalhaṇa's local names can, on the whole, be safely accepted as representing the genuine designations of the localities, i.e. as those originally given to them. My grounds for this belief are the following. We have ample evidence to show that Sanskrit was the official and sole literary language of the country, not only in Kalhaṇa's own time, but also in those earlier periods from which any of the records used by him may have dated. This official use of Sanskrit we know to have continued in Kaśmīr even into Muhammadan times. It assures us at once that the vast majority of village and town

[93] Compare Note *I*, v. 97-100.

[94] See viii. 729 sqq., 1060 sqq.

[95] Compare viii. 1090-1115.

[96] See viii. 1842-80 and Note *E*, iv. 177, § 10.

[97] Compare for distance measurements, note i. 264; v. 108; vii 993; for reckoning of marches on the Vitastā Valley route, v. 225; on Vigraharāja's irruption over the Tōṣ̱ᵉmaidān Pass, vii. 140; on the route to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass, vii. 558; on the way to Mārtāṇḍa, vii. 715, etc.

[98] Compare notes i. 113; i. 124; v. 123 on the several *Jyeṣṭharudras*, and the way in which Kalhaṇa specifies them.

names must from the beginning have been given in Sanskrit. A detailed examination of them will easily demonstrate, on the one hand, that these names are of genuinely Sanskritic formation, and on the other, that their modern Kaśmīrī representatives are derived from them by a regular process of phonetic conversion. We look in vain among this class of old local names for any which would show a foreign, i.e. non-Aryan origin, and might be suspected of having only subsequently been pressed into a Sanskritic garb.

Official names of localities.

The fact of Sanskrit having been in use as the language of all official records for many centuries previous to Kalhaṇa's time is enough to demonstrate that the Sanskrit names originally intended for the great mass of inhabited places could be preserved, in official documents anyhow, without any difficulty or break of tradition. And from such documents most of Kalhaṇa's notices of places were undoubtedly derived, directly or indirectly.

Only in rare cases can we suppose that the original form of a local name of this kind had been lost sight of, and that accordingly the Chronicler, or his authority, had to fall back on the expedient of Sanskritizing in its stead the Apabhraṁśa or Kaśmīrī form as well as he could. There are, in fact, a few instances in which we have indications of such a metamorphosis. When we find the same local name spelt either *Bhaleraka* or *Bāleraka* in the Chronicle, or a village which Kalhaṇa calls *Ghoramūlaka*, referred to by Abhinanda, the author of the Kādambarīkathāsāra (first half of ninth century), as *Gauramūlaka*,[99] it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that we have here varying attempts to reproduce in a Sanskritic garb original Apabhraṁśa names. But these cases are very rare indeed, and even in them other explanations of the different spellings are possible.

These observations apply with nearly the same force also to other local names recorded in the Chronicle, such as those of mountains, streams, passes, etc. The great majority of these names must have very early found their place in official documents or, as we shall see below, in the Sanskrit legendaries or Māhātmyas of the numerous Tīrthas. If any of them are in reality adaptations of Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa forms, their quasi-official use is yet likely to have originated a long time before the date of Kalhaṇa. Even to the present day the local nomenclature of Kaśmīr, whether in the Valley or in the mountains, shows throughout an unmistakably Sanskritic character.

Local nomenclature in Kas'mīr

This is most clearly illustrated by the constant recurrence of such terms as *-pūr* or *pōr* (< pura), *-mar* (< maṭha), *-'hōm* (< āśrama), *-hām* (< śālā), *-kōṭh* (< koṭṭa), *-gām* or *gōm* (< grāma), *-kuṇḍ'l* (< kuṇḍala), *-vör* (< vāṭa) in village names; of *-sar* (< saras), *-nambal* (< naḍvalā), *-nāg* (< nāga) in names of lakes, marshes, etc.; of *-van* (< vana), *-nāṛ* (< nāḍa), *-marg* (< maṭhikā), *-gul* (< galikā), *-brāṛ* (< bhaṭṭārikā), *-vath* (< patha), in designations of alpine localities, peaks, passes, etc.; *-kul* (< kulyā), *-khan* (< khani) in names of streams and canals. The Sanskrit etymology of the specific names preceding these terms, is, even in their modern phonetic form, very often equally transparent. At an earlier stage of the language the Apabhraṁśa names must have approached the corresponding Sanskrit forms much more closely. The reproduction of the popular names in a Sanskrit form could have then but rarely been attended with much difficulty or doubt. We may hence safely assume that the Sanskrit forms recorded by Kalhaṇa represent in most cases correctly the original local names or else do not differ much from them.

[99] Compare notes viii. 1861, and vii. 1239; viii. 2410.

23. The later Sanskrit Chronicles which were composed with the distinct object of continuing Kalhaṇa's work, furnish valuable supplements to the topographical information contained in the latter. These Chronicles are: the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja who continued the narrative down to the reign of Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidīn, and died over his work, A.D. 1459;[100] the *Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī* composed by Jonarāja's pupil S'rīvara which deals in four Books with the period A.D. 1459-86;[101] and finally, the Fourth Chronicle which was begun under the name *Rājāvalipatākā* by Prājyabhaṭṭa, and completed by his pupil S'uka some years after the annexation of Kaśmīr by Akbar, A.D. 1586.[102]

Later Kaśmīr Chronicles.

It will be seen from the above dates that the narrative of the last two works falls entirely beyond the period of Hindu rule to which our inquiry is limited, and which may be considered to close finally with the usurpation of Shāh Mīr, A.D. 1339. The same holds good of the greater portion of Jonarāja's Chronicle, in which the reigns of the late Hindu rulers, from Jayasiṁha to Queen Koṭā, are disposed of with a brevity corresponding more to their own insignificance than to the intrinsic historical interest of the epoch.[103] Notwithstanding this difference in date, the materials supplied by these later Chronicles have often proved of great use in clearing up points of the old topography of Kaśmīr. For the mass of the localities mentioned in them goes back to the Hindu period. Also the names by which they are referred to, are still mostly the old ones.

Yet on the whole the inferiority of these later Chronicles when compared with Kalhaṇa's work, is as marked in the matter of topographical information as it is in other respects. In the first place, it must be noted that the total extent of these three distinct works does not amount to more than about one half of Kalhaṇa's text. For references to sacred sites and buildings and other places of religious interest, the account of Muhammadan reigns offers naturally but little occasion. The incidental notices of other localities are also in proportion less numerous and instructive. For these later authors allow considerably more room to episodic descriptions, and do by no means show that care for accuracy in topographical statements which we have noticed in Kalhaṇa.

Jonarāja.

Hindu learning in Kaśmīr suffered considerably during the period of troubles and oppression which lasted with short interruptions for two and a half centuries previous to Akbar's conquest. It is curious to note this gradual decline also in the character and contents of these later Chronicles. Jonarāja was a scholar of considerable attainments, but apparently without any originality. With the old nomenclature of the Valley he shows himself yet well-acquainted. But outside it he commits himself to forms like *Puruṣavīra* (*recte* Puruṣapura, the present Peshawar), etc.

S'rīvara.

S'rīvara is a slavish imitator of Kalhaṇa, not above reproducing whole verses of his predecessor. His text looks in a great portion more like a *cento* from the Rājataraṅgiṇī, than an original composition. Notwithstanding the thorough study of Kalhaṇa's work which this kind of exploitation presupposes, we find S'rīvara more than once betraying ignorance of the old names for well-known Kaśmīr localities. Thus we have the name of the Mahāsarit stream transformed into *Mārī*, an evident adaptation of the modern *Mār*;[104] Siddhapatha, the present

[100] See *S'rīv.* i. 6.

[101] See Fourth Chron. 6.

[102] Compare Fourth Chron. 8 sqq. Prājyabhaṭṭa's composition ended with the year A.D. 1513-14 and the reign of Fatah Shah (verses 14-64).

[103] The narrative of the period A.D. 1149-1339 fills only 306 verses in Jonarāja's Chronicle (347 according to the Bombay edition).

[104] See *S'rīv.* i. 440; iii. 278; compare note *Rājat.* iii. 339-349.

Sedau, represented as *Siddhādeśa* ;[105] the Tīrtha of Mārtāṇḍa regularly referred to by its modern name *Bhavana* (Bavan),[106] etc.

The Fourth Chronicle.

The work of PRĀJYABHAṬṬA and S'UKA, inferior even to S'rīvara's Chronicle, proves by the increased number of modern local names its authors' scant familiarity with the old topography of Kaśmīr. Thus the ancient Kṛtyāśrama, the scene of Kalhaṇa's Buddhist legend, figures repeatedly in their narrative as *Kīcāśrama,* i.e. by its modern name Kitsᵉhōm ;[107] even the well-known Rājapurī is metamorphosed into *Rājavīra* (!), a queer reproduction of the modern *Rajaurī* ;[108] the old castle of Lohara reappears as *Luhara*, an evident approach to the present Lŏhᵉrin ;[109] the ancient site of Cakradhara is turned into *Cakrādhāra*,[110] etc.

It is evident that when Sanskrit ceased to be the language used for official purposes, the knowledge of the ancient names of localities and of the traditions connected with the latter must have become gradually more and more restricted. In view of this decrease of traditional knowledge we have to exercise some caution when utilizing the topographical data of the later historical texts. At the same time it is easy to realize that their help is often of considerable value when connecting links have to be traced between those earlier data and the facts of modern topography.

Persian Tārīkhs of Kas'mīr.

24. We may refer here briefly to the Persian Tārīkhs of Kaśmīr which, to some extent, can be looked upon as continuing the labours of Kalhaṇa and his Paṇḍit successors. Unfortunately they furnish no material assistance for the study of the old topography of the country. All these works contain in their initial portion an account of the Hindu dynasties which pretends to be translated from the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Yet the abstract there given is in each case very short, and chiefly devoted to a reproduction of the legendary and anecdotal parts of Kalhaṇa's narrative. We thus look there in vain for the modern equivalents of those local names, the identification of which is attended with any difficulty.

In illustration of this it may be mentioned that even the Tārīkh of ḤAIDAR MALIK CĀDURA (Tsạ̄dᵘr),[111] which is the earliest work of this class accessible to me and the fullest in its account of the Hindu period, compresses the narrative of Jayasiṁha's reign, filling about 2000 verses in the Rājataraṅgiṇī into two quarto pages. Of the localities mentioned in the original account of this reign not a single one is indicated by the Muhammadan Chronicler. The later works, which all belong to the eighteenth or the present century, are still more reticent on the Hindu period, and seem to have largely copied Ḥaidar Malik's abstract. Taking into account the endless corruptions to which local names written in Persian characters are exposed, it will be readily understood why reference to these texts on points of topographical interest yields only in rare cases some tangible result.

Kaśmīr poets.

25. It is a fortunate circumstance that several of the older Kaśmīr poets whose works have been preserved for us, have had the good sense to let us know something about their own persons and homes. The topographical details, which can be gleaned from these authors, though comparatively few, are yet of distinct

[105] *S'rīv.* iii. 354 ; iv. 203, 661.

[106] *S'rīv.* i. 376 ; iii. 372.

[107] See Fourth Chronicle, 234, 240, 384 ; compare also note on *Rājat.* i. 147.

[108] Fourth Chron. 542 sqq.

[109] *Ib.* 134, 143 sqq.

[110] *Ib.* 330.

[111] Written A.H. 1027, i.e. A.D. 1617, in the twelfth year of Jahāngīr's reign.

Ḥaidar Malik takes his epithet *Cādura*, *recte Tsạ̄dᵘr*, from the Kaśmīr village of that name situated in the Nāgām Pargaṇa, some ten miles south of S'rīnagar, close to the village of Vahᵉtōr.

value. They enable us to check by independent evidence Kalhaṇa's local nomenclature, and in some instances acquaint us with localities of which we find no notice in the Chronicles.

KṢEMENDRA.

The first and most helpful of these Kaśmīrian authors is the well-known polyhistor KṢEMENDRA. His works, composed in the second and third quarter of the eleventh century, form important landmarks in several fields of Indian literature. Kṣemendra seems to have had a genuine interest, rare enough among Indian scholars, for the realities of his country and the life around him. He does not content himself with informing us of his family, the date of his works and the places where he wrote them.[112]

In the *Samayamātṛkā*, one of his most original poems which is intended to describe the snares of courtesans, he gives us among other stories an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine, Kaṅkālī, through the length and breadth of Kaśmīr.[113] The numerous places which form the scene of her exploits can all easily enough be traced on the map. More than once curious touches of true local colour impart additional interest to these references. To Kṣemendra's poem we owe, e.g., the earliest mention of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass (*Pañcāladhārā*) and its hospice (*maṭha*).[114] There, too, we get a glimpse of the ancient salt trade which still follows that route with preference. Elsewhere we are taken into an ancient Buddhist convent, the *Kṛtyāśrama* Vihāra, where Kaṅkālī's conduct as a nun is the cause of no small scandal,[115] etc.

BILHAṆA.

A different sketch of topographical interest we owe to the poet BILHAṆA. He left his native land early in the reign of King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89), and after long wanderings became famous as the court-poet of the Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Parmāḍi in the Dekhan. In the last Canto of his historical poem, the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Bilhaṇa gives us a glowing picture of the beauties of the Kaśmīr capital. Notwithstanding its panegyrical character, this description is laudably exact in its local details.[116] In another passage the poet then describes to us his rural home and its surroundings at the village of *Khonamuṣa*, south-east of S'rīnagar. His touching verses attest as much his yearning for his distant home as the faithfulness of his local recollections.[117]

MAṄKHA.

Similar in character though less ample in detail is the description of Kaśmīr and Pravarapura, its capital, which MAṄKHA, Kalhaṇa's contemporary, inserts in the iii. Canto of his Kāvya *S'rīkaṇṭhacarita*.[118] Here we have the advantage of

[112] Compare the colophons of the various works first discovered and noticed by Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, pp. 45 sqq. and Appendix.

[113] This humorous peregrination fills the ii. Samaya of the work; see *Kāvyamālā* edition, pp. 6-16.

The abundance of curious local details makes a commentated translation of the little Kāvya very desirable, notwithstanding the risky nature of parts of its contents. A personal knowledge of Kaśmīr would certainly be required for the task.

[114] See *Samayam.* ii. 90 sqq.

The *maṭha* on the pass corresponds to the present 'Aliābād Serai, a short distance below the top of the pass on the Kaśmīr side. See below, § 44.

[115] *Samayam.* ii. 61 sqq.; compare note *Rājat.* i. 147.

[116] Prof. BÜHLER, to whom we owe the discovery of Bilhaṇa's chief work, has given in his Introduction an admirable analysis of the contents of Sarga xviii. as illustrating the poet's biography. For his description of contemporary S'rīnagara, see pp. 7 sqq.

[117] *Vikram.* xviii. 70 sqq.

Prof. Bühler during his Kaśmīr tour, 1875, had the satisfaction of visiting the poet's native place, the present village of *Khun'moh*, and verifying on the spot every point of the description which Bilhaṇa gives of that "coquettish embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himālaya"; see *Report*, pp. 4 sqq.

[118] See *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 10-24, 68 sqq.

a commentary written by Jonarāja the Chronicler, which duly notices and explains the points of local interest.

The Lokaprakāśa.

26. To complete our review of those Kaśmīrian texts of topographical interest which may be distinguished as secular, we must refer briefly to the curious glossary and manual which goes by the name of *Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa*. Professor A. Weber has recently published valuable extracts from this text.[119] I myself have had frequent occasion to refer to it in my notes on the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[120] The work represents a strange mixture of the usual Kośa and a practical handbook dealing with various topics of administration and private life in Kaśmīr. Though a great deal of the information given in it is decidedly old, and probably from the hand of our well-known Kṣemendra, there are unmistakable proofs both in the form and contents of the book, showing that it has undergone considerable alterations and additions down even to the seventeenth century. This is exactly what we must expect in a work which had remained in the practical use of the Kaśmīrian 'Kārkuns' long after the time when Sanskrit had ceased to be the official language of the country.

The Lokaprakāśa supplies us with the earliest list of Kaśmīr Pargaṇas. Besides this we find there the names of numerous localities inserted in the forms for bonds, *Huṇḍis*, contracts, official reports, and the like which form the bulk of Prakāśas ii. and iv. The Pargaṇa list as well as these forms contain local names of undoubtedly ancient date, side by side with comparatively modern ones. Some of the latter in fact belong to places which were only founded during the Muhammadan rule.[121]

SECTION VI.—THE NĪLAMATA AND MĀHĀTMYAS.

The Nīlamatapurāṇa.

27. We have already above drawn attention to the fact that Kaśmīr has since early times been pre-eminently a country of holy sites and places of pilgrimage of all kinds. These objects of ancient local worship have always played an important part in the historical topography of the Valley and the adjacent mountain-regions. It is hence no small advantage that there are abundant materials at our disposal for the special study of this *topographia sacra* of Kaśmīr.

The oldest extant text which deals in detail with Kaśmīrian Tīrthas, is the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*. This work which Kalhaṇa used as one of his sources of information,[122] claims to give the sacred legends regarding the origin of the country, and the special ordinances which Nīla, the lord of Kaśmīr Nāgas, had revealed for the worship and rites to be observed in it.[123] It is unnecessary to refer here to the legends which are related at the commencement of the work, and to 'the rites proclaimed by Nīla' which are next detailed, and with the former occupy about two-thirds of the extant text.[124] These parts have been fully discussed by Prof. Bühler in his lucid analysis of the Nīlamata.[125] The remaining portions, however,

[119] See *Zu Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa* in *Indische Studien*, xviii. pp. 289-412.

[120] See particularly Note *H* (iv. 495) on the Kaśmīr Monetary System, § 10.

[121] Compare, e.g., in Prakāśa ii. *Jainanagara*, founded by Zainu-l-'ābidin (see *Jonar.* 1153); *Alābhadenapura* (*S'rīv.* iv. 318), etc.

[122] *Rājat.* i. 14.

[123] *Rājat.* i. 178-184.

[124] *Nīlamata*, vv. 1-366, contains the legends, vv. 367-899 the rites above referred to.

[125] See *Report*, pp. 38 sqq.

deserve special notice. For, to use Prof. Bühler's words, "they form a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kaśmīr and their legends."

In the first place we find there a list of the principal Nāgas or sacred springs of Kaśmīr (vv. 900-975). This is followed by the interesting legend regarding the *Mahāpadma* lake, the present Volur, which is supposed to occupy the place of the submerged city of Candrapura (vv. 976-1008).[126] The Purāṇa then proceeds to an enumeration of miscellaneous Tīrthas chiefly connected with S'iva's worship (vv. 1009-48). To this is attached a very detailed account, designated as *Bhūteśvaramāhātmya*, of the legends connected with the numerous lakes and sites on Mount Haramukuṭa sacred to S'iva and Pārvatī (vv. 1049-1148).[127] Of a similar Māhātmya relating to the Kapaṭeśvara Tīrtha, the present Kōṭhēr,[128] only a fragment is found in our extant text (vv. 1149-68). The list of Viṣṇu-Tīrthas which succeeds it (vv. 1169-1248), is comparatively short, as indeed the position of this god is a secondary one in the popular worship of Kaśmīr.

After a miscellaneous list of sacred Saṁgamas or river confluences, Nāgas and lakes (vv. 1249-78), we are treated to a somewhat more detailed synopsis of the chief Tīrthas of Kaśmīr (vv. 1271-1371). This is of special interest, because an attempt is made here to describe these Tīrthas in something like topographical order, and to group with them such localities as are visited along with them on the same pilgrimage. It is thus possible to determine, with more certainty than in the case of other Tīrtha lists, the particular holy sites really intended by the author. This synopsis starts in the east with the fountain of the Nīlanāga (Vērnāg), and follows with more or less accuracy the course of the Vitastā and its tributaries down to the gorge of Varāhamūla. A short *Vitastāmāhātmya*, describing the original and miraculous powers of this holiest of Kaśmīr rivers (vv. 1371-1404), closes the text of the Nīlamata, such as it is found in our manuscripts.

Text of the *Nīlamata*.

This text is unfortunately in a very bad condition, owing to numerous lacunæ and textual corruptions of all kinds. Prof. Bühler held that the Nīlamata in its present form could not be older than the sixth or seventh century of our era.[129] It appears to me by no means improbable that the text has undergone changes and possibly additions at later periods. On the whole, however, the local names found in it bear an ancient look, and agree closely with the forms used by Kalhaṇa.

The fact of all extant copies of the work showing practically the same defective state of text, seems to indicate that the changes and additions to which I alluded above, cannot be quite recent. If such a revision had been made at a time comparatively near to the date of our oldest MS. we could, after the analogy of other instances, expect an outwardly far more correct, i.e. 'cooked,' text. The operation here suggested was actually performed some thirty years ago by the late Paṇḍit Sāhibrām. Receiving the orders of Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh to prepare the text of the Nīlamata for edition, he 'revised' the work, with scant respect for its sacred character, by filling up the lacunæ, expanding obscure passages, removing ungrammatical forms, etc.[130] Fortunately, Prof. Bühler reached

[126] Compare below, § 74, and *Report*, p. 10.

[127] Compare below, § 57, and notes i. 36, 107, 113.

[128] See below, § 112, and note i. 32.

[129] Compare *Report*, p. 40.

The oldest and best MS. of the Nīlamata which I was able to secure and collate, is dated in the Laukika year 81 which, judging from the appearance of the MS., probably corresponds to A.D. 1705-6.

[130] See *Report*, pp. 33, 38.

Kaśmīr early enough to learn the origin of this 'cooked' text, and to give due warning as to its true character.

The Haracaritacintāmaṇi.

28. Among the texts dealing specially with the sacred sites of Kaśmīr the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* can be placed, perhaps, nearest in date to the Nīlamatapurāṇa. It is not like the latter and the Māhātmyas, an anonymous composition, claiming recognition in the wide folds of canonical Purāṇa literature. It owns as its author the poet JAYADRATHA, of the Kaśmīrian family of the Rājānakas, and a brother of Jayaratha. The pedigree of the family as given in Jayaratha's *Tantrālokaviveka*, a S'aiva treatise, shows that Jayadratha must have lived about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.[131]

His work, written in a simple Kāvya style, relates in thirty-two Cantos as many legends connected with S'iva and his various Avatāras.[132] Eight of these legends are localized at well-known Kaśmīrian Tīrthas, and give the author ample opportunity of mentioning sacred sites of Kaśmīr directly or indirectly connected with the former.[133]

Jayadratha's detailed exposition helps to fix clearly the form which the legends regarding some of the most popular of Kaśmīrian Tīrthas had assumed in the time immediately following Kalhaṇa. The local names as recorded by Jayadratha,[134] agree closely with those of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. They prove clearly that the forms employed by Kalhaṇa must have been those generally current in the Sanskrit usage of the period. For the interpretation of the Nīlamata's brief notices the Haracaritacintāmaṇi is of great value. Its plain and authentic narrative of the various local legends enables us often to trace the numerous modifications which the latter as well as the names of localities connected with them have undergone in the extant Māhātmyas. Jayadratha has well earned the honour unwittingly bestowed upon him by those who brought his fourteenth Canto which deals with the story of Kapaṭeśvara, into general circulation as the authoritative Māhātmya of that Tīrtha at the present day.

The Māhātmyas.

29. Reference has already been made above to the numerous texts known as *Māhātmyas* which we possess of all the more important Tīrthas of Kaśmīr. They claim with few exceptions to be extracted from Purāṇas or Purāṇic collections (*Saṁhitās*).[135] Ordinarily they set forth in detail the legends relating to the particular pilgrimage place, the spiritual and other benefits to be derived from its visit, and the special rites to be gone through by the pilgrims at the various stages of the itinerary. The abstract given in Note *B* (i. 37) of the S'āradāmāhātmya may serve to indicate the manner in which these subjects are usually treated in the average texts of this class.

Prof. Bühler was the first to recognize the value of the Māhātmyas for a systematic study of the old topography of Kaśmīr. Among the Sanskrit manuscripts which he acquired during his tour in Kaśmīr, there are sixteen distinct

[131] Compare BÜHLER, *Report*, pp. 61, 81, cliii.

[132] The *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* has recently been printed as No. 61 of the *Kāvyamālā* Series, Bombay (1897), chiefly from the text as contained in my MS. No. 206.

[133] The cantos containing these legends are i., iv., vii., x.-xiv.

[134] An index of the Kaśmīr local names in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi, with explanatory notes, has been prepared under my supervision by P. Govind Kaul, and printed as an Appendix to the Kavyamālā Edition.

[135] Most of the Kaśmīr Māhātmyas allege to be portions of the *Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā*. Oth[illegible] claim special authority by repre[illegible] themselves as parts of the Ādi, [illegible] Brahmavaivarta, Varāha, and [illegible] Purāṇas.

texts of this kind.[136] My own search in this direction, facilitated by successive visits to the various Tīrthas themselves, has enabled me to collect altogether fifty-one separate Māhātmya texts. A list of my collection has been given in a supplementary Note,[137] and may be considered fairly to exhaust the present range of this literature.

In extent the Māhātmyas vary greatly. By the side of texts like the Vitastāmāhātmya with its fifteen hundred S'lokas we have legendaries of more modest dimensions amounting only to a few dozens of verses. Equally marked differences in the matter of age become apparent on closer examination.

Date of Māhātmyas.

Unmistakable indications prove that many of the Māhātmyas now in actual use are of late composition or redaction. Among the texts so characterized, the Māhātmyas of some of the most popular pilgrimage places, like the Haramukuṭa-lakes, the cave of Amaranātha, Īśeśvara (Īś'bar), are particularly conspicuous. The indications here referred to are furnished chiefly by the local names which in their very form often betray a modern origin. This may conveniently be illustrated by a brief analysis of the most instructive of such names found in the *Vitastāmāhātmya*.

This text claims to furnish an account of all the Tīrthas along the course of the holy river, and is designated as a portion of the *Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā*. Notwithstanding this pretended antiquity we find the famous Nīlanāga introduced to us by the name of *Viranāga* (i. 58; ii. 33). This form is wholly unknown to the Nīlamata, Rājataraṅgiṇī, or any old text. It is nothing more than a clumsy rendering of the modern name of the village *Vērnāg*, near which this fine spring is situated.[138] The ancient site of Jayavana, mentioned by Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa, the present Zevan, is metamorphosed into *Yavanī* (vi. 4).[139] The village of Pāndrēṭhan which derives its name from Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna,[140] 'the old capital,' and bears the latter designation even in S'rīvara's Chronicle, figures as *Pādadṛṣṭika* (!), xii. 24. That Mākṣikasvāmin (Māy'sum)[141] and the Mahāsarit (Mār)[142] appear as *Māyāsimā* and *Mārī*, can after this specimen of fancy nomenclature scarcely surprise us.

But we may all the same feel somewhat startled to find that a text which claims to be revealed by S'iva, refers repeatedly to the modern village of Shād'pūr at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu, by the name of *S'āradāpura*. *Shād'pūr*, an abbreviation for *Shahābuddīnpura*, was, as Jonarāja's Chronicle shows, founded only in the fourteenth century by Sultān Shahābu-d-dīn.[143] Quite on a level with the knowledge of old topography here displayed are many other references to localities, e.g. the mention of the modern garden of Shālimār, a creation of the Mughals (*S'ālamāra*, xxi. 39), of the ancient Huṣkapura as *Uṣahkaraṇa*[144] (for Uṣkūr!), xxix. 103, etc.

In several cases these fancy renderings of modern local names are explained by whimsical etymologies which again in due turn give rise to new-fangled legends quite in the style of the old *nidānakathās*.

[136] See *Report*, pp. iv. sqq.—Nos. 48, 51, 52, 55, 62, 75, 82, 84, 99, 100, there quoted as separate texts are only chapters of the *Amaranāthamāhātmya*.

[137] See Supplementary Note *A* 4.

[138] The name *Vērnāg* is probably derived from the name of Pargana *Vēr*, mentioned by Abū-l-Faẓl, ii. p. 370.

[139] See below, § 105, also *S'rīv.* iv. 290.

[140] See iii. 99 note and below, § 89.

[141] See iv. 88 note and below, § 99.

[142] Compare note iii. 339-349.

[143] See *Jonar*. 409.

A popular etymology accepted in good faith by more than one European writer sees in Shād'pūr the 'village of the marriage,' scil. between the Vitastā and Sind Rivers.

[144] Compare note i. 168 and below, § 124.

Similar proofs of modern origin can be traced in several other popular Māhātmyas though, perhaps, not with equal frequency. Thus we find in the *Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya* the name of the sacred mountain itself transformed from Haramukuṭa into *Haramukha* [145] (the present Haramukh); the ancient site of Bhūteśvara (Buthiśēr) so well known to the Rājataraṅgiṇī and all old texts, turned into *Bodheśvara*, etc. In the *Amaranāthamāhātmya* of which there is a comparatively old copy in the Poona collection, we are also treated to *Padṛṣṭi* as the Sanskrit name of Pāndrēṭhan; to *Suśramanāga* (for Kś. Suśramnag) as the name of the lake where the Nāga Suśravas of the old legend took up his abode,[146] and the like.

It is important to note that by the side of texts like those just mentioned, there are others which on the whole show close conformity with our genuine old sources, both in matter of legend and local names.[147] And even in the Māhātmyas which in their present form we have every reason to consider as recent compositions, there is often abundant evidence of the use of earlier materials and traditions. It will be easier to understand the singular discrepancies in the value and character of these texts if we take into account the peculiar conditions under which the latter have originated.

Origin of Māhātmyas.

30. The Māhātmyas are in the first place handbooks for the Purohitas of the particular Tīrthas, who have the privilege of taking charge of the pilgrims. They are intended to support the claims put forth on behalf of the holiness of the Tīrtha, and the spiritual rewards promised for its visit. The Māhātmyas prescribe the rites to be observed by the pilgrim, and the route to be taken by him on the journey. It is usual for the Purohitas to recite the Māhātmya for the benefit of their clients in the course of the pilgrimage tour. At the same time its contents are expounded to them by a free verbal rendering in Kaśmīrī. As but very few of the priests have enough knowledge of Sanskrit to follow the text intelligently these translations are more or less learned by heart. Often, as my manuscripts show, interlinear Kaśmīrī glosses are resorted to in order to assist the reader's memory.

The local Purohitas.

These local priests known now in Kaśmīr as *thān*ᵃ*paṭ*ⁱ (Skr. *sthānapati*), are as a rule quite as ignorant and grasping as their confrères, the Pujārīs, Bhōjkīs, etc., of India proper. They are held deservedly in very low estimation by the rest of the Brahman community. That their condition was more or less the same in earlier times too, though their influence and numbers were probably greater, can be safely concluded from more than one ironical allusion of Kalhaṇa.[148] These are the people to whose keeping the Māhātmya texts have always been entrusted. Their peculiar position and calling explain, I think, most of the curious changes which the latter have undergone.

Changes of *Tīrthas*.

Tenacious as local worship is, there is yet the evidence of concrete cases to

[145] See below, § 57.
The kh at the end of the modern name is due to a phonetic law of Kaśmīrī which requires the aspiration of every final tenuis; see *J.A.S.B.*, 1897, p. 183.

[146] Compare note i. 267.
The modern Kś. form *Suśramnāg* is the regular phonetic derivative of *Suśravanāga* by which name the lake is designated in the Nīlamata, Haracaritacintāmaṇi, etc.

[147] Among such the Māhātmya collection known as the *Sarvāvatāra* (No. 213), the *Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya* (No. 219), the *Vijayeśvaramāhātmya* (No. 220) may be particularly mentioned. None of these, however, are now known to the local Purohitas, more recent and inferior texts having taken their place.

[148] Compare note ii. 132 and v. 465 sqq.; vii. 13 sqq.; 1082 sqq.; viii. 709, 900 sqq., 939.

show that not only the route of pilgrimage, but the very site of a Tīrtha has sometimes been changed in comparatively recent times. In proof of this it will suffice to refer to the detailed account I have given of the transfers that have taken place in the case of the ancient Tīrthas of *Bheḍa* and *S'āradā*.[149] Minor modifications must naturally have been yet far more frequent. The visit of a principal Tīrtha is regularly coupled with bathings, S'rāddhas and other sacrificial functions at a series of other sacred spots. The choice of these subsidiary places of worship must from the very beginning have depended on local considerations. As these changed in the course of time, variations in the pilgrimage route must have unavoidably followed.

To bring the text of the Māhātmya into accord with these successive changes was a task which devolved upon the local Purohitas, and the texts we have discussed above bear only too manifestly the traces of their handiwork. Sound knowledge of Sanskrit and literary culture are likely to have been always as foreign to this class of men as they are at present. When it became necessary for them to introduce the names of new localities into the text of the Māhātmya, there was every risk of these names being shown, not in their genuine old forms, but in hybrid adaptations of their modern Kaśmīrī equivalents. This risk naturally increased when Sanskrit ceased to be the official language of Kaśmīr, and the knowledge of the old local names became gradually lost even to those maintaining scholarly traditions in the country.

Local names of Māhātmyas and 'popular etymology.'

31. Another potent cause seems to have co-operated in this vitiation of the Māhātmyas' local nomenclature. I mean 'popular etymology.' We have already referred to the tendency displayed throughout these tracts of making the names of localities, rivers, springs, etc., the starting point for legendary anecdotes. For men of such very scant knowledge of Sanskrit as the Thān'paṭ's invariably are, it was naturally far easier to explain such etymological stories when they were based on the modern local names.

It is undoubtedly this reason which has, e.g. led the author of the present Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya to substitute the name *Karaṅkanadī* for the old Kanakavāhinī. By the latter name the stream coming from the Haramukuṭa lakes is designated in all our old texts, as explained in my note on Rājat. i. 149, 150. By turning *Kāṅkanai*, the modern derivative of this old name, into *Karaṅkanadī*, 'the skeleton-stream,' the compiler of the Māhātmya got an occasion to treat his readers to a legend likely to appeal to their imagination. The river is supposed to have received this appellation because Garuḍa had dropped at its Saṁgama with the Sindhu the skeleton (*karaṅka*) of the Ṛṣi Dadhīci which Indra before had used as his weapon, etc.[150]

This story, it is true, is wholly unknown to the Nīlamata or any other old text. But, on the other hand, it has the great merit of being easily explained and proved to any Kaśmīrī pilgrim. The latter cannot fail to realize the manifest connection between *Karaṅka* and his familiar *k'ranz*, 'skeleton.' An exactly similar case of 'popular etymology' has been noticed above in the name *Suvarṇārdhāṅgaka* by which the S'āradāmāhātmya renders the village name Sunᵃ-Drang.[151]

It would be easy to multiply examples showing the strange vicissitudes to

[149] Compare Notes *A* (i. 35) and *B* (i. 37).

[150] The story is spun out at great length in Paṭala iii. of the *Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya*, No. 221.

[151] Compare Note *B* (i. 37), § 2.

which old topographical names are exposed at the hands of the local Purohita. But the explanations already given will suffice to prove that the topographical data found in Māhātmyas can only then be used safely when they are critically sifted and supported by our more reliable sources.

A critical examination of these data is, however, much impeded by the difficulty we experience in fixing the exact age of particular Māhātmyas and their component portions.[152] Even in the case of apparently old texts modern additions and changes may be suspected, while again the most recent concoctions may preserve fragments of genuine tradition.[153] In view of these considerations I have not thought it safe to crowd my maps with hundreds of names of petty Tīrthas as found in the Māhātmyas, but have restricted myself to marking only those pilgrimage sites the ancient names of which can be established with certainty.

Abū-l-Faẓl.

32. It is a curious fact that among our authorities for the Topographia sacra of Kaśmīr, we must allow a conspicuous place to a Muhammadan writer. It is Abū-l-Faẓl, the minister of Akbar, who in the chapter of his Āīn-i Akbarī dealing with the 'Sarkār of Kashmīr,' has left us a very accurate account of many of the holy places in the Valley.[154] Abū-l-Faẓl's detailed description of Kaśmīr is in many respects valuable to the historical student. But it is particularly in connection with our topographical search that we must feel grateful to the author for having like his great master "caught some of the enthusiasm of the Valley" (Rennell).

[152] The difficulty here indicated is increased by the fact that no really old manuscripts of Māhātmyas seem to be preserved in Kaśmīr. MSS. written on birch-bark, i.e. earlier than the seventeenth century, are quite unknown at present. And of the numerous paper MSS. I have examined, none seem to me older than two centuries at the utmost. It is probable that this absence of older copies is due to the rough usage to which the Māhātmyas are exposed when carried about on the pilgrimage tours.

[153] I am glad that chance gave me an opportunity of gaining some personal experience of the manner in which Māhātmyas are occasionally produced. Some ten years ago the Purohitas or Bāchbaṭṭas of the Gaṇᵃpatyār quarter in S'rīnagar recovered an ancient Liṅga from a mosque and began to erect a small shrine for it near the river Ghāṭ of Malᵃyār. Guided by a local tradition which, as far as I can judge, may be genuine, they believed this to have been the site of the shrine of S'iva *Vardhamāneśa*, mentioned already in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (see note ii. 123). The Liṅga was re-consecrated accordingly by this name.

In 1891 when examining old sites in this part of the city, I also visited the temple of Vardhamāneśa then under construction. The interest I showed in the old Liṅga and the tradition regarding it, coupled with an appropriate Dakṣiṇā, soon secured me the confidence of the head-Purohita of the little shrine. Paṇḍit T. R., a man more intelligent than the average of his fraternity, was not slow to confess to me that the Māhātmya of the Tīrtha *in spē* was as yet under preparation. Some weeks later, when in camp near S'rīnagar, I received the visit of my Purohita from Vardhamāneśa's shrine. He brought me the draft of the new Māhātmya and asked my assistance in revising it.

I found it consisting chiefly of extracts from the Vitastāmāhātmya. The passages dealing with Vardhamāneśa and the neighbouring Tīrthas within the city had been suitably interlarded with laudatory verses in the usual Māhātmya style culled from other texts. The vested interests of other local shrines had received due recognition by being included in the *Yātrā* of Vardhamāneśa. I did what I could to indicate the genuine old names of these localities. This quasi-antiquarian co-operation does not seem to have detracted from the popularity of the new Māhātmya among the Bāchbaṭṭas of Gaṇᵃpatyār.

[154] Vol. i. pp. 564-570 in Prof. Blochmann's edition of the *Āīn-i Akbarī*; vol. ii. pp. 354-366 in Col. H. S. Jarrett's translation (Bibliotheca Indica). Abū-l-Faẓl's account of Kaśmīr would well deserve a fuller and more exact commentary than the one which the translator, in the absence of special local studies, was able to give. The account of Mirzā Haidar (in the Tārīkh-i Rashīdī) and Bernier's notes could be conveniently discussed on the same occasion.

Abū-l-Fazl tells us that "the whole country is regarded as holy ground by the Hindū sages." He also refers in general terms to the numerous shrines dedicated to the various deities, and to the popular worship of 'snakes,' i.e. the Nāgas "of whom wonderful stories are told." He then proceeds to describe in detail the most notable sites, giving among these particular prominence to what Dr. Bernier aptly called 'les merveilles' of the country.

This account of Abū-l-Fazl represents for us an authentic survey of all the Kaśmīrian Tīrthas that were well-known and popular at the end of the sixteenth century. It serves as a most useful link between our older texts regarding these pilgrimage places and the modern tradition. It helps us to check the data of the Māhātmyas in many particulars of topographical interest. Abū-l-Fazl's notes have enabled me to trace in more than one instance the position of ancient Tīrthas or particular features regarding them which have since his time been wholly forgotten.[155] It cannot be doubted that Abū-l-Fazl's list of sacred sites was supplied by competent Brahman informants just as his abstract of the Sanskrit Chronicles.

SECTION VII.—LOCAL TRADITION.

Tradition of the learned.

33. It remains only to indicate briefly what help surviving tradition offers for the study of the ancient topography of Kaśmīr. The tradition with which we are here concerned, presents itself in two forms. One is the tradition of the 'learned,' regarding the ancient sites of the country in general, kept up more or less in connection with written records. The other is that genuine local tradition which is strictly confined in its limits, but can be traced equally among literate and illiterate of particular places.

Among those who represent in Kaśmīr learned tradition of the above type, there must again be distinguished the few Paṇḍit families of S'rīnagar in which the serious study of Sanskrit S'āstras has been maintained, and the great host of Bāchbaṭṭas. With the latter class we have already become partially acquainted. We have had occasion to note the conspicuous absence of genuine knowledge as regards the ancient topography of the country in those texts which form the characteristic products of this class' literary activity in recent times.

The Purohitas' knowledge of Sanskrit is ordinarily of the scantiest kind, and their 'reading' confined to Māhātmyas and devotional texts learned by heart without proper comprehension. We can hence scarcely expect them to have preserved genuine traditions regarding those historically interesting localities which are mentioned only in the Chronicles. It is only in the matter of those sacred sites, pilgrimage routes and the like which form, as it were, their own particular professional domains, that their testimony can claim special attention. Yet even in this limited field the Purohitas' traditions are, as we have seen, often of a very modern growth. Their statements, therefore, require under all circumstances to be tested with critical caution.

The Tīrthasaṁgraha.

34. 'Learned' tradition as represented by the S'rīnagar Paṇḍits of modern times, is best gauged by an examination of what the late Paṇḍit SĀHIBRĀM (✝ 1872) has specially recorded on the subject of ancient sites. P. Sāhibrām, who was undoubtedly the foremost among Kaśmīrian Sanskrit scholars of the last

[155] Compare Notes *A* (i. 35), *B* (i. 87); i. 220; also supplementary note to i. 107.

few generations, had been commissioned by Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh to prepare a descriptive survey of all ancient Tīrthas of Kaśmīr. For this purpose a staff of Paṇḍits was placed at his disposal, whose business it was to collect the necessary materials in the various parts of the country. The large work which was to be prepared on the basis of these materials, was never completed, and of the latter I was able to recover only small portions.[156] But some time before his death Paṇḍit Sāhibrām had drawn up abstracts of the information he had collected, under the title of *Kāśmīratīrthasaṁgraha*, and of these I have been able to obtain copies. The most detailed and apparently latest recension of this Tīrthasaṁgraha is that contained in No. 61 of Prof. Bühler's collection of manuscripts.

This little work gives a list of numerous Tīrthas with brief indications of their special features and position, arranged in the topographical order of Parganas. It is useful enough as a comprehensive synopsis of such sacred sites as were known at the time to local worship. But it proves at the same time how little help traditional learning in Kaśmīr can offer in our days for the serious study of the old topography of the Valley.

P. Sāhibrām's local names.

Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's plan is to indicate each Tīrtha's position by mentioning the territorial division in which it is situated, and the nearest village or other well-known locality. It was, undoubtedly, the learned author's desire to give all local names in their old Sanskrit forms as far as they were known to him, and accordingly we find a number of localities correctly mentioned by their genuine old designations. But, unfortunately, the number of the latter is truly insignificant when compared with those local names which are plainly recognizable as new fabrications, as worthless as those already mentioned in connection with the topography of modern Māhātmyas.

In consideration of the fact that P. Sāhibrām deserves to be looked upon as the best representative of modern Kaśmīrian scholarship,[157] it is only just to illustrate the above remarks by a few examples. I take them from among those local names, the genuine forms of which can be easily ascertained from the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The lake of the Nāga Suśravas,[158] the present Suśram Nāg, is named *Suśramanāga* in one recension, and *Suṣumṇanāga* (!) in the other. The old Parganas of Holaḍā, Laulāha, Khūyāśrama are turned on account of their modern names Vular, Lōlau, Khuyᵊhōm, into the 'Rāṣṭras' of *Volara*, *Lalava*, *Khoyahāma*. Bānᵊhāl, the old Bāṇaśālā,[159] figures as *Bhānuśālā;* Khruv, the ancient Khaḍūvī,[160] known correctly even to so late a text as the Lokaprakāśa, as *Khrāva*. The name of the ancient village Jayavana,[161] which fares badly too, as we have seen, in the Māhātmyas, is metamorphosed into *Jīvana;* Raṇyil, the old *Hiraṇyapura*,[162] is with a flight of historical fancy turned into a foundation of King Raṇāditya.

After this, village names like Uṣkara, Rāmāśrama, Kīcakāśrama, as designations of the old Huṣkapura, Rāmuṣa, Kṛtyāśrama[163] can scarcely surprise us. The number of districts, towns, villages, streams, lakes and other topographical features

[156] The portions acquired by me refer to some of the north-eastern Parganas and contain descriptions (in Sanskrit) of the various Nāgas, Liṅgas, etc., the miraculous stories relating to them, together with the devotional texts which are supposed to be used at their worship. Quaint illustrations and maps accompany the text. The whole forms a large-sized folio. The critical value of these records is very slight.

[157] See *Report*, pp. 4, 38.

[158] See note i. 267.

[159] See note viii. 1665 and below, § 41.

[160] See below, § 105.

[161] Compare note vii. 607.

[162] See note i. 287.

[163] See notes i. 168; ii. 55; i. 147.

(exclusive of Tīrthas) mentioned by Paṇḍit Sāhibrām amounts to nearly three hundred. But scarcely two dozen of the names given for them are in accord with our old authorities.

P. Sāhibrām was one of the few modern Kaśmīrian scholars who have seriously occupied themselves with the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the later Chronicles.[164] Hence the indifferent knowledge of ancient topography as displayed in his Tīrthasaṁgraha, must appear all the more striking. Yet in reality it is easily enough accounted for.

What knowledge learned tradition in Kaśmīr has retained of ancient sites as distinct from Tīrthas and the like, is confined to a few prominent localities which for one reason or the other were of special interest for the Paṇḍits. Thus the capital, Pravarapura-S'rīnagara, with several of its quarters, the towns of Vijayeśvara, Suyyapura-Varāhamūla and some other places of importance in the Valley, have continued to be known by their ancient names. These names probably never ceased to be employed in colophons of Sanskrit manuscripts, in horoscopes, and similar records. In the case of a few other localities again like Jayapura, Dāmodara's Uḍar, Cakradhara, there were well-known popular legends which plainly indicated their identity with sites mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. But for the great mass of ancient places there were no special reasons of this kind to assure a recollection of their old names. It is hence only natural that all genuine knowledge of their identity and earlier history has gradually disappeared from the Paṇḍits' tradition.

Nothing but systematic inquiry on the lines of modern historical research could help towards a recovery of the knowledge thus lost.

Popular local tradition.

35. Popular local tradition has fortunately in Kaśmīr proved far more tenacious than the tradition of the learned. I have often derived from it very valuable aid in my local search for particular sites. The experience gained on my antiquarian tours has convinced me that when collected with caution and critically sifted, such local traditions can safely be accepted as supplements to the topographical information of our written records. In illustration of this statement, I may refer to the evidence gathered from local tradition in reference to the sites of Lohara, Hastivañja Kramavarta, Jayapura, Skandabhavana, etc.[165]

In more than one instance it can be shown that local legends which Kalhaṇa heard, still cling unchanged to the same sites. As striking examples may be mentioned here, the legends concerning Dāmodara's Uḍar, the burned city of King Nara, the temple of Pravareśa.[166]

It cannot be doubted that this tenacity of local tradition in Kaśmīr is due largely to the country's seclusion. Mountain barriers and consequent isolation tend everywhere in alpine countries to develop and foster conservative habits of life and thought. We find these habits most strongly marked the population of the Valley, and can safely ascribe to them a great share in the preservation of local traditions.

[164] See his abstracts of the Chronicles in the *Rājataraṅgiṇīsaṁgrahas* acquired by Prof. Bühler (Nos. 176-8 of the Poona collection). It deserves to be noted that in them no attempt whatever is made to explain points of topographical interest.

[165] Compare Note *E* (iv. 177); i. 302; iii. 227 (*D*); iv. 606 sqq.; vi. 137 (*K*).

[166] See notes i. 156, 202; iii. 350.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY.

SECTION I.—POSITION AND CONFIGURATION OF KAŚMĪR VALLEY.

36. Nature itself when creating the great valley of Kaśmīr and its enclosing wall of mountains, seems to have assured to this territory not only a distinct geographical character, but also a historical existence of marked individuality. We see both these facts illustrated by the clearly defined and constant use of the name which the territory has borne from the earliest accessible period.

Name KAŚMĪRA.

This name, *Kaśmīra*, in its original Sanskrit form, has been used as the sole designation of the country throughout its known history. It has been uniformly applied both by the inhabitants and by foreigners. We can trace back its continued use through an unbroken chain of documents for more than twenty-three centuries. The name itself undoubtedly is far more ancient. Yet notwithstanding this long history the current form of the name down to the present day has changed but slightly in the country itself and scarcely at all outside it.

The Sanskrit *Kaśmīra* still lives as *Kaśmīr* (in Persian spelling *Kashmīr*) all through India and wherever to the west the fame of the Valley has spread. In the language of the inhabitants themselves the name is now pronounced as *Kaśīr*.[1] This form is the direct phonetic derivative of *Kaśmīra*, with the regular loss of the final vowel and assimilation of *m* to the preceding sibilant. A phonetic rule prevalent through all Indo-Aryan Vernaculars which favours the change of medial Skr. *m* into *v*,[2] leads us to assume an intermediate Prakrit form **Kaśvīr*[*a*]. In support of this we may point to the striking analogy of the Kaśmīr local name *S'ăngas* which (as shown in note i. 100) goes back through an older recorded form *S'vāngas* to **S'mān̄gāsā*, the *S'amān̄gāsā* of the Chronicle. It has been already shown above that we have to recognize in this *Kaśvīra* the original Prakrit form which Ptolemy's *Κάσπειρα*, *Κασπειρία* (pronounced Kaspīra, Kaspīria) are intended to transcribe.[3]

Etymologies of name.

Linguistic science can furnish no clue to the origin of the name nor even analyze its formation.[4] This fact, however, has not saved the name from being subjected to various etymological guesses which for curiosity's sake may receive here a passing notice. It must be held to the credit of Kaśmīrian Sanskrit authors that their extant writings are wholly innocent of this display of etymological fancy.

No less illustrious a person than the emperor Bābar opens the list. His suggestion was that the name may be derived from the hill-tribe '*Kās*' living in

[1] The adjective *Kāśur* 'Kaśmīrian' corresponds to Skr. *Kāśmīra*. The *u* of the last syllable is probably due to the *v* of an intermediate form Kaśvīra; see below.

[2] Compare Dr. GRIERSON'S remarks, *Z.D.M.G.*, l. p. 16.

[3] Compare § 5 above.

[4] If the Uṇādisūtra, 472, *Kaśer muṭ ca*, is to be applied to the word *Kaśmīra*, the latter would have to be dissolved into *Kaś-m-īra* according to the traditional grammatical system.

the neighbourhood of Kaśmīr.[5] We easily recognize here the reference to the *Khaśas* of the lower hills. Their name, however, in its true form has, of course, no connection with Kaśmīr.

Another etymology, first traceable in Ḥaidar Malik's Chronicle and hence reproduced by other Muhammadan writers,[6] derives the first part of the name from '*Kashap*,' i.e. Kaśyapa, and the second either from Kś. *mar*, i.e. *maṭha*, 'habitation,' or a word *mīr*, supposed to mean 'mountain.'[7] It was, perhaps, a belief that this whimsical etymology represented some local tradition, which induced even so great a scholar as Burnouf to risk the conjectural explanation of Kaśmīra as *Kaśyapamīra*, i.e. 'the sea of Kaśyapa.'[8] There is neither linguistic nor any other evidence to support this conjecture. It would hence scarcely have been necessary to refer to it had it not, on the authority of a great name, found its way also into numerous works of a more general character.[9]

Extent of Kaśmi

37. Just as the name Kaśmīr has practically remained unchanged through the course of so many centuries, so also has the territorial extent of the country which it designated. This has always been confined to the great valley drained by the headwaters of the Vitastā, and to the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it. The natural limits of the territory here indicated are so sharply marked that we have no difficulty in tracing them through all our historical records, whether indigenous or foreign. Hiuen Tsiang, Ou-k'ong and Alberūnī's accounts, as we have seen, show them clearly enough. Kalhaṇa's and his successors' Chronicles prove still more in detail that the Kaśmīr of Kaśmīrian tradition never extended materially beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges which encircle and protect the Valley.

A detailed description of the geographical position of Kaśmīr is not needed here, as there is an abundant modern literature dealing with the various aspects of the geography of the country. For an accurate and comprehensive account I may refer to the corresponding portion of Mr. Drew's work and to the graphic chapter which Mr. Lawrence devotes to the description of the Valley.[10] It will, however, be useful to allude here briefly to some of the characteristic features in the configuration of the country which have an important bearing on its ancient topography.

[5] See *Baber's Memoirs, transl. by Leyden and Erskine*, p. 313. A Persian MS. of the text adds that *mīr* signifies 'mountain.' Erskine, *Introduction*, p. xxvii., improves upon this etymology by extending it to Kashgar, the Casia regio and Casii Montes of Ptolemy. Ritter, *Asien*, ii. p. 1127, from whom I take this reference, not unjustly queries why the learned editor should have stopped short of the *Caspium mare* and other equally manifest affinities!

Bābar's conjecture figures still seriously in a note of the latest translation of the Ain-i Akbari, ii. p. 881.

Regarding the name and habitation of the *Khaśas*, compare note i. 317.

[6] It was first introduced to the European reader by Tieffenthaler's extract from Ḥaidar Malik's Chronicle; compare *Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*, ed. Bernouilli, 1786, i. p. 79 (also p. 89 as to source).

Compare Wilson, *Essay*, p. 94, for a similar note from the *Waqiāt-i Kashmīr* of Muḥammad 'Āẓim; here کشف سر is a clerical error for کشف مر.

[7] The Kś. word *mar* < Skr. *maṭha* is in common use in the country as the designation of Sarais, shelter-huts on passes, etc.; *mīr* might have been connected by Ḥaidar Malik's Paṇḍit informants with the name of Mount *Meru* or with *mīra*, meaning according to a Kośa *parvataikadeśa*: see *P.W.*, s.v.

[8] Compare his note in Humboldt, *L'Asie centrale*, i. p. 92.

[9] See e.g. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, i. p. 54 note; McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 108; V. de St.-Martin, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, *Sav. Étrang.*, v. ii. p. 83: Kiepert, *Alte Geographie*, 1878, p. 36.

[10] See Drew, *Jummoo*, Chapters viii.-x.; Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 12-39.

Geographical position of Kaśmir.

Kaśmir owes its historical unity and isolation to the same facts which give to its geographical position a distinct, and in some respects almost unique character. We find here a fertile plain embedded among high mountain ranges, a valley large enough to form a kingdom for itself and capable of supporting a highly-developed civilization. Its height above the sea, nowhere less than 5000 feet, and its peculiar position assure to it a climate equally free from the heat of India and the rigours of cold peculiar to the higher mountain regions in the north and east.

The form of the country has been justly likened to a great irregular oval consisting of a similarly shaped level vale in the centre and a ring of mountains around it. The low and more or less flat part of the country measures about eighty-four miles in length, from south-east to north-west, while its width varies from twenty to twenty-five miles. The area comprised in this part has been estimated at 1800 or 1900 square miles.[11] Around this great plain rise mountain-ranges which enclose it in an almost unbroken ring. Their summit-lines are everywhere but for a short distance at the southernmost point of the oval, more than 10,000 feet above the sea. For the greatest part they rise to about 13,000 feet, while the peaks crowning them tower up to altitudes close on 18,000 feet. Reckoned from the summit-lines of these ranges the length of the irregular oval enclosed by them is about 116 miles, with a varying width from forty to seventy-five miles. The whole area within these mountain-boundaries may be estimated at about 3900 square miles.

The slopes of the mountains descending towards the central plain are drained by numerous rivers and streams, all of which join the Vitastā within the Kaśmir plain. The side-valleys in which these tributaries flow add much ground to the cultivated area of the country, several of them being of considerable length and width. But even the higher zones of the mountain-slopes where cultivation ceases add their share to the economical wealth of the country. They are clothed with a belt of magnificent forests, and above this extend rich alpine pastures close up to the line of perpetual snow.

In the great mountain-chain which encircles the country, there is but one narrow gap left, near the north-west end of the Valley. There the Vitastā after uniting the whole drainage of Kaśmir, flows out by the gorge of Bārāmūla (Varāhamūla) on its course towards the sea. For a distance of nearly 200 miles further this course lies through a very contracted valley which forms a sort of natural gate to Kaśmir. It is here that we find the old political frontier of Kaśmir extending beyond the mountain-barriers already described. For about fifty miles below the Varāhamūla gorge the narrow valley of the Vitastā was held in Hindu times as an outlying frontier-tract of Kaśmir.[12]

Legend of *Satīsaras*.

38. The general configuration of the country here sketched in its broadest outlines may be held to account for the ancient legend which represents Kaśmir to have been originally a lake. This legend is mentioned by Kalhaṇa in the Introduction of his Chronicle and is related at great length in the Nīlamata.[13] According to this earliest traditional account the lake called *Satīsaras*, 'the lake of Satī (Durgā),' occupied the place of Kaśmir from the beginning of the Kalpa. In the period of the seventh Manu the demon Jalodbhava ('water-born') who resided in this lake, caused great distress to all neighbouring countries by his devastations.

[11] Compare Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 162, for this and subsequent statements.

[12] See below, § 58.

[13] See *Rājat.* i. 25-27; *Nīlamata*, vv. 26-[illegible]7. A detailed extract of the Nīlamata's story has been given by Prof. Bühler, *Report*, p. [illegible].

The Muni Kaśyapa, the father of all Nāgas, while engaged in a pilgrimage to the Tīrthas in the north of India, heard of the cause of this distress from his son Nīla, the king of the Kaśmīr Nāgas. The sage thereupon promised to punish the evil-doer, and proceeded to the seat of Brahman to implore his and the other gods' help for the purpose. His prayer was granted. The whole host of gods by Brahman's command started for the Satīsaras and took up their position on the lofty peaks of the *Naubandhana Tīrtha*, above the lake Kramasaras (Kōnsᵃrnāg). The demon who was invincible in his own element, refused to come forth from the lake. Viṣṇu thereupon called upon his brother Balabhadra to drain the lake. This he effected by piercing the mountains with his weapon, the plough-share. When the lake had become dry, Jalodhava was attacked by Viṣṇu, and after a fierce combat slain with the god's war-disc.

Kaśyapa then settled the land of Kaśmīr which had thus been produced. The gods took up their abodes in it as well as the Nāgas, while the various goddesses adorned the land in the shape of rivers. At first men dwelt in it for six months only in the year. This was owing to a curse of Kaśyapa who, angered by the Nāgas, had condemned them to dwell for the other six months together with the Piśācas. Accordingly men left Kaśmīr for the six months of winter and returned annually in Caitra when the Piśācas withdrew. Ultimately after four Yugas had passed, the Brahman Candradeva through the Nīlanāga's favour acquired a number of rites which freed the country from the Piśācas and excessive cold. Henceforth Kaśmīr became inhabitable throughout the year.

The legend of the desiccation of the lake is alluded to also by Hiuen Tsiang, though in another, Buddhistic form.[14] Its main features as related in the Nīlamata, live to this day in popular tradition. They are also reproduced in all Muhammadan abstracts of the Chronicles.[15] From Ḥaidar Malik's Tārīkh, the legend became known to Dr. Bernier who prefaces with it his description of the 'paradis terrestre des Indes.'[16] It has since found its way into almost every European account of Kaśmīr.

Lacustrine features of Valley.

It is probable that this legend had much to do with drawing from the first the attention of European travellers to those physical facts which seem to support the belief that Kaśmīr was in comparatively late geological times wholly or in great part occupied by a vast lake. But few seem to have recognized so clearly as the late Mr. Drew the true relation between the legend and the above facts. I cannot put this view which from a critical point of view appears self-evident, more precisely than by quoting his words. "The traditions of the natives—traditions that can be historically traced as having existed for ages—tend in the same direction [viz. of the Vale having been occupied by a lake], and these have usually been considered to corroborate the conclusions drawn from the observed phenomena. Agreeing, as I do, with the conclusion, I cannot count the traditions as perceptibly strengthening it; I have little doubt that they themselves originated in the same physical evidence that later travellers have examined."[17]

The geological observations upon which modern scientific inquirers like Mr. Drew and Colonel Godwin Austin have based their belief as to the former existence of a great lake, are mainly concerned with the undoubted 'lacustrine deposits' found in the so-called *Uḍars* or *Karēwa* plateaus to be noticed below.

[14] See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. p. 149.

[15] Compare e.g. *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 380; Wilson, *Essay*, p. 93.

[16] See Bernier, *Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 393.

[17] See *Jummoo*, p. 207.

But it seems to me very doubtful whether we can reasonably credit the early Kaśmīrians with a correct scientific interpretation of such geological records. It appears far more probable that the legend was suggested by an observation of the general form of the Valley, and by a kind of natural inference from the historical changes in the hydrography of the country.

We shall see below that great drainage operations took place at various periods of Kaśmīr history which extended the cultivable ground and reduced the area covered by lakes and marshes. To any one, however ignorant of geology, but acquainted with the latter fact, the picture of a vast lake originally covering the whole Valley might naturally suggest itself. It would be enough for him to stand on a hillside somewhere near the Volur, to look down on the great lake and the adjoining marshes, and to glance then beyond towards that narrow gorge of Bārāmūla where the mountains scarcely seem to leave an opening. It is necessary to bear in mind here the singular flights of Hindu imagination as displayed in the Purāṇas, Māhātmyas and similar texts. Those acquainted with them will, I think, be ready to allow that the fact of that remarkable gorge being the single exit for the drainage of the country might alone even have sufficed as a starting-point for the legend.

In respect of the geological theory above referred to, it may yet be mentioned that in the opinion of a recent authority, "even the presence of true lacustrine deposits does not prove that the whole of the Kaśmīr lake basin was ever occupied by a lake." [18] At the present day true lacustrine deposits are still being formed in the hollows of the rock basin, represented by the lakes of the north-west portion of the Valley. It is held probable "that the conditions have been much the same as at present, throughout the geological history of the Kaśmīr Valley," only a minor area of the latter having at various periods been occupied by lakes.

Whatever view may ultimately recommend itself to geologists, it is certain that the lacustrine deposits of Kaśmīr, though of no remote date, speaking by a geological standard, are far older than any monuments of man that have yet been discovered.[19]

Kaśmīr defended by mountains.

39. None of the natural features of Kaśmīr geography have had a more direct bearing on the history of the country than the great mountain-barriers that surround it. They may hence rightly claim our first consideration.

The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has at all times been duly recognized both by the inhabitants and foreign observers. Since an early period Kaśmīrians have been wont to pride themselves on their country's safety from foreign invasion, a feeling justified only by the strength of these natural defences. We find it alluded to by Kalhaṇa, who speaks of Kaśmīr as unconquerable by the force of soldiers, and of the protection afforded by its mountain walls.[20] The feeling is very clearly reflected in all foreign records of the country. We have already seen what special notice is taken by Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-k'ong of the mountains enclosing the kingdom, and the difficulty of the passes leading through them.[21] The statements of the early Arab geographers, brief as they are, lay due stress on the inaccessible character of the mountains. Alberūnī does the same, and shows us besides the anxious care taken in old days to maintain this natural strength of the country by keeping strict watch over the passes.[22]

[18] See Mr. R. D. Oldham's *Manual of Indian Geology* (1893), quoted by Mr. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 50.

[19] See Drew, *Jummoo*, pp. 207 sq.

[20] See i. 31, 39.

[21] Compare above, §§ 9, 11.

[22] See above, §§ 12, 14.

Even when Kaśmīr had suffered a partial conquest from the north and had become Muhammadanized, the belief in the invincibility of its bulwarks continued as strong as before. Thus Sharāfu-d-dīn, the historian of Tīmūr, writing apparently from materials collected during the great conqueror's passage through the Panjāb Kōhistān (circ. A.D. 1397), says of Kaśmīr: "This country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants, without the trouble of fortifying themselves, are safe from the attacks of enemies." The subsequent account of the routes into Kaśmīr and other exact details, suggest that the author of the *Zafarnāma* had access to genuine Kaśmīrian information.[23]

Watch-stations on mountain passes.

40. It is this defensive character of the mountain-ranges to which we owe most of our detailed information regarding their ancient topography. We have already in connection with the accounts of Albērūnī and the Chinese pilgrims, had occasion to note the system of frontier watch-stations by which a careful guard was kept over the passes leading through the mountains. These fortified posts and the passes they guarded play an important part in the narrative of Kalhaṇa and his successors. As most of the Chronicles' references to Kaśmīr orography are directly connected with these watch-stations, it will be useful to premise here a few general remarks regarding their character and purpose.[24]

The small forts which since ancient times closed all regularly used passes leading into the Valley, are designated in the Chronicles by the word DVĀRA, 'gate,' or by the more specific terms *draṅga* or *ḍhakka*. Numerous passages show that they served at the same time the purposes of defence, customs and police administration. They were garrisoned by troops under special commanders, designated as *draṅgeśa* or *draṅgādhipa*. The control over all these frontier-stations and the command of the 'Marches' generally, was vested in Hindu times in one high state officer, known by the title of *Dvārapati*, 'lord of the Gate,' or equivalent terms.[25]

Guarding of 'Gates.'

The organization of the system was somewhat changed in Muhammadan times, when the guarding of the several routes through the mountains was entrusted to feudal chiefs known as Maliks (Skr. *mārgeśa*). These held hereditary charge of specific passes, and enjoyed certain privileges in return for this duty. In other respects the system underwent scarcely any change. The fortified posts with their small garrisons survived on all important routes almost to our own days, and were known as *rāhdārī* in the official Persian.[26] It may be noted that apart from their character as military defences against inroads from foreign territories the Draṅgas were also in another respect true 'gates' to the country. Nobody was allowed to pass outside them coming from the Valley without a special permit or pass. The system thus served as an important check on unauthorized emigration, and was withdrawn only after the last Kaśmīr famine (1878).[27]

[23] See the extract from Sharāfu-d-dīn's Zafarnāma in *Tārīkh-i Rāshīdī*, transl. by Messrs. N. Elias and E. D. Ross, p. 432; compare also RITTER. *Asien*, ii. pp. 1122 sq.

[24] For detailed references regarding these stations see my notes, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 382 sqq.; *Rājat.* i. 122; iii. 227 (*D*).

[25] Compare note v. 214.

[26] See *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 385; also below, §§ 49, 52.

[27] For an early reference to this system of passports at the Dvāras, see *Jonar.* 654. For a description of the cruel exactions often connected with *rāhdārī*, compare LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 215.

I have never been able to visit the sites of the old watch-stations at the several passes without thinking of the scenes of human suffering they must have witnessed for centuries.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of these frontier watch-stations, it should be remembered that the mountain regions immediately outside Kaśmīr were almost in every direction held by turbulent hill-tribes. To the hardy Dards (*Darad*) in the north, and the restless Khakhas (*Khaśa*) in the south and west the rich Kaśmīr with its weak population, has always appeared as a tempting prey. The last inroad of the plundering Khakhas occurred not more than half a century ago, and will not be soon forgotten.[28] At the same time it is certain that the valour of these hardy mountain-clans on the confines of Kaśmīr has at all times contributed greatly to the natural strength of the mountain defences. Without this protective belt the latter themselves would scarcely have remained so long proof against foreign invasion.

SECTION II.—THE PĪR PANTSĀL RANGE.

Kaśmīr orography.

41. In order to understand correctly the data relating to the ancient topography of the mountains around Kaśmīr it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with their actual configuration and character. In the following account it will be possible only to indicate the most prominent features of this mountain-system, and those directly connected with the historical data under discussion. For detailed information on Kaśmīr orography a reference to the lucid and instructive account in Mr. DREW's work may be specially recommended.[29]

The mountain-ring enclosing Kaśmīr is divided into three main ranges. One of these, usually designated as the *Pīr Pantsāl* Range, forms the boundary of the Kaśmīr Valley to the south and south-west. It may be considered to begin from the southernmost part of the Valley where the Bānᵃhāl Pass, 9200 feet above the sea, marks the lowest depression in the chain of mountains. After running for about thirty-five miles from east to west, the range turns to the north-northwest. In this direction it continues for about fifty miles more, and after attaining its greatest elevation in the Taṭakūṭi Peak (15,524 feet above the sea), gradually descends towards the valley of the Vitastā. All important old routes towards the Panjāb cross this great mountain-barrier, and this circumstance enables us to trace some interesting information regarding its ancient topography.

Pass of BĀṆAŚĀLĀ.

The Banᵃhāl Pass at the eastern extremity of the range must, owing to its small elevation, have always been a convenient route of communication towards the Upper Cināb Valley and the eastern of the Panjāb hill states. It takes its modern name from a village at the south foot of the pass which itself is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle by the name of BĀṆAŚĀLĀ.[30] The castle of Bāṇaśālā was in Kalhaṇa's own time the scene of a memorable siege (A.D. 1130) in which the pretender Bhikṣācara was captured and killed. Coming from the Cināb Valley he had entered *Viṣalāṭā*,[31] the hill-district immediately south of the Bānᵃhāl Pass, with the view to an invasion of Kaśmīr. As his movement fell in the commencement of the winter, he could not have selected a more convenient route. The Bānᵃhāl Pass is the only route across the Pīr Pantsāl Range on which communication is never

[28] Compare for the Khakhas, note i. 317.

[29] See *Jummoo*, pp. 192-206.

[30] See note viii. 1665 sq.

[31] See note viii. 177.

entirely stopped by snow-fall. Kalhaṇa's narrative shows that the political and ethnographic frontier ran here as elsewhere on the watershed of the range. For the castle of Bāṇaśālā, though so near as to be visible from the top of the pass (*saṁkaṭa*), was already held by a Khaśa chief.[32]

Naubandhana Tīrtha.

Proceeding westwards from Bān°hāl we come to a group of three snowy peaks reaching above 15,000 feet. With their bold pyramidal summits they form conspicuous objects in the panorama of the range as seen from the Valley.[33] Kaśmīr tradition locates on them the seats from which Viṣṇu, S'iva, and Brahman according to the legend already related, fought Jalodbhava and desiccated the Satīsaras. The westernmost and highest of these peaks (15,523 feet) forms the famous NAUBANDHANA Tīrtha. According to the legend related in the Nīlamata and other texts and connected with the Indian deluge story, Viṣṇu in his fish Avatāra had bound to this peak the ship (*nau*) into which Durgā had converted herself to save the seeds of the beings from destruction.[34] At the foot of this peak and to the north-west of it, lies a mountain lake over two miles long, known now as *Kōns°r Nāg*, the *Kramasaras* or *Kramasāra* of the Nīlamata and Māhātmyas.[35] It is supposed to mark a footstep (*krama*) of Viṣṇu and is the proper object of the Naubandhana pilgrimage.

Pass of Siddhapatha.

About eight miles straight to the west of this lake the range is crossed by a pass over 14,000 feet high, known now by the name of *Sidau* or *Būdil*. It lies on a route which in an almost straight line connects S'rīnagar with Akhnūr and Siālkōt in the Panjāb plain. Running up and down high ridges it is adapted only for foot-traffic. But owing to its shortness it was formerly a favourite route with Kaśmīrīs.[36] The name *Sidau* is given to the pass from the first village reached by it on the Kaśmīr side. It is by this name, in its original form SIDDHAPATHA, that the pass is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle as the route chosen for a pretender's irruption in Sussala's reign.[37]

A snowy peak close to the west of the pass of Siddhapatha marks the point where the main range changes its direction towards north-north-west. From the same point there branches off in a westerly direction the lower Ratan Pīr Range to which we shall have to refer below. Beyond it lie the passes of Rūprī and Darhāl, both above 13,000 feet in height. They are not distinctly named in the Chronicles; but as they give most direct access to Rajaurī, the ancient Rājapurī, and are crossed without much trouble during the summer months, they are likely to have been used from an early time. Near the Darhāl Pass lies the *Nandan Sar*, one of the numerous tarns which mark along this portion of the chain the rock-ground beds of old glaciers. It is probably the *Nandana Nāga* of the Nīlamata.

[32] See viii. 1674, 1683.
Saṁkaṭa is the regular term for 'pass.'

[33] Marked on the map as 'Brama Sakal,' perhaps a corruption for '*Brahmaśikhara*,' 'Brahman's peak.'

[34] See *Nīlamata*, 33 sqq.; *Haracar.* iv. 27; *S'rīv.* i. 474 sqq.; *S'arvāvatāra*, iii. 4, 12; v. 43, etc.

[35] See *S'rīv.* i. 482 sqq. where a visit of Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn to this lake is related at length; *Nīlamata*, 121, 1272; *Naubandhanamāhātmya*, passim; *S'arvāvatāra*, iii. 10; v. 174, etc.

[36] According to DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 524, the distance from Jammu to S'rīnagar by the Sidau route is reckoned at 129 miles, whereas *viâ* the Bān°hāl it is 177 miles.
The name Būdil is given to the pass from the hill district adjoining it from the south; compare my note vi. 318.

[37] See viii. 557.
In the Chronicles of S'rīvara and his successors the tract about Sidau is repeatedly referred to as *Siddhādeśa*, an evident adaptation of the Kś. form of the name.

Pīr Pantsal Route.

42. About five miles due north of the Nandan Sar we reach the lowest dip in the central part of the whole range. It is marked by the pass known as *Pīr Pantsāl*, 11,400 feet high. The route which crosses it, has from early days to the present time been the most frequented line of communication from Kaśmīr to the central part of the Panjāb. The frequent references which the Chronicles make to this route, permit us to follow it with accuracy from the point where it enters the mountains. This is in the valley of the Rembyār River (*Ramaṇyāṭavī*) a little below the village of *Hūr̄pōr*.

S'ūrapura.

This place, the ancient S'ŪRAPURA, is often referred to as the entrance station for those reaching Kaśmīr from Rājapurī and the neighbouring places, or *vice versâ* as the point of departure for those travelling in the opposite direction.[38] S'ūrapura was founded by S'ūra, the minister of Avantivarman, in the ninth century, evidently with the intention of establishing a convenient emporium on this important trade route.[39] He transferred to this locality the watch-station (*draṅga*) of the pass. Its site can still be traced at the place known as *Ilāhī Darwāza* ('the gate of God') a short distance above the village.[40] We see the commanders of this frontier-station more than once engaged in military operations against intending invaders from the other side of the mountains.

Ascending the valley of the Rembyār or Ramaṇyāṭavī for about seven miles we reach the point where the streams coming from the Pīr Pantsāl and Rūprī Passes unite. In the angle formed by them rises a steep rocky hillock which bears on its top a small ruined fort known as *Kāmelankōṭh*. These ruins probably go back only to the time of the Afghān Governor of Kaśmīr, 'Aṭā Muḥammad Khān, who, about 1812, fortified the Pīr Pantsāl route against the Sikh invasion then threatening. But I have proved in the above-quoted paper that they mark the original position occupied by the ancient watch-station on this route before its transfer to S'ūrapura.[41] Kalhaṇa, iii. 227, calls this site KRAMAVARTA, which name is rendered by a glossator of the seventeenth century as Kāmelanakoṭṭa and still survives in the present *Kāmelankōṭh* (**Kramavartānāṁ koṭṭa*).

Hastivañja.

43. The old 'Imperial Road' constructed by Akbar, then ascends the narrow valley, keeping on its left side high above the Pīr Pantsāl stream. At a distance of about four miles above Kāmelankōṭh and close to the Mughal Sarai of 'Alīābād, we arrive at a point where a high mountain-ridge sloping down from the south falls off towards the valley in a wall of precipitous cliffs. The ridge is known as *Hạst'vañj*. This name and the surviving local tradition makes it quite certain that we have here the spot at which a curious legend told by Kalhaṇa was localized from early times.[42]

The Chronicle, i. 302 sqq., relates of king *Mihirakula*, whose identity with the White Hun ruler of that name (circ. A.D. 515-50) is not doubtful, that when on his return from a tour of conquest through India he reached the 'Gate of Kaśmīr,' he heard the death-cry of an elephant which had fallen over the precipice. The gruesome sound so delighted the cruel king that he had a hundred more elephants rolled down at the same spot. The old glossator on the passage informs us that "since that occurrence the route by which Mihirakula returned is called *Hastivañja*." The Persian Chroniclers, too, in reproducing the anecdote give *Hastivanj* as the name of the locality.

[38] See Note *D*, iii. 227, § 1.

[39] Compare note v. 39.

[40] See *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 385. This paper should be compared for all details regarding the other old sites along this route.

[41] *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 384 sq.

[42] Compare *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 375 sqq., and note i. 302.

The local tradition of the neighbouring hill-tracts still retains the story of a king's elephants having fallen down here into the gorge below. It also maintains that the old route to the Pass, in the times before the construction of the 'Imperial Road,' crossed the *Hast'vañj* ridge and followed throughout the right bank of the Pīr Pantsāl stream. This is fully borne out by a statement of Abū-l-Fazl.[43] Describing the several routes available on the march from Bhimbhar to Kaśmīr, he clearly distinguishes "the route of Hastivanj (MSS. Hastivatar) which was the former route for the march of troops," from the 'Pīr Pantsāl route' which Akbar used on his visits to Kaśmīr.

The name Hast'vañj contains in its first part undoubtedly *hast'*, the Kś. derivative of Skr. *hastin*, 'elephant.' The second part is connected by the Persian compilators with the root *vanj* meaning 'to go' in Western Panjābī. The close connection between the name and the local legend already heard by Kalhaṇa is evident enough. But whether the latter had any foundation in fact, or merely arose from some 'popular etymology' of the name, cannot be decided.

The story helps in any case to make it quite clear that the ancient route from the Pīr Pantsāl Pass kept to the right or southern side of the Valley. My inquiries on the spot showed that this route though neglected for many centuries is passable for laden animals and not unfrequently used by smugglers.[44]

Pañcāladhārā-maṭha.

44. 'Alīābād Sarai is a Mughal hospice erected for the shelter of travellers about half a mile above Hast'vañj. It is about the highest point on the ascent to the pass where fuel can be conveniently obtained. I think it hence probable that the *Maṭha* or hospice which Kṣemendra mentions on the Pīr Pantsāl Pass, must have been situated somewhere in this neighbourhood.

Kṣemendra makes this interesting reference in that curious portion of the Samayamātṛkā already alluded to above, which describes the wanderings of the courtesan Kaṅkālī.[45] The heroine of his story after effecting some petty thefts in Kaśmīr proceeds to *S'ūrapura*. There she passes herself off as the wife of a load-carrier (*ṭhārika*) engaged on the 'salt-road.'[46] By this term the Pīr Pantsāl route is quite correctly designated. It has remained to the present day the chief route by which the produce of the Panjāb salt mines coming *viâ* Jehlam and Bhimbhar enters Kaśmīr.[47] She keeps up the disguise which is evidently intended to help

[43] See *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 347 sq. The form *Hastivatar* in the text is a clerical error for *Hastivanj*, easily explained in Persian characters; see note i. 302.

[44] Dr. Bernier, who in the summer of 1665 accompanied Aurangzeb's court to Kaśmīr, has left us in his Ninth Letter to M. de Merveilles, an accurate and graphic account of the Pīr Pantsāl route. While ascending the Pass from the *Panjāb* side, he passed the spot where two days earlier an accident had happened curiously resembling Mihirakula's story. Fifteen of the elephants carrying ladies of the Imperial seraglio, owing to some confusion in the line of march, fell over the precipice and were lost; see Bernier's *Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 407. The curious map of Kaśmīr given in the Amsterdam edition of 1672, shows accordingly the '*Pire Penjale*' mountain with a troop of elephants rolling in picturesque confusion over its side.

[45] See *Samayam.* ii. 90 sqq., and above, § 25.

[46] Professional load-carriers or Coolies are found to this day in numbers in Hür'pōr, Puṣiāna, and other places near the Pīr Pantsal Pass. Of Zainu-l-'ābidīn it is specially reported that he settled a colony of load-carriers from *Abhisāra* (i.e. the country about Bhimbhar) at the customs-station of S'ūrapura; see *S'rīv.* i. [illegible] Coolies are the only means of transport on the Pīr Pantsāl and other passes when the snow lies to any depth.

[47] Salt is a considerable article of import into Kaśmīr where it is wholly wanting; see Lawrence, *Valley*, p. [illegible]. I remember vividly the long strings of salt-laden bullocks which I used to meet daily when marching into Kaśmīr by the Pīr Pantsāl route.

her through the clutches of the officials at the frontier guard-station, by taking next morning a good load on her head and starting with it towards the pass (*saṁkaṭa*).

On the way she passes along high mountains by precipitous paths, deeply covered with snow. By nightfall she reaches the PAÑCĀLADHĀRĀMAṬHA, after having, in the meantime, assumed the guise of a respectable housewife, and apparently disposed of her load. It being late in the season, she passes the night there shivering with cold, though wrapped up in thick woollen cloaks. Thence she finds her way open to India where a career of successful adventures awaits her.

The name *Pañcāla*.

45. Kṣemendra's itinerary is of particular value, because it supplies us with the only mention of the old name of the pass I can trace. It is certain that with him *Pañcāladhārā* designates the highest portion of the route, i.e. the Pass of Pīr Pantsāl. It is equally obvious that *Pañcāla* is the original of the modern Kś. *Pantsāl*, which is in fact identical with the earlier form except for the regular change of Skr. *c* into Kś. *ts*. In the Pahārī dialect of the population inhabiting the valleys to the south the name is still pronounced *Pañcāl*.[48]

The term *-dhārā* which is added to Pañcāla, represents in all probability the equivalent of our 'pass.' Skr. *-dhārā* means generally the sharp edge of some object. According to Wilson's Dictionary, as quoted by Böhtlingk-Roth, the word also carries the specific meaning of 'edge of a mountain.' It is probable that this meaning was taken by Wilson's Paṇḍits from some earlier Kośa. In any case it agrees closely with the use of the word *dhār* in the modern Pahārī dialects south of Kaśmīr. There it is well known as the designation of any high mountain-ridge above the region of alpine pasture.

We are tempted to see in *Pañcāla* a distinct local name either of the Pass itself or of the whole mountain chain. But the use of the modern derivative *Pantsāl* presents difficulties in the way of a certain conclusion. The word Pantsāl is now applied in Kaśmīr chiefly to the great mountain-chain which forms the boundary of the country to the south, i.e. the range to which conventional European usage gives the name of 'Pīr Pantsāl.' Yet the meaning conveyed now to a Kaśmīrī by the term Pantsāl, is scarcely more than that of 'high mountain-range.' The word is used in combination with specific names for the designation of subordinate branches of the great range towards the Panjāb. Thus the range crossed on the way from the Pīr Pantsāl Pass to Rajaurī, is known as '*Ratan Pantsāl*,' and the one crossed by the Hāji Pīr Pass between Ūrī and Prūnts (Pūnch) as '*Hāji Pantsāl*.' Sometimes, but not so generally, the term is employed also with reference to mountains wholly unconnected with the 'Pīr Pantsāl' system.

On the whole I am inclined to the belief that *Pañcāla* > *Pantsāl* had originally the character of a specific local name. It may have been applied either to the whole of the great southern chain of mountains or its central portion about the Pīr Pantsāl Pass. Subsequent usage may then have extended the application of the term just as it has in Europe that of the name 'Alps.' Our materials, however, are not sufficient to enable us to trace the history of the word with absolute certainty.[49]

[48] I am not certain of the origin of the pronunciation of the name as *Pīr Panjāl*, now accepted in Anglo-Indian usage. It is known neither on the Kaśmīr, nor on the Panjāb side of the range itself. It meets us first in Bernier's *Pire Penjale*. Tieffenthaler, however, writes more correctly *Pencal*; see *Description de l'Inde*, 1786, pp. 87 sq.

[49] The main facts regarding the modern use of the word Pantsāl have been quite correctly recognized already by Mr. Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 157.

Pīr as a term for Pass.

46. In this connection it will be useful briefly to notice also the word *Pīr* which forms the first part of the modern designation of the Pass. This word is now used more or less generally for 'Pass' both in Kaśmīr and the hill-tracts south of it. Mr. DREW, who seems to have given more attention to local nomenclature in these hills than other travellers, in his explanation of the term starts from the well-known meaning of *pīr* in Persian, an 'old man' and thence 'a saint or Faqīr.'[50]

He refers to the common practice of Faqīrs establishing themselves on Passes for the sake of refreshing travellers and of receiving their alms. "When any noted holy Faqīr died on a Pass, the place became sacred to his memory, and was often called after him, his title of Pīr being prefixed; at last it became so common for every important Pass to have a name beginning with Pīr that the word acquired the secondary meaning of Mountain Pass." Mr. DREW refers to the fact that Dr. Bernier already found an aged hermit established on the Pass who had resided there since the time of Jahāngīr. He was supposed "to work miracles, cause strange thunders, and raise storms of wind, hail, snow, and rain." From this 'Pīr,' Mr. Drew thinks, the Pass acquired the first part of its present name.

I agree with the above explanation as far as the use of the Persian word Pīr is concerned. But I suspect that the custom of connecting mountain passes with holy personages rests on a far older foundation. Superstitious belief has at all times and in all mountainous regions peopled the solitary summits and high ridges with spirits and other supernatural beings. To this day Kaśmīrian Brahmans fully believe in the presence of Devatās and Bhūtas of all sorts on high mountain passes. In those parts of the Himālaya where Hinduism has survived among all classes, this superstition can, no doubt, be found still more fully developed.[51]

On all Kaśmīr passes, however rarely visited, stone-heaps are found marking the supposed graves of imaginary 'Pīrs,' and every pious Muhammadan on passing adds his stone to them. Yet these little cairns existed there in all probability long before Islām reached the country. Exactly the same custom is observed, e.g., by the Hindu pilgrims to Amaranātha on crossing the Vāvᵉjan Pass above the lake of Suśravonāga, 'to please the Devas' as the Māhātmya says.[52] We can show that all famous Ziārats in Kaśmīr, whether of real or imaginary Muhammadan Saints, occupy sites which were sacred in earlier times to one or the other Hindu divinity. We can scarcely go far wrong in concluding by their analogy that the 'Pīrs' of the Muhammadan wayfarers have only taken the places of the older Hindu 'Devas.'

Pañcāladeva.

A striking confirmation of this surmise is afforded by the only passage of the Sanskrit Chronicles which mentions the Pīr Pantsāl Pass by its proper name. S'rīvara, iii. 433, when relating the return of a Kaśmīr refugee 'by the route of S'ūrapura' in the time of Ḥassan Shāh (circ. A.D. 1472-84), tells us of a fatal chill he caught 'on the top of the *Pañcāladeva*.' It is clear that the name here used corresponds exactly to the modern Pīr Pantsāl, 'Pīr' being the nearest Muhammadan equivalent

[50] See *Jummoo*, p. 157, note.

[51] Compare, e.g. for such superstitions in Kumaun, Sir W. Hunter's *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, p. 54.

[52] See *Amaranāthamāhātmya*, vii. 1 sqq. The stones placed are supposed to represent *maṭhikās*, 'shelter-huts,' in which the gods can find refuge from the evil wind blowing on the pass (hence its alleged Skr. name *Vāyuvarjana*). The duty of making these Maṭhikās is enjoined in vii. 19. *Maṭhikāṁ ye na kurvanti tatraiva Vāyuvarjane | dāruṇaṁ narakaṁ yānti śatakalpaṁ na saṁśayaḥ || kṛtvā tu maṭhikāṁ devi pūjayed vidhipūrvakam | arpayed devaprītyarthaṁ dakṣiṇābhiḥ samanvitam ||*.

for 'Deva.' Dr. Bernier's account has already shown us that popular superstition had not failed to transfer also the supernatural powers of the 'Deva' to the Pīr who acted as his representative on the Pass.

Pass of Pīr Pantsāl.

47. We may now return to the description of the old route where we left it at 'Alīābād Sarai and resume our journey towards the Pass. From the Mughal hospice the road ascends in a gently sloping valley westwards until at a distance of about 4½ miles the Pass is reached. Close to the point where the descent towards the Panjāb side begins, stands the hut of a Faqīr. He has inherited the post of Bernier's Pīr, but little of his spiritual powers and emoluments. An octagonal watch-tower close by, occupied by a Sepoy post till a few years ago, may mark the site of an earlier outpost.

Puṣyāṇanāḍa.

The descent is here as on all Passes of the range far steeper on the Panjāb side than towards Kaśmīr. *Puṣiāna*, the next stage, which is reached by sigzag paths along the rocky slope of the mountain, lies already more than 3000 feet below the Pass. The little village is an ancient place. It is undoubtedly the *Puṣyāṇanāḍa* of Kalhaṇa who mentions it repeatedly in connection with the civil wars of his own time.[53] Puṣyāṇanāḍa served as a refuge for rebel leaders for whom Kaśmīr had become too hot. They could thence conveniently resume their inroads. We see here again clearly that the Kaśmīr frontier ran on the watershed of the range. For of *Puṣyāṇanāḍa*, it is distinctly said that it belonged already to the territory of *Rājapurī*.

From Puṣiāna the road descends in a westerly direction along the bed of a stream which belongs to the headwaters of the Tauṣī (Tohī) of Prūnts. The next stage is the hill-village of Bahrāmgala, a considerable place, which is mentioned already by S'rīvara under the name of BHAIRAVAGALA.[54] From Bahrāmgala the route turns to the south and crosses, by the Pass known as Ratan Pīr (8200 feet), the range which has already been referred to as a branch from the Pīr Pantsāl chain. Here the route enters the region of the middle mountains and descends in an open valley to Rajaurī, the ancient Rājapurī, where we may leave it.

Central part of Pīr Pantsāl.

48. Beyond the Pīr Pantsāl Pass the summit-line of the main range rises again considerably. The *Tangtala* Pass, which is about five miles due north of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass, and is mentioned by Abū-l-Fazl,[55] is already far higher. The track crossing it is scarcely practicable for laden animals.

The same is the case, as personal experience showed me, with the next two Passes, known by the Pahārī names of *Cittapānī* and *Coṭī Galī;* they are both over 14,000 feet in height. The first-named one was probably used on occasion of the inroad related by S'rīvara, iv. 589 sqq. We are told there of a rebel force which coming from Rajaurī got round the troops of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh posted at S'ūrapura by crossing the mountains in the direction of KĀCAGALA. This place, as shown on the map, corresponds undoubtedly to the alpine plateau or 'Marg' of Kācgul on the northern slope of the Pīr Pantsāl range.

Mount Taṭakūṭī.

A short distance to the north-west of the Coṭī Galī Pass the range culminates in its greatest snowy peak, Mount *Taṭakūṭī*, which rises to a height of 15,524 feet. Owing to its bold shape and central position this peak is the most conspicuous in the panorama of the whole range, whether seen from the Kaśmīr Valley or from

[53] Compare note viii. 959. The ending *-nāḍa* is identical with *nāla*, Anglo-Indice, 'Nullah,' i.e. 'valley, ravine.'

[54] See *S'rīv.* iv. 529, 589.

[55] See *Āīn-i Akbarī*, ii. p. 348.

the Panjāb plains. To the north it presents a precipitous face of unscaleable rocks. On the south it is surrounded by snowfields which on occasion of an ascent made late in the season I found still of considerable extent. We have already seen that it is this peak which Albērūnī describes under the name of *Kulārjak.*[66] For an observer from the Panjāb plains about Gujrāt, the appearance of the peak, with its glittering dome of snow, is very striking, notwithstanding the great distance (about eighty-seven miles as the crow flies). I have sighted it on clear days even from Lahore Minārs.

From Taṭakūṭī the chain continues at a great elevation for a considerable distance, the summit-ridge keeping an average height between 14,000 and 15,000 feet. We find it crossed first by the passes of *Sangsafēd*, *Nūrpūr*, and *Cōrgalī*, all difficult routes leading down into the Valley of Lohᵃrin, the ancient Lohara. It is only at the Tōṣᵃmaidān Pass that we meet again with an important and ancient line of communication.

49. This Pass being on the most direct route between the Kaśmīr capital and Lohara, was of special importance during the reigns of the later Kaśmīrian kings whose original home and safest stronghold was in Lohara. We find accordingly the route leading over the Tōṣᵃmaidān Pass often referred to in the last two Books of Kalhaṇa's Chronicles. But apart from this historical connection, the Tōṣᵃmaidān route must have always been prominent among the old lines of communication from Kaśmīr, owing to its natural advantages. It was the shortest route into the valley of Pūnch (Parṇotsa) and hence to that portion of the Western Panjāb which lies between the Jehlam and Indus. It was, besides, under the old conditions of road and travel, probably the easiest and safest route in that direction.[67]

Tōṣᵃmaidān Pass.

This old route started from the present village of *Drang*, situated at the foot of the mountains in the Bīru Pargana, circ. 33° 57′ lat. 74° 36′ long. The name of the village is, of course, nothing but the old term of *draṅga*, 'watch-station.' In old times the place was distinguished as KĀRKOṬADRAṄGA.[68] It may have received the distinctive first part of its name, *Kārkoṭa*, from the mountain-ridge now known as *Kākodar*, which is passed higher up on the route. Kś. Kākodar could well be derived from an earlier Skr. form like **Kārkoṭadhara*. The Tīrthasaṁgraha also mentions a *Kārkoṭanāga* somewhere in this direction.

Kārkoṭadraṅga.

From Drang, where a customs-station exists to the present day, the road ascends over an easy forest-clad slope to the edge of the Tōṣᵃmaidān. This is, as the name indicates, a large upland plateau of undulating grazing grounds, rising very gradually from a level of about 10,000 feet. At the point where the road strikes the northern edge of the plateau there are several ruined towers. They seem to have been last repaired on occasion of the Sikh invasion of 1814, to be referred to below, but are probably far older. The spot is known to this day as *Barbal*, which in Kś. means 'the place of the Gate' (Kś. *bar* < Skr. *dvāra*). In view of this designation and the commanding position of the place we can safely locate here the proper Dvāra or 'Gate' of this route.[69]

[66] Compare above, § 14.

[67] The historical references to this route will be found collected in Note *E* (iv. 177), §§ 5-14.

[68] Compare notes vii. 140; viii. 1596.

[69] The term *Dvāra* is actually used by Kalhaṇa, vii. 140, 1301, for a fortified post on this route. The village Drang is a suitable enough position for a customs and police-station; the natural point for military defence, however, is higher up at 'Barbal.'

The route after crossing the Tōṣ̊maidān plateau, ascends over gently sloping grassy ridges to the Kākodạr spur and passing along the south foot of the latter reaches the Pass. The ascent is so gradual and easy that though the elevation of the latter is over 13,000 feet, the construction of a cart-road would so far meet with little difficulty. The Pass itself is equally easy.

On its west side two routes are available. One descends in the Gāgrī Valley past the village of *Chāmbar*, mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī by the name of S'ĀRAMBARA.[60] The other leads over a cross-spur in a south-westerly direction straight down into the valley now known as Loh̊rin.

Lohara.

The position of the ancient castle of LOHARA, which I was able to trace in the centre of this great and fertile valley, has been fully discussed above in Note *E*.[61] About eight miles further down the valley and at the point where its waters meet the stream coming from Gāgrī, lies the large village of Maṇḍī. It marks the site of the old 'Market of AṬṬĀLIKĀ,' repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[62] From Maṇḍī onwards the route passes into the open valley of the Tohī (Tauṣī) of Prūnts which offers an easy line of communication down to the plains.

Importance of Tōṣ̊maidān Route.

The historical importance of the Tōṣ̊maidān route is best illustrated by the fact that it was chosen on two occasions for serious attempts at invading Kaśmīr. We have already referred to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's expedition, probably of A.D. 1021, which Albērūnī accompanied and to which we owe the valuable information already detailed.[63] This attempt at invasion, perhaps the most serious of which we know during Hindu times, was brought to a standstill by the valorous defence of the castle of Lohara and a timely fall of snow. Nor was Mahārāja Ranjit Singh more successful when in 1814 he first attempted to invade Kaśmīr by this route.[64] The portion of the Sikh army led by him in person, safely reached the Tōṣ̊maidān plateau where the Afghān defenders were posted near the towers above mentioned. Difficulties of supplies, however, and the news of a defeat of the column marching by the Pīr Pantsāl route forced on a retreat which in the mountain defiles about Loh̊rin ended in a complete rout.

It may yet be mentioned that the route over the Tōṣ̊maidān was already in all probability followed by Hiuen Tsiang on his way to Parṇotsa or Prūnts.[65] It remained a favourite trade route until the recent Jehlam Valley cart-road was constructed. Owing to the elevation of the Pass, however, this route is always closed by snow longer than, e.g., that of the Pīr Pantsāl. During the winter, therefore, the road from Lohara to Kaśmīr lay by the lower passes in the west leading into the Vitastā Valley below Bārāmūla.[66]

Not far to the north of the Tōṣ̊maidān Pass the range attains yet a height of over 15,000 feet in a group of bold snowy peaks. Its summit-ridge then gradually descends, and is crossed by some lower passes from the neighbourhood of the well-known alpine plateau of Gulmarg. From a summit behind Gulmarg (marked *Sallar* on the map) several spurs radiate. They form the northern end of the range and descend at their extreme points very steeply and with faces of rugged cliffs into the narrow valley of the Vitastā.

[60] See note viii. 1875-77.
[61] See Note *E*, iv. 177.
[62] See note viii. 581.
[63] See above, § 14.
[64] For a more detailed account of this expedition, see Note *E*, iv. 177, § 14.
[65] Compare above, § 9.
[66] See Note *E* (iv. 177), §§ 7, 8, for Kalhaṇa's references to the occasions when this more circuitous route was used.

SECTION III.—THE VITASTĀ VALLEY.

Valley of the Vitastā.

50. We have already spoken of the Vitastā Valley as the single outlet for the waters of Kaśmīr, and as the great gate of the country. We may now cast a glance at the old route leading through it, and at the defences by which nature has fortified it.

The Vitastā Valley below Bārāmūla is confined between two ranges of mountains. The one to the south is a branch of the Pīr Pantsāl Range, separating from the main chain at a point behind Gulmarg. The range to the north belongs to a mountain-system which culminates in the Kājnāg Peak (14,400 feet), and is usually designated by the name of the latter. These two ranges accompany the course of the river with gradually lessening height for some eighty miles westwards down to the point near Muzaffarābād, where the Vitastā makes its sudden bend to the south.

Along the whole length of the Valley, cross-ridges, more or less steep and rugged, run from both sides down to the river's bed. This consists from below Bārāmūla of an almost unbroken succession of rapids, the fall in level being nearly 3000 feet in the above distance. The Valley is throughout narrow and wanting in level ground. But for about fifty miles down to the old Kaśmīr frontier line, it may more fitly be described as a narrow ravine in which only occasional alluvial plateaus high above the river afford scanty room for settlement and cultivation.

Owing to this extremely confined nature of the Valley communication on the route leading along it must have always been troublesome and risky in old times. The natural difficulties of this long defile were, no doubt, considerably increased by the restless disposition of the Khaśa tribe, which has held it since ancient times. The Sikhs, who were the last to fight their way through these passes, suffered here more than one disaster at the hands of the hillmen. The line of forts erected by them along the valley, attests to this day the trouble they experienced in holding the passage.[1] The military difficulties of a march through such a succession of dangerous defiles must have been even greater in old times which knew no firearms. The protection of the route against an active enemy who could easily seize and hold all commanding positions, was then, no doubt, a still more difficult task.

Vitastā Valley Route.

51. It is probably on account of the circumstances here briefly indicated, that we hear in the Chronicles comparatively little of the route following the Vitastā. Being the shortest line of communication to the present Hazāra district and the Indus, it was certainly used from early times.

We have seen that Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-k'ong coming from the ancient Gandhāra and Uraśā, followed it on their way to Kaśmīr, and that it was well known to Albērūnī. But it seems probable that its importance, military and commercial, was then far smaller than that of the Pīr Pantsāl and Tōsamaidān routes. It is only in modern times that this western route has attained real prominence. This originated in the time of the Afghān rule over Kaśmīr, when the route along the Vitastā to Muzaffarābād and hence through Hazāra, afforded the shortest and least

[1] Moorcroft's account of his attempt to use the Muzaffarābād route in 1823, gives a graphic picture of the obstacles created by the rapacious hill-tribes; see *Travels*, ii. pp. 281 sqq. Compare also LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 200.

exposed line of communication between Kaśmīr and Peshawar.[2] Subsequently after the annexation of the Panjāb, the establishment of the hill-station of Murree naturally drew traffic in this direction. The construction of the Tonga Road from Murree to Bārāmūla in our own time, finally assured to this route its present supremacy.

There is at present a road on each side of the valley leading down to Muzaffarābād. But only the road along the right bank of the river can claim any antiquity. The one on the opposite bank which is now represented by the new carriage road, has come into general use only within the last few decades since traffic towards Murree and Rawalpindi sprung up. The track chosen for the old road is easily accounted for by topographical facts.

Connection with Uraśā.

We have already noticed that the Vitastā Valley route was of importance chiefly as leading to Hazāra (Uraśā), and hence to the old Gandhāra. A glance at the map will show that the open central portion of Hazāra is most easily gained by crossing the Kiṣangaṅgā just above Muzaffarābād, and then passing the comparatively low ridge which separates this river from the Kunhār stream. The route here indicated finds its natural continuation towards Kaśmīr on the right bank of the Vitastā, the crossing of the latter being wholly avoided. It has already been shown above that this route, now marked by Abbottabad, Garhi Ḥabībulla, Muzaffarābād and Bārāmūla as the chief stages, is directly indicated in Alberūnī's itinerary.[3]

Gate of Varāhamūla.

52. We may now proceed to examine the old notices regarding this route, proceeding again from the Kaśmīr side. The route started from the twin towns of Varāhamūla-Huṣkapura, which occupied the sites of the present Bārāmūla and Uṣkür, respectively. Huṣkapura on the left river bank, the more important of the two places in ancient times, has dwindled down to a mere village. But Varāhamūla-Bārāmūla on the opposite bank is still a flourishing place and an emporium of trade. It occupies a narrow strip of open ground between the river and the foot of a steep mountain side.

Drang at Varāhamūla.

Close to the western end of the town a rocky ridge, with precipitous slope, runs down into the river-bed. Only a few yards' space is left open for the road. At this point there stood till last year (1897) an old ruined gateway, known to the people as the *Drang* or 'watch-station.' It had been occupied as a military police post, and until the 'Rāhdārī' system was abolished, watch was kept here over those who entered or left the Valley. I had examined the gateway in 1892. When revisiting the spot in May, 1898, I could scarcely trace its foundations, the decayed walls having been sold by auction and its materials carried away by a contractor.

Though the structure I had seen, was scarcely older than the time of Sikh rule, there can be little doubt that it marked the site of the ancient 'Gate' of Varāhamūla. This is clearly indicated by the situation of the spot which is by far the most convenient in the neighbourhood for the purpose of a watch-station. Moorcroft does not mention the name *Drang*, but describes the gateway accurately enough.

Here then, we may assume, stood in ancient times "the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom," through which Hiuen Tsiang had passed before

[2] Baron Hügel quite correctly notes a Kaśmīr tradition that the Bārāmūla route was properly opened up only about eighty years before his own visit (1835), on the arrival of the Paṭhāns; see KASCHMIR, ii. p. 174.

[3] See above, § 14.

he reached Huṣkapura (*Hu-se-kia-lo*), his first night's quarter in the Valley.[4] Ou-k'ong, too, and Albērūnī, as we have seen, knew well this watch-station, which is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the general designation of *Dvāra*.[5]

The road keeps close by the bank of the river as it winds in rapid fall through the rock-bound gorge. About two and a half miles below 'Drang' the hillsides recede slightly, leaving room for a small village called *Nārān Thal*. Near it stands a little temple, with a spring close by which is visited by pilgrims and is probably identical with the *Nārāyaṇasthāna* of the Nīlamata.[6]

Yakṣadara.

About a mile below this point, and close to the little village of Khādᵃniyār,[7] the river is forced to a sharp bend by a steep and narrow spur projecting into the valley from the north-west. A ledge of rocks running below the river-bed forms the first serious rapids of the Vitastā, below which boats cannot pass (see map). The road crosses the spur by a narrow and deep cut known as *Dyārᵃgul*. Kalhaṇa's Chronicle knows this curious cutting by the appropriate name of YAKṢADARA, 'the demon's cleft.' According to the tradition there recorded, the operations by which Suyya, Avantivarman's engineer, lowered the level of the Vitastā, extended to this point of the river-bed.[8]

Old frontier in Vitastā Valley.

53. Two miles below Dyārᵃgul we pass near the village of Zehenpōr some ancient sites vaguely described by Vigne and Von Hügel. Still further down near the village of Gingal the map marks the ruins of a temple which I have not been able to visit. But no localities on this route are known to us from our old sources until after about three and a half daily marches we reach the side valley marked on the map as 'Peliasa.' This valley and the large village at its entrance are known indeed to the Pahārī population by the name of *Peliāsa*. But the Kaśmīrīs settled at several places along the Vitastā Valley call them *Buliāsa*. This form of the name which I ascertained by local inquiries, has enabled me to identify this locality with the BOLYĀSAKA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.

Kalhaṇa in his account of S'aṁkaravarman's ill-fated expedition towards the Indus (A.D. 902), mentions Bolyāsaka as the place where the Kaśmīr army retreating from Uraśā reached the border of their own territory.[9] The reference is of special interest as it shows that Kaśmīr authority extended in Hindu times down to this point of the Valley. We can easily reconcile this fact with the existence of the 'Dvāra' at Varāhamūla.

The gorge at the latter place offered a convenient position for establishing a watch-station which was to secure control over the traffic and the collection of customs. But in regard to military defence a frontier line in the immediate vicinity of the Kaśmīr Valley would have been very unsafe. I believe, therefore, that the Vitastā Valley below Varāhamūla was held as an outlying frontier-tract as far as the present Buliāsa. It is exactly a few miles below this place that ascending the valley the first serious difficulties are encountered on the road. An advanced frontier-post could scarcely have occupied a strategically more advantageous position.

Vīrānaka.

The conclusion here indicated is fully supported by what Kalhaṇa's narrative tells us of a locality almost exactly opposite to Buliāsa. Kalhaṇa mentions in two places a place called VĪRĀNAKA in connection with events which make it clear that

[4] See *Vie de Hiouen-thsang*, p. 90.

[5] See note viii. 413.

[6] See *Nīlamata*, 1179, 1315, 1349 The name occurs also repeatedly in the several Varāhakṣetramāhātmyas.

[7] Perhaps the *Khāḍanāvihāra* of iii. 14.

[8] Compare note v. 87.

[9] See note v. 225.

it lay in the Vitastā Valley and just on the border of Kaśmīr territory.[10] I have been able to trace the position of Vīrānaka at the modern hill-village of *Vīran*, near the left bank of the Vitastā and only a short distance above Buliāsa.

Frontier-tract of *Dvāravatī.*

The valley below the old frontier thus marked is now known as *Dvārbidī*. Its ancient name is supplied to us by an old gloss of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which speaks of Bolyāsaka as situated in DVĀRAVATĪ. Local inquiries have shown me that even to the present day popular tradition indicates a ridge a short distance above Buliāsa as the eastern limit of Dvārbidī.[11] In the account of S'aṁkaravarman's above-mentioned expedition six marches are counted from the capital of Uraśā to Bolyāsaka. This agrees exactly with the present reckoning which also counts six marches from the vicinity of Buliāsa to Abbottabad.[12] Near this place, the modern headquarters of the Hazāra District, the old capital of Uraśā was in all probability situated.

Left bank of Vitastā.

54. It remains to notice briefly what we know of ancient localities on the left side of the Valley. As already explained, there was no great line of communication on this side corresponding to the present Murree-Bārāmūla Road. Yet for two marches down the Valley, as far as Ūrī, the route of the left bank is likely to have been much frequented. From Ūrī a convenient route leads over the easy Hāji Pīr Pass to Prūnts or Parṇotsa. This pass, owing to its small elevation, only 8500 feet, is never completely closed by snow. It is hence much used by the inhabitants of all the higher valleys draining into the Prūnts Tohī, during the winter months when the more direct routes to Kaśmīr *viâ* the Pīr Pantsāl, Tōsᵉmaidān, or other high passes are rendered impassable.

Marching down the valley from Uṣkūr: Huṣkapura, we first cross the spur which bounds the gorge of Varāhamūla from the south. We then reach a fertile little plain, about two miles broad, charmingly situated in an amphitheatre of high pine-clad mountains and facing the Dyārᵉgul ridge. It is known as *Nārᵉvāv* and contains, at the villages of S'ir and Fattegarh, considerable remains of ancient temples. On a small plateau which forms the western boundary of this plain by the riverbank, lies the village of *Kitsᵉhōm*. It marks the site of the ancient Buddhist convent of KṚTYĀŚRAMA, the foundation of which a curious legend related by Kalhaṇa attributes to the son of Aśoka.[13]

At Būniār, near the end of the first day's march, are passed the well-preserved ruins of an ancient temple which are of considerable antiquarian interest. Its name and date cannot be traced in our extant records. Another similar ruin, but far more decayed, flanks the road about midway between Būniār and Ūrī.

From near the latter place the Vitastā Valley is held on the left bank chiefly by the Khakha tribe, on the right by the closely related Bombas. In the former we recognize the ancient *Khaśas* whose settlements, lower down the valley at Vīrānaka, are distinctly mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[14] The predatory habits and restless ways of the Khaśas form a frequent theme in the Chronicle. The modern Khakhas and Bombas have up to the middle of the present century done their best to maintain this ancient reputation, just as their seats have remained the old ones.

[10] See v. 214 and viii. 409. In the first passage we hear of an attack made on Vīrānaka by the chief-commander of the frontier posts (*dvāreśa*). In the second Vīrānaka is referred to as a settlement of Khaśas which offered the first safe refuge to Sussala when driven from Varāhamūla, A.D. 1111.

[11] See v. 225, and note v. 214.

[12] Compare note v. 217; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 104, and DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 528.

[13] See note i. 147; also *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 13 sqq. Kṛtyāśrama is mentioned already by Kṣemendra, *Samayam.* ii. 61.

[14] viii. 409.

SECTION IV.—THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN MOUNTAIN-RANGES.

Range towards Kiṣangaṅgā.

55. The mountains which enclose the Kaśmīr Valley in the north-west and north, may be looked upon as one great range. Their chain nowhere shows any marked break though its direction changes considerably. The routes leading through these mountains have never been of such importance in the history of Kaśmīr as the routes towards India and the west. Hence our information regarding the old topography of this mountain-range is also far less detailed.

We are least informed about that portion of the range which joins on to the Kājnāg Peak north-west of Bārāmūla and then continues in the direction of south to north towards the upper Kiṣangaṅgā. The watershed of this portion forms the western boundary of Kaśmīr towards *Karnāv*, the ancient KARNĀHA.[1] This territory which may be roughly described as lying between the Kiṣangaṅgā and the Kājnāg Range, seems at times to have been tributary to Kaśmīr. We hear of it only in the concluding portion of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. There, too, no details are given to us regarding the routes leading to it. These routes, as the map shows, start from the ancient districts of *S'amālā* (Hamal) and *Uttara* (Uttar).

At the point where the summit of the range comes nearest to the Kiṣangaṅgā, it takes a turn to the east and continues in this direction for more than a hundred miles. The summit ridge keeps after this turn at a fairly uniform height of 12,000 to 13,000 feet for a long distance. From the northern parts of the Uttar and Lōlau Parganas several routes cross the range in the direction of the Kiṣangaṅgā.

Route to S'ardi.

Kalhaṇa has occasion to refer to these in connection with the expedition which was directed in his own time against the *S'iraḥśilā* castle. This stood on the Kiṣangaṅgā close to the ancient Tīrtha of the goddess S'āradā still extant at the present S'ardi.[2] One of these routes, still followed at the present day by the pilgrims to the shrine, leads past the village of *Drang*, situated at 74° 18′ 45″ long. 43° 33′ 30″ lat. It is certain that the place took its name from an ancient watch-station here located and is identical with the DRAṄGA mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the above expedition.[3]

Besides the route marked by this old frontier-station there are others leading in the same direction. One is to the west over the Sītalvan Pass. The other lies in the east and passing through the valley of Krōras descends directly upon S'ardi along the Madhumatī stream. The portion of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley into which these routes lead, can never have been of much importance itself, though there are indications of gold-washing having been carried on in it.[4] But from S'ardi starts a route leading very directly by the Kankatōri (Sarasvatī) River and over a high pass into Cilās on the Indus.[5] This line of communication may already in old times have brought some traffic to S'ardi.

Owing to the inroads made by the Cilāsīs and the restless Bomba chiefs of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley, the Paṭhān governors found it necessary to settle Afrīdīs at

[1] Compare note viii. 2485.

[2] Compare regarding the *S'āradātīrtha* and the castle of *S'iraḥśilā*, Notes i. 36 (*B*), and viii. 2492 (*L*), respectively.

[3] See note viii. 2507.

[4] Compare Note *B* (i. 36), §§ 2, 16. To this circumstance the village of *Drang* owes probably the distinguishing designation of *Sun*-*Drang*, 'the Gold-Drang,' by which it is popularly known.

[5] See BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 490.

Drang and in the neighbouring villages to guard the passes. The presence of these Paṭhān colonies shows that the conditions which necessitated the maintenance of the old watch-station at Draṅga, had altered little in the course of centuries.

Upper Kiṣaṅgaṅgā Valley.

56. Above S'ardi the course of the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā lies for a long distance through an almost inaccessible and uninhabited gorge. Hence for over thirty miles eastwards we find no proper route across the mountain-range. Kalhaṇa gives us a vivid and interesting account of the difficulties offered by a winter-march along the latter, where he describes the escape of the pretender Bhoja from the S'iraḥśilā castle to the Darads on the upper Kiṣaṅgaṅgā.[6]

The first line of communication we meet is, however, an important one. It leads from the north shore of the Volur lake into that part of the Upper Kiṣaṅgaṅgā Valley which is known as *Gurēz*, and connects with the routes leading to Astōr and the Baltī territory on the Indus. The road used in recent years, and now improved by British engineers into the 'Gilgit Transport Road,' crosses the range by the Trāgᵃbal or Rāzdiangan Pass, nearly 12,000 feet high. But the route frequented in ancient times lay some eight miles further to the east.

Pass of *Dugdhaghāta*.

Kalhaṇa refers in several passages to the hill-fort of DUGDHAGHĀTA, which guarded the mountain-route leading into Kaśmīr territory from inroads of the Darads. The latter can easily be shown to have held then as now the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā Valley about Gurēz and the neighbouring territories to the north. From Kalhaṇa's description it is evident that this frontier-fort which was first occupied by a Kaśmīr baron, but subsequently fell into the Darads' hands, stood on, or close to, the summit of a pass. With the help of the indications of the Chronicle, I was able to identify the site of this fort on the top of the *Dudᵃkhut* Pass.[7]

The Pass is approached on the Kaśmīr side from the valley of the Banḍᵃpōr stream, still known to the Brahmans by its old name *Madhumatī*. At the small village of Ātavuth (map 'Atawat') a side valley is entered which is narrow and somewhat difficult below, but higher up widens. Its highest portion which forms the immediate approach to the Pass, is an open alpine valley ascending very gradually with a grassy slope. This is known to the mountain shepherds as *Vijje Marg*.

Marg < *Maṭhikā*.

The term *Marg* which denotes any high alpine grazing ground frequented in the summer by herdsmen, is the modern Kaśmīr equivalent and direct derivative of Skr. *maṭhikā*. It designated originally the small huts of stone or wood, usually erected on such high plateaus or valleys for the shelter of the herdsmen.[8] It is probable that Vijje Marg represents the PRĀJIMAṬHIKĀ which Kalhaṇa mentions as the position of the Kaśmīr forces during their unsuccessful siege of the fort.

As a characteristic point it may be mentioned that the garrison depended for its water-supply on a store of snow. This had become exhausted at the late summer season when the siege was made, but, luckily for the Darad defenders, was replaced by a fresh fall of snow. The latter is explained by the elevation of the Pass, which I estimated at about 11,500 feet. Heavy snow-storms often occur on the neighbouring *Trāgᵃbal* Pass so early as September.

From the Dudᵃkhut Pass, an easy track over the ridge marked 'Kiser' on the

[6] See viii. 2710 sqq.

[7] For detailed evidence regarding this location and a description of the site, see note vii. 1171.

[8] Skr. *maṭhikā* is the diminutive of *maṭha*, 'hut, Sarai.' The Kś. derivative of the latter term, *mar*, is still used regularly for the rude shelter-huts which are found on the higher passes, particularly towards the north.

map, leads down to Gurēz, the chief place of the valley. It corresponds probably to the Daratpurī of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The route over the Dud²khut, being very direct and comparatively easy during the summer, was much frequented by Dard traders until the recent construction of the 'Gilgit Transport Road.' It also seems to have been mentioned to Baron Hügel.[9] In Muhammadan times both routes were in charge of a 'Malik' who resided in the castle of *Banḍ²kōṭh*, not far from the ancient Mātṛgrāma shown on the map.

In ancient times there probably existed in the same neighbourhood a watch-station or Draṅga. Ou-k'ong, when speaking of the 'gate to the north,' through which the road led to *Po-liu* or Baltistān, may have meant either this Draṅga or the fort of Dugdhaghāta.

Mount *Haramukuṭa*.

57. To the east of the Dud²khut Pass the summits of the range gradually rise higher and higher until we reach the great mountain-mass of the Haramukh Peaks. Rising to close on 17,000 feet and surrounded by glaciers of considerable size these peaks dominate the view towards the north from a great part of the Kaśmīr Valley. Sacred legends have clustered around them from early times, and the lakes below their glaciers belong still to the holiest of Kaśmīrian Tīrthas. The ancient name of the Peaks is Haramukuṭa, 'S'iva's diadem.' This is explained by a legend which is related at length in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi.[10] Their height is supposed to be S'iva's favourite residence.[11] Hence, Kaśmīrian tradition stoutly maintains that human feet cannot reach the Peaks' summit.[12]

Tīrthas of *Nandikṣetra*.

The lake which lies at the foot of the north-eastern glacier, at a level of over 13,000 feet, is looked upon as the true source of the Kaśmīr Gaṅgā or Sind River, and is hence known as Uttaragaṅgā, or popularly *Gang²bal*.[13] It is the final goal of the great 'Haramukuṭagaṅgā' pilgrimage which takes place annually in the month of Bhādrapada, and is attended by thousands of pilgrims. The bones of those who have died during the year, are on that occasion deposited in the sacred waters.

A short distance below this lake is another also fed by a glacier, and now known as *Nundkōl*. Its old name, Kālodaka, or Nandisaras, is derived from a legend which makes the lake the joint habitation of both Kāla, i.e. S'iva, and of his faithful attendant *Nandin*. From the latter the whole collection of sacred sites takes the name of Nandikṣetra by which Kalhaṇa usually designates it.[14]

Tīrtha of *Bhūteśvara*.

In the valley of the Kānk²nai stream, Skr. Kanakavāhinī, which issues from these lakes, there lies the sacred site of S'iva-Bhūteśvara, now *Buth'śēr*. It is closely connected with the legends of Mount Haramukuṭa, and often mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[15] A series of interesting temple ruins marks the importance of

[9] See *Kaschmir*, ii. p. 169.

[10] See *Haracar.* iv. 62 sqq.

[11] The legends relating to S'iva's residence on Mount Haramukuṭa, and his connection with the several sacred sites of Nandikṣetra, are given at great length in the *Nīlamata*, 1049 sqq.

[12] Owing to this superstition I had great difficulty in inducing any of my Kaśmīri Coolies (Muhammadans!) to accompany me on the ascent made to the Peaks in September, 1894. My Brahman friends could not give credence to my having reached the summit. According to their opinion the very fact of my having reached the Peak was a sufficient proof of this not having been Haramukuṭa. An argument as simple as incontrovertible to the orthodox mind.

[13] See note i. 57. Another name often used in the Nīlamata and other texts is *Uttaramānasa*; see note iii. 448.

[14] See note i. 36.

[15] See regarding the history and remains of *Bhūteśvara*, notes i. 107; v. 55. The Tīrtha was rich enough to attract a special expedition of marauding hillmen in Kalhaṇa's time; see viii. 2756.

this Tīrtha and that of the ancient *Jyeṣṭheśvara* shrine which immediately adjoins it.[16] Bhūteśvara is passed by the pilgrims on their way back from the sacred lakes, while on their way up they reach the latter by another route, passing the high ridge known as BHARATAGIRI and the smaller lake of BRAHMASARAS.

From the Gaṅgā lake a track passable for ponies leads over the Satsaran Pass to Tilēl, a Dard district on the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā. It is probably the route by which King Harṣa's rebel brother Vijayamalla escaped from Lahara (Lār) to the Darad territory.[17]

Range east of Haramukuṭa.

58. Eastwards from the Haramukuṭa Peaks the range does not overlook on the south the main Valley of Kaśmīr, but that of the Sind River. The general level of the summits rises, and glaciers of fair size become frequent on their northern slopes. Close to the head of the Sind Valley the range we have been so far following joins on to the great chain of snowy mountains which stretches from Mount Nangā Parvat in a south-easterly direction to the Nunkun Peaks in Sūru.[18] A few miles south of this junction we arrive at a gap in the mountains which forms the lowest watershed between the Indus and the Vitastā basins. It is the Pass known generally by its Ladākhī name of *Zōjī-Lā*. It leads at an elevation of 11,300 feet from the headwaters of the Sind to a high-level valley draining into the Drās River and hence into the Indus.

Route over Zōji-Lā.

The route leading over the Zōjī-Lā undoubtedly has been already in ancient times a most important thoroughfare. It connects Kaśmīr with Ladākh and thence with Tibet and China. Here, too, the natural watershed has in old as in modern times been also the ethnic boundary. Beyond the Pass begins the land of the *Bhauṭṭas* or *Bhuṭṭas*, as the Tibetan inhabitants of the Indus region are uniformly designated in our Kaśmīrian texts (modern Kś. *Buṭ*).[19]

Ou-k'ong is the first who refers distinctly to this route when speaking of the road which leads through the 'gate in the east' to Tou-fan or Tibet. Kalhaṇa has scarcely occasion to refer to it as the regions beyond lay quite outside the range of the political power of the later Kaśmīrian kings. He probably means, however, the Zōjī-Lā when mentioning the 'route of the *Bhuṭṭa*-land' (Bhuṭṭarāṣṭrādhvan) by which the Darads offered to pass the pretender Bhoja into Kaśmīr, while the more direct routes from their own territory were closed by the winter.[20] An easy pass connects Tilēl at the head of the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā with the Drās territory to the east. From there Bhoja could then have entered Kaśmīr *viâ* the Zōjī-Lā.

This Pass, the ancient name of which is not known to us, has more than once witnessed successful invasions of Kaśmīr. Through it came, early in the fourteenth century, the Turk (?) Dulca and the Bhauṭṭa Riñcana, whose usurpation led to the downfall of Hindu rule in the Valley.[21] About two centuries later Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar, with his small Mughal force, successfully fought here his entrance into Kaśmīr (A.D. 1532). The account he gives of this exploit in his Tārīkh-i Rāshidī is, as we shall see, not without topographical interest.[22]

[16] See note i. 113.

[17] See vii. 911.

[18] Compare regarding this great range which may fitly be called the main range of the mountain system around Kaśmīr, DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 194 sqq.

[19] Compare note i. 312-316.

[20] Compare viii. 2887.

[21] See *Jonar.* 142 sqq., and for the stratagem by which Riñcana forced his way into Lahara (*Lār*), 165 sqq. The *Laharakoṭṭa* mentioned in the last passage probably represents the old watch-station of this route, but its position is uncertain.

[22] See *Tārīkh-i Rāshidī*, transl. by Messrs. Elias and Ross, pp. 423 sqq., and below, § 131.

59. A high peak situated about ten miles east-south-east of the Zōji-Lā, marks the point where the range, forming the eastern boundary of Kaśmīr, branches off from the main chain. This range runs almost due south until it reaches the southernmost headwaters of the Vitastā. It then turns to the north-west and at the Bānᵃhāl Pass joins on to the Pīr Pantsāl Range.

Through this range lead routes connecting Kaśmīr with the Madivādvan Valley in the east which drains into the Cināb (Candrabhāgā), and with Kaṣṭᵃvār, the ancient Kāṣṭavāṭa, on the Cināb itself. Both these valleys are confined, difficult of access, and scantily populated. They have hence never played an important part either in the foreign relations or trade of Kaśmīr. On this account our notices regarding the old topography of the dividing range are extremely meagre.

Tīrtha of *Amareśvara* (Amarnāth)

At its northern end and close to the great snowy peak already mentioned, is the Tīrtha of AMAREŚVARA or Amaranātha, known by its Kś. name as *Amburnāth*. Together with the sacred Gaṅgā-lake on Mount Haramukuṭa, it is now the most popular of Kaśmīrian pilgrimage places. Its Yātrā in the month of S'rāvaṇa attracts many thousands of pilgrims, not only from Kaśmīr, but from all parts of India.[23] Their goal is a cave situated at a considerable altitude and formed by a huge fissure on the south side of a snowy peak, 17 300 feet high (marked 'Ambarnath' on map). In this cave there is a large block of transparent ice formed by the freezing of the water which oozes from the rock. It is worshipped as a self-created (svayambhū) Liṅga and is considered the embodiment of S'iva Amareśvara.

Judging from the scanty references made to this Tīrtha in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the Nīlamata, it appears doubtful whether it could have enjoyed in old times quite such great celebrity as now. But Jonarāja already relates a visit to this sacred site paid by Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidīn,[24] and in the Māhātmya literature Amareśvara receives its due share of attention. The pilgrims' route described in great detail by the Amaranāthamāhātmya ascends the eastern branch of the Lidᵃr or Ledarī.

There the lake of the Nāga SUŚRAVAS, now known as Suśramnāg or (with a popular etymology) as S'eṣanāg, is visited. It lies at the north foot of a great glacier descending from the Kohenhār Peak. In this lake and a small rock-bound inlet of it called JĀMĀTṚNĀGA (Zāmᵃturᶦ Nāg) the local legend, related by Kalhaṇa, i. 267 sqq., and connected with the ancient site of Narapura, has placed the habitation of the Nāga Suśravas and his son-in-law.[25]

The route then crosses a high pass, known as Vavᵘjan (Skr. *Vāyuvarjana* in the Māhātmya), into a high-level valley drained by five streams which bear the joint designation of PAÑCATARAṄGIṆĪ. From there the pilgrims toil up a lofty spur to the north-east and descend into the narrow gloomy valley which lies at the foot of the Amburnāth Peak. It is watered by a stream (Amarāvatī) which comes from the glacier of the still higher peak to the east. Joining the Pañcataraṅgiṇī it flows through an inaccessible gorge down to the head of the Sind valley near Baltal.

Mountains between Sind and Vitastā.

60. Connected with the eastern range is a mass of moutains, which it will be convenient to mention here, though it does not form part of the mountain-barriers

[23] See for the old notices of the Tīrtha, note i. 267; for a description of the modern pilgrimage, VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. pp. 10 sqq., and BATES, *Gazetteer*, pp. 121 sq

[24] Compare *Jonar.* (Bombay ed.), 1233 sqq.

[25] Compare note i. 267.

of Kaśmīr. It fills the great triangular space which lies between the Sind Valley and the range in the east we have just noticed, the level ground along the right bank of the Vitastā forming as it were the base. This mass of mountains branches off from the eastern ridge between the Kohenhār and Amburnāth Peaks. Trending westwards it soon culminates in the conspicuous pinnacle of Mount Gās'brār (map 'Kolahoi'), close on 18,000 feet in height. From this conspicuous mountain numerous spurs radiate with glaciers in their topmost hollows.

The highest of these ridges runs for about thirty miles along the Sind Valley, of which it forms the southern side. A high cross-spur, now known as Dūrūn Nār, which descends to the north towards Sun'marg, is probably identical with Mount DUḌHĀVANA, the scene of a siege related in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[26] The extremity of this ridge in the west forms the amphitheatre of bold hills which encircle the Ḍal lake and S'rīnagar on the north. Here we have Mount MAHĀDEVA, which is much frequented as a Tīrtha.[27]

Facing it from the south is the rocky spur which lines the eastern shores of the Ḍal. It bore in old days the name of S'RĪDVĀRA,[28] and is the site of a series of ancient pilgrimage places, such as Sureśvarī, Tripureśvara, Harṣeśvara, and Jyeṣṭheśvara, which will be discussed below. The extreme offshoot of this spur is the 'hill of Gopa' (*Gopādri*), the present Takht-i Sulaimān, which is so conspicuous a feature in the landscape of S'rīnagar. Other spurs descending into the Vale further east form successively the semicircular side-valleys containing the Parganas of Vihī and Vular.

Range towards Cinab.

We now return once more to the eastern range. South of the Kohenhār Peak which is still over 17,000 feet, its summit-ridge gets gradually lower. Of the *Margan* Pass which crosses the range into Maḍivādvan I can find no old mention. Still further south we come to the *Marbal* Pass, 11,500 feet, which forms the usual route towards Kaṣṭ'vār. This territory, which is now partially inhabited by Kaśmīrīs, is mentioned as an independent hill-state by Kalhaṇa.[29]

The valley into which the route descends immediately after crossing the Marbal Pass, is known now as *Khaiśāl*. It is once mentioned as *Khaśālī* by Kalhaṇa, and more frequently referred to in the last Chronicle by the name of KHAŚĀLAYA.[30] From the latter source we learn that it was inhabited by Khaśas, from whose occupation it may have derived its name. Thus we note here once more in the east the coincidence of the ethnic boundary with the natural watershed.

SECTION V.—UPPER COURSE OF THE VITASTĀ.

61. We have now completed the circuit of the great mountain-barriers which enclose the Kaśmīr Valley, and can turn our attention to its interior. This is naturally divided into two great parts One comprises the plain formed by the alluvium of the Vitastā and its main tributaries; the other consists of plateaus or *Karēwas* elevated above the river flats and largely caused by old lacustrine

[26] See note viii. 595, and below, § 131.

[27] It is mentioned in the *Nīlamata*, 1324, and frequently in the *S'arvāvatāra*.

[28] See note viii. 2422.

[29] Compare regarding the old *Kāṣṭhavāṭa*, note vii. 588-590, where also the references in the later Chronicles are given.

[30] Compare note vii. 399.

deposits. We shall first notice the alluvial plain and the river-system which has created it.

Name of Vitastā.

The great river which is the recipient of the whole drainage of the country, is now known to Kaśmīrīs by the name of *Vyath.* This modern designation is the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient Sanskrit VITASTĀ which we meet already among the river-names of the Ṛigveda.[1] The intermediary Prakrit form *Vidastā* underlies the *'Υδάσπης* of the Greeks in which we note, as so frequently in Greek renderings of foreign names, the modifying action of popular etymology.[2] In Ptolemy's *Βιδάσπης* we have another rendering which, though later in date, yet approaches closer to the sound of the Indian original. The name *Jehlam* which is now borne by the Vitastā in its course through the Panjāb, is wholly unknown to the genuine usage of Kaśmīr. It is apparently of Muhammadan origin and has been brought to Kaśmīr only by Europeans and other foreigners.[3]

The river to which the name Vitastā or Vyath is properly applied, is first formed by the meeting of the several streams which drain the south-eastern portion of the Valley. This meeting takes place in the plain close to the present town of Anatnāg or Islāmābād. But sacred tradition has not failed to trace the holiest of Kaśmīr rivers to a more specific source.

Legendary origin of Vitastā.

An ancient legend, related at length in the Nīlamata and reproduced by the author of the Haracaritacintāmaṇi,[4] represents the Vitastā as a manifestation of S'iva's consort Pārvatī. After Kaśmīr had been created, S'iva at the request of Kaśyapa, prevailed upon the goddess to show herself in the land in the shape of a river, in order to purify its inhabitants from the sinful contact with the Piśācas. The goddess thereupon assumed the form of a river in the underworld and asked her consort to make an opening by which she might come to the surface. This he did by striking the ground near the habitation of the Nīlanāga, with the point of his trident (*śūla*). Through the fissure thus made, which measured one *vitasti* or span, the river gushed forth, receiving on account of this origin the name *Vitastā*.

The spring basin where the goddess first appeared was known by the several designations of *Nīlakuṇḍa*, *S'ūlaghāta* ('spear-thrust'), or simply *Vitastā*.[5] It is clear that the spring meant is the famous Nīlanāga, near the village of Vērnāg, in

[1] The line of phonetic development may be roughly represented as Skr. *Vitastā* > Pr. **Vidastā* > Ap. **Vi[h]ath* > Kś. **Vyath*.—For *Vitastā*; comp. Ṛ̣V. x. 75, 5.

The name Vitastā is still well known to Kaśmīr Brahmans from the Māhātmyas and similar texts, and currently used by them. The form 'Vedasta' which Drew and after him other writers give as the old name of the river, "still used by those who follow Sanskrit literature," is due to some error of hearing. It is curious to meet a similar form *Vidastā* in the transcription of the Chinese Annals of the eighth century; see my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, p. 31.

[2] The ending in the form *Hydaspes* is undoubtedly due to the influence of the numerous Persian names known to the Greeks which end in *-ασπης* (Old Persian *aspa*). For the rendering of initial *Vi* by 'Υ, compare 'Υστάσπης : *Vishtāspa*, 'Υνδοφέρρης : *Vinda[t]-farna*, etc.

Ptolemy's *Bi-* for *Vi-* is the most exact phonetic reproduction possible in Greek characters. It is evident from Ptolemy's Panjāb river names that he did not take his nomenclature directly or indirectly from the historians of Alexander, but from independent sources. Bidaspes, Zaradros, Bibasis, Sandabal, these all represent unsophisticated attempts to reproduce in sound the genuine Indian forms. The same cannot be said of the names given by Arrian, Pliny, etc.

[3] Albērūnī already knows the name *Jailam;* see above, § 14.

S'rīvara, when relating an expedition of Sultān Haidar Shāh into the Panjāb, sanskritizes this name into *Jyalami*; see ii. 152.

[4] See *Nīlamata*, 238 sqq.; *Haracar.* xii. 2-34.

[5] See *Nīlamata*, 1290; *Haracar.* xii. 17.

the Shāhābad Pargaṇa. It is a magnificent fountain which amply deserves the honour of being thus counted the traditional source of the great river.[6]

The legend makes Pārvatī-Vitastā subsequently disappear again from fear of defilement by the touch of sinful men. When brought to light a second time by Kaśyapa's prayer the goddess issued from the Nāga of *Pañcahasta*. In this locality we easily recognize the present village of Pānzath, situated in the Divᵃsar Pargaṇa and boasting of a fine spring which is still visited by the pious of the neighbourhood.[7] After another disappearance the goddess came forth a third time at *Narasiṁhāśrama*. This place I am unable to trace with certainty. Finally the goddess was induced to abide permanently in the land when Kaśyapa had secured for her the company of other goddesses, who also embodied themselves in Kaśmīr streams, like Lakṣmī in the Viśokā, Gaṅgā in the Sindhu, etc.

Another version of the legend which, however, seems of less ancient date, seeks the place of the Vitastā's second appearance in the spring of the modern *Vithᵃvutur*, a small village situated about one mile to the north-west of Vērnāg.[8] The place is known by the name of *Vitastātra* to Kalhaṇa who mentions Stūpas erected there by King Aśoka.[9] This notice certainly seems to indicate some sacred character attaching to the spot. Yet Kalhaṇa's direct mention of the Nīlakuṇḍa as the birthplace of the Vitastā leaves no doubt as to where the tradition prevalent in his own time placed the source of the sacred river.[10]

Headwaters of the Vitastā.

62. The streams which unite close to Anatnāg and there form the true Vitastā river, are the Sāndran, the Bring, Arᵃpath, and Lidᵃr. Of these the first and southernmost drains the Shāhābād (anciently Vēr) Pargaṇa and receives the water of the sacred springs mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Its old name I am unable to trace with any certainty.

The next affluent, the *Bring*, comes from the side valley which forms the Pargaṇa of the same name. The ancient name of the stream is unknown, the modern Vitastāmāhātmya which gives it as *Bhṛṅgī*, being but a doubtful authority. The Bring, too, is fed by the water of some well-known Nāgas, among which the famous Trisaṁdhyā fountain and the springs of Ardhanārīśvara (Nāru) will be specially mentioned below.

The Arpath which comes from the north-east, is mentioned repeatedly in the Nīlamata by its ancient name of HARṢAPATHĀ.[11] The valley it drains is known as the Kōṭhēr Pargaṇa, and takes its name from the sacred tank of *Kapaṭeśvara*. At the western end of the spur, on the slope of which this Tīrtha is situated, issue the magnificent springs of Achᵃbal (Akṣavāla). They form a small stream by themselves, which flows into the Harṣapathā.

A short distance below the village of Khanᵃbal (map 'Kanbal'), where the three streams hitherto mentioned unite, their waters are joined from the north by

[6] Compare for the Nīlanāga and its round spring-basin (*kuṇḍa*), note i. 28.

[7] Compare note v. 24.

[8] This version is found in the Vitastāmāhātmya, ii. 37 sqq., which calls the place *Vitastāvartikā*; see also VIGNE, i. 335.

[9] See note i. 102. It is possible that Vitastātra was in old times the village nearest to the Nīlanāga, and hence participated in the holiness of the Tīrtha.

[10] i. 28.—I am unable to account for the mention made in the *Mahābh.* III. lxxxii. 90, of the Takṣaka Nāga in Kaśmīr as the Vitastā, i.e. its source. No such distinction is claimed for the well-known Takṣaka spring near Zevan (Jayavana); see Rājat. i. 220. The author of the *Tīrthayātrā* in the Mahābh., shows no accurate knowledge of Kaśmīr, and seems to have made a mistake here.

[11] See *Nīlamata*, 232, 1209, etc.

those of the Lidᵃr. This river, the ancient LEDARĪ,[12] receives a number of glacier-fed streams draining the high range towards the upper Sind Valley. It is hence in volume more considerable than any of the previously-named affluents. The Ledarī spreads in several branches through the wide valley forming the Parganas of Dachünpōr and Khōvurpōr. In old days a canal constructed on the hillside to the east carried the water of the Ledarī, and with it fertility, to the barren plateau of Mārtāṇḍa or Maṭan.[13]

Course of Vitastā in alluvial plain.

63. At Khanᵃbal the Vitastā becomes navigable and continues so through its whole course through the Valley. At the same point the great flat plain begins which stretches on both sides of the river down to Bārāmūla in the north-west. In its course to the Volur lake, a direct distance of about fifty-four miles, the river falls only some 220 feet,[14] and the slope in the general level of the plain is equally gentle. The bed of the river lies everywhere in alluvial soil, which results from the deposition of sediment at flood times when the river overflows its banks. Down to S'rīnagar the river keeps in a single bed and its islands are but small, in fact mere temporary sand-banks. The course is in parts very winding; but as far as we can judge from the position of the old sites along the river, no great changes are in historical times likely to have taken place in this portion of its course.

Floods of river.

When the river is low as during the winter, the banks rise on an average about fifteen feet above the water. But in the spring when the snow melts, the great volume of water brought down from the mountains rises to the top of the banks and often overflows it. Dangerous floods may also follow long and heavy summer-rains, and sometimes cause immense damage to the crops through a great portion of the cultivated area of the valley.[15]

Such floods and the famines which are likely to follow, were a danger well known in old times already, and are more than once mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[16] Against them the villages and river-side towns have always endeavoured to protect themselves by artificially raising the banks. The allusions found in the Chronicle suffice to show that the construction of embankments (*setu*, now *suth*), with the accompanying system of floodgates closing lateral drainage channels, has existed since ancient times.[17] One great regulation scheme, which was directly designed to diminish these risks, and of which we possess a detailed historical account, we shall have special occasion to discuss below. The equally elaborate system by which water was secured for the irrigation of the otherwise dry alluvial flats along the river, will also be specially noticed.

[12] See i. 87.

[13] The construction of this canal by Zainu-l-'ābidin is described at length by *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1232-60. It is probable that there existed earlier irrigation works on the same plateau. See below, § 111.

[14] See DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 163.

[15] Compare for data as to modern floods, LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 205 sqq. The view set forth elsewhere, that the danger of floods has been materially increased since the Hindu rule by changes in the construction of S'rīnagar, is not borne out by the evidence of the historical topography of the city. The left bank of the river, e.g., was built over already in the Hindu times; the dyke closing the Dal to the floods of the river existed already since Pravarasena's time, etc. A far more serious cause of danger lies in the gradual silting up of the Volur, which acts as the great flood-reservoir of Kaśmīr, and in the constant reclamation of land going on in the marshes around it.

[16] See vii. 1219; viii. 2449, 2786; also vii. 1624; viii. 1417, 1422, *Jonar.* 403 sqq.

[17] See i. 159; iii. 483; v. 91, 103, 120; viii 2380, etc.; *Jonar.* 404, 887; *S'rīv.* iii 191 sq., etc.

Importance of river-communication.

The navigable waters of the Vitastā have from ancient times to the present day formed the most important highway of Kaśmīr. The value of the river and of the numerous canals, lakes, and streams which are also accessible to boats, for the development of internal trade and traffic can hardly be over-estimated. Until a couple of years ago there were nowhere in Kaśmīr, not even in the flattest parts of the Valley, roads fit for wheeled traffic. Carriages were practically things unknown to the population bred in the valley. As long as communication with the outer world was restricted to difficult bridle-paths or tracks passable only to load-carrying Coolies, the construction of such roads would have been, in fact, of very slight advantage. The importance of river-traffic in Kaśmīr may be estimated from the fact that the number of boatmen engaged in it (and their families) amounted, according to the census of 1891, to nearly 34,000.[18] That boats were in old days, just as up to the present time, the ordinary means of travel in the Valley is shown by the frequent references to river journeys in the Chronicles.[19]

Equally eloquent testimony to the historical importance of river navigation in Kaśmīr is borne by the position of the ancient sites. We shall see that all the towns which from time to time were the capitals of the country, were built on the banks of the Vitastā, and that the great majority of other important places of ancient date were similarly situated. It is certain that then as now all produce of the country was brought to the great centres by water. Villages even when situated at a considerable distance, had, no doubt, just as at the present day, their regular landing-places (Kś. *yārᵘbal*) on the river or the nearest navigable waterway. Kalhaṇa's description of the semi-legendary city of Narapura shows how closely the busy "coming and going of ships" was connected in the Kaśmīrian mind with the splendour of a large town.[20]

64. After these general remarks we may now proceed to follow the Vitastā's course through the Valley noticing its tributaries in due order as we reach the confluences.

Below Khanᵃbal[21] the river receives in succession the several branches of the Ledarī and then passes the ancient town and Tīrtha of Vijayeśvara, the present Vijᵉbrōr. About a mile lower down, its course lies between high alluvial plateaus or Karēwas. One on the left bank, the Tsakᵃdar Uḍar, will be noticed below as one of the most ancient sites of the Valley (Cakradhara).

The Gambhīrā.

About three miles further down and not far from the village of Marhōm (the old Maḍavāśrama), the Vitastā is joined by the Vēśau and Rembyārᵃ Rivers, which meet a short distance above their common confluence with the Vitastā. This river junction is known to the Māhātmyas by the name of GAMBHĪRASAMGAMA ('the deep confluence') and is still visited as a Tīrtha.[22] The short united course of the Vēśau and Rembyārᵃ bears the old name of GAMBHĪRĀ and is referred to under this designation repeatedly by Kalhaṇa. The Gambhīrā is too deep to be forded at any time of the year, and being on the route from Vijayeśvara to S'rīnagar is of military importance. It was twice the scene of decisive actions. King Sussala's army on its retreat over the Gambhīrā (A.D. 1122) suffered a complete rout. Six

[18] Compare regarding the *Hāṇz* of Kaśmīr, LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 313; also note v. 101.

[19] See v. 84: vii. 347. 714, 1628, etc.

[20] See i. 201 sq.

[21] According to a gloss on the Nīlamata, 1307, Khanᵃbal, the port, so to say, of Anatnāg, corresponds to the Khaṇḍapuccha Nāga of that text. This Nāga is elsewhere mentioned, but I have no distinct evidence for its identification.

[22] See note iv. 80. Junctions of rivers and streams (*saṁgamas*) are everywhere in India favourite places for Tīrthas.

years later Sujji, his son's general, gained an equally signal victory by forcing the passage in the face of a rebel army.[23]

The Veśau, frequently mentioned by its ancient name of VIŚOKĀ in the Chronicles, Nīlamata, and other texts, is a considerable river.[24] It receives all the streams coming from the northern slope of the Pīr Pantsāl Range between the Sidau and Bān^a^hāl Passes. Its traditional source is placed in the Kramasaras or Kōns^e^r Nāg Lake below the Peak of Naubandhana. The Nīlamata, i. 271 sqq., relates a legend which identifies the Viśokā with Lakṣmī and accounts for its name ('free from pain'). The fine waterfall which is formed by the stream of the Kōns^e^r Nāg not far from the village of Sidau, is now known as *Ahr^e^bal.* The Nīlamata calls it *Ākhor bila*, 'the mouse-hole,' which may possibly be the origin of the modern name.[25] As soon as the Viśokā emerges from the mountains, numerous irrigation canals are drawn from it which overspread the whole of the old Parganas of Karāla (Ād^u^vin) and Devasaras (Div^e^sar).

The Viśokā.

One of these canals is the *Sun^e^man'kul* which is mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī by its ancient name, SUVARṆAMAṆIKULYĀ.[26] If the story of its construction by King Suvarṇa, reproduced from Padmamihira, could be trusted, we should have to ascribe to this canal a high antiquity. It leaves the Viśokā near the village shown as 'Largoo' on the map, and rejoins it near the village of Ād^e^vin (map 'Arwin'). Another old canal called *Nāndī* (not shown on the map) leaves the Viśokā near Kaimuh, the ancient Katīmuṣa, and irrigates the land between the lower course of this river and the Vitastā. Its name is, perhaps, connected with that of the village *Nandaka* which is referred to in connection with Avantivarman's drainage operations.[27] The Viśokā is navigable up to Kaimuh.

The *Rembyār^e^* which joins the Viśokā a little above Gambhīrasaṁgama, we have met already before as the river uniting the streams from the Pīr Pantsāl and Rūprī Passes. Kalhaṇa mentions it by its ancient name RAMAṆYĀṬAVĪ when relating the legend of the burned city of Narapura.[28] The Rembyār^e^ after leaving the mountains below Hūr^e^pōr flows divided in many channels within a wide and mostly dry bed of rubble and boulders. The strip of stony waste along the river attains a width of over two miles near the village of Tsūran (map 'Charran').

The Ramaṇyāṭav

The local legend referred to attributes the creation of this waste to the Nāgī Ramaṇyā. She had come down from the mountains, carrying masses of stone, to assist her brother, the Suśravas Nāga, in the destruction of Narapura. When she learnt that he had already completed this task, she dropped the stones, 'more than a Yojana,' from the site of the doomed city. The distance indicated corresponds exactly to that of the village of Lit^e^r where the Rembyār^e^ leaves behind its stony bed and passes into alluvial soil. The village land for five Yojanas above that place was buried by the mighty boulders which Ramaṇyā left along her trail. Similar tales are well known to European alpine folklore.

65. Below Gambhīrasaṁgama the Vitastā receives from the right the stream which drains the ancient district of *Holaḍā*, the present Vular. It then passes close to the foot of the Vast^e^rvan spur near the old town of Avantipura. No important stream joins the river from the right until we reach S'rīnagar. The affluents on the left, like the Rāmuṣ, are also of small volume. Some do not reach

The Vitastā near S'rīnagar.

[23] See viii. 1063 sqq., 1497 sqq.

[24] See note iv. 5.

[25] Compare *Nīlamata*, 271 sqq., and for *Akhor bila*, 283.

[26] See i. 97.

[27] See note v. 85.

[28] See note i. 263-265.

the river direct, but end in low marshes communicating with the latter only by gates made in the river-embankments. For the streams we have next to notice, a reference to the special map of Ancient S'rīnagar is necessary.

The Mahāsarit.

Just before we reach the area of the city proper, the Vitastā is joined by a stream which drains the lake to the east of the city. This lake, known as Ḍal (Skr. *Ḍala*), is fed by plentiful springs and by streams which reach it from the north. Its surplus waters flow out towards the Vitastā by a canal which is now called Tsūṇṭh Kul, but in ancient times bore the name of MAHĀSARIT.[29] This canal passes through an ancient embankment (*setu*) which protects the city as well as the low shores of the Ḍal from floods of the river and already figures in the traditional account of the foundation of S'rīnagar. The position of the gate which closes the outflow of the Mahāsarit is marked on the map by the entry 'Durgāgalikā.'

A small channel from the river—whether artificial or natural, cannot be ascertained now—joins the Mahāsarit at this very point and turns the ground between it and the river into an island. This is now known by the name of Māy'sum, derived from the ancient MĀKṢIKASVĀMIN. We shall have to refer to it again in our account of the topography of S'rīnagar. From Durgāgalikā downwards the Mahāsarit or Tsūṇṭh Kul was in old times the south-eastern boundary for that part of S'rīnagar which lies on the right bank of the Vitastā. Being a natural line of defence it is frequently referred to in the narrative of the various sieges of the capital.[30]

The confluence of the Mahāsarit and Vitastā, which is just opposite to the modern palace, the Shērgaṛhi, has been a Tīrtha from early times and is mentioned by its correct name in Maṅkha's description of Kaśmīr.[31] S'rīvara refers to it by a more modern name, MĀRĪSAṂGAMA. Here *Mārī* is an evident adaptation from the Kś. form *Mār*.[32] The latter name, itself a derivative of Mahāsarit, is applied at the present day to another branch of the Ḍal outflow. This turning to the west passes through the marsh known as Brār'nambal, Skr. BHAṬṬĀRANAḌVALĀ, and then enters the city.

This canal is of considerable importance for the internal traffic of the city as it opens a convenient waterway to the Ḍal and greatly facilitates the transport of its manifold produce. After passing behind the whole of the city quarters on the right riverbank the Mār issues near the quarter of Narvor (Skr. *Naḍavana*) into the marshes of the Anch'ār. Through the latter a connection is thus secured with the Sind river delta. This extension of the Mār to the west seems, however, of later date, as S'rīvara attributes the construction of a navigable channel towards the Sind to Zainu-l-'ābidīn.[33]

The Ḍal lake.

66. The lake which supplies the water of the Mahāsarit, is in some respects one of the most favoured spots of the whole Valley. Its limpid water, the imposing aspect of the mountain amphitheatre which encloses it on three sides, and the charming gardens and orchards around it have made the Ḍal justly famous.

[29] For the identification of the Tsūṇṭh Kul and the Mār canal in the city with the *Mahāsarit*, my note on Rājat. iii. 339-349, should be consulted. In addition to the evidence there recorded, it should be noted that the Mahāsarit is twice mentioned by its old name, also in the *Sarvāvatāra*, iii. 74; iv. 129 sq.

[30] See viii. 733, 753, 3131.

[31] See *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 24 (*Mahāsaridvitastayoḥ saṁgamaḥ*). Here, too, as in former translations of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, *Mahāsarit* has been wrongly taken as an ordinary noun and explained as 'great river.'

[32] The term *Mārī* is also elsewhere used in the later Chronicles and the Māhātmyas; comp. e.g. *S'rīv.* i. 442; iv. 298; Fourth Chron. 145, etc.

[33] See *S'rīv.* i. 440 sq.

The Ḍal measures about four miles in length and two and a half in width where it is broadest. Its depth nowhere exceeds thirty feet, and in most parts it is far more shallow. At its southern end it is fringed by lagoons, and a great portion of it is covered by the famous floating gardens. Notwithstanding the superabundance of water-plants and vegetable matter, the water everywhere retains an admirable clearness and freshness. This is, no doubt, due to the ampleness of the springs which rise within the lake. Though we find no direct mention of the lake in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and though it does not claim any particular sanctity, there is no want around its shores of ancient and holy sites.

Name of *Ḍala*.

The earliest reference to the lake itself occurs in the Chronicle of S'rīvara who describes at length how King Zainu-l-'ābidīn diverted himself on the lake and adorned its vicinity.[34] S'rīvara calls the lake ḌALA, while the few Māhātmyas which condescend to mention it use the form Dala.[35] He also mentions the two small artificial islands called *Laṅkā* and now distinguished as Rupᵃlānk and *Sunᵃlānk* ('the Silver Laṅkā,' 'Golden Laṅkā'). Different names are given to several distinct portions of the lake. But of these only HASTAVĀLIKA, the present Astᵃvōl, can be traced in the Chronicles.

The sacred sites of Gopādri, Jyeṣṭheśvara, Thedā, Sureśvarī, etc., with their numerous Nāgas line the eastern shores of the Ḍal. They will be mentioned below in the description of the environs of the capital. The well-known gardens of Shālimār, Nishāt, and Nasīm are creations of the Mughal Emperors who did much to enhance the natural beauties of the lake.

Besides the springs of the lake itself the latter is fed also by a stream which comes from the Mār Sar lake high up in the mountains to the east. The old name of this stream, marked 'Arrah' on the map, is uncertain. The S'arvāvatāra seems to extend to it the name *Mahāsarit*.[36] In its lower course where it approaches the north shore of the Ḍal, it now bears the name of Tēlbal Nāl (stream). An earlier form is furnished by S'rīvara who calls the stream at this point, by the name of TILAPRASTHĀ; the latter is also found in several Māhātmyas.[37]

The Vitastā in S'rīnagara.

67. From the junction with the Mahāsarit downwards the Vitastā flows for over three miles between almost unbroken lines of houses raised high above the water on stone embankments. The latter consist nowadays chiefly of large blocks of stone which belonged to ancient temples and other structures of pre-Muhammadan date. Judging from their size and careful carving we can well picture to our minds the splendid appearance which the river-banks must have here presented in bygone days.

The river within the city flows first in one long reach due north. Near the Fourth Bridge in the heart of the city, it makes a great bend and turns to the south-west. A canal which leaves the left bank of the river between the Shērgaṛhi palace and the quarter of Kāthül (Kāṣṭhīla), and rejoins the river near the last bridge, allows boats to cut this great bend. It now bears the name Kuṭᵃkul derived from the ancient designation of KṢIPTIKĀKULYĀ.[38]

The Kṣiptikā.

The Kṣiptikā is often mentioned in the later portions of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle which relate the sieges of S'rīnagar witnessed in his own time. It forms to this

[34] *S'rīv.* i. 418 *sqq.*
[35] See e.g. *Vitastāmāh.* xxi. 39.
[36] See *S'arvāv.* iii. 75; iv. 129.
[37] See *S'rīv.* i. 421; *S'arvāv.* iv., etc.
[38] Kś. *kul* < Skr. *kulyā* is the ordinary term for small streams or canals.

day the natural line of defence for that part of the city which occupies the left river-bank, and which could be successfully attacked only by crossing the Kṣiptikā.[39] No information is available to us as to the origin of this canal. Judging from its position it is likely to have been a natural side-channel of the river which was subsequently maintained or improved for the convenience of navigation.

The Dugdhagaṅgā.

A few hundred yards lower down the Vitastā is joined on its left bank by a considerable river now known as the *Dūdgaṅgā*, 'the milk Gaṅgā' or *Chatsᵃkul*, 'the white stream.' Its ancient name is given as DUGDHASINDHU in Bilhaṇa's description of S'rīnagar.[40] The Māhātmyas know it by the name of *S'vetagaṅgā*, 'the white Gaṅgā,' to which the alternative modern designation Chatsᵃkul exactly corresponds.[41] Its waters come from the central part of the Pīr Pantsāl Range round Mount Taṭakūṭi, its chief sources being the mountain-streams marked as 'Sangsofed' (Sangsafēd) and 'Yechara' on the map. The confluence of the Vitastā and Dūdgaṅgā, opposite to the old quarter of Diddāmaṭha, is still a Tīrtha of some repute and is probably alluded to already by Bilhaṇa.[42]

SECTION VI.—LOWER COURSE OF THE VITASTĀ.

68. Immediately below the S'rīnagar we come to marshes which stretch along both sides of the river for a considerable distance. Those on the left bank of which the Hukhᵃsar and Paṇzᵃnōr Nambal are the nearest, are fed by mountain-streams of smaller volume. The marshes to the north of the river are more extensive and belong to the delta of the Sind River, the greatest tributary of the Vitastā within the Valley.

The Sindhu.

Our survey of the northern range of mountains has already taken us to the true headwaters of the *Sind* near the Zōji-Lā and the Amburnāth Peak. Its traditional source in the sacred Gaṅgā-lake on Mount Haramukh has also been noticed. This great river has a course of over sixty miles and drains the largest and highest portion of the mountain-chain in the north. Its ancient name, SINDHU, means simply 'the river,' and is hence identical with the original designation of the Indus.[1] The Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions the river repeatedly, and it figures largely in

[39] For detailed evidence of this identification, see note viii. 732.

[40] *Vikram.* xviii. 7.

[41] See *Vitastām.* xx. 11, *S'vetagaṅgām.*, etc. Skr. *śveta* becomes in Kś. by regular phonetic conversion *chath*, fem. *chats*.

The Nīlamata curiously enough does not mention the Dūdgaṅgā unless the *Kṣīranadī*, 1281, is meant for it. The latter name meaning 'the river of milk,' is given to the Dūdgaṅgā by a passage of the modern Vitastāmāhātmya, xx. 11.

[42] See *Vikram.* xviii. 22.

[1] It is customary in Kaśmīr to distinguish the two rivers by giving to the Indus the designation of 'the Great Sind' (*Buḍ Sind*). This is found as '*Bṛhatsindhu*' already in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi, xii. 45.

The identity of the two river names has led to a great deal of confusion in geographical works down to the beginning of the present century. The Sind River of Kaśmīr was elevated to the rank of one of the chief sources of the Indus, or else represented as a branch of the great river taking its way through Kaśmīr(!). This curious error is traceable, e.g. in the map of 'L'Empire du Grand Mogol,' reproduced in Bernier's *Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 238, from the Paris edition of 1670, and in the map of Ancient India attached to TIEFFENTHALER, *Description de l'Inde*, 1786, p. 60. Compare HÜGEL, *Kaschmir*, i. p. 330. Even WILSON, writing in 1825, says of the Kaśmīr Sind, that "it is not improbably a branch of the Indus."

the Nīlamata, Haracaritacintāmaṇi, and the Māhātmyas.[2] Everywhere it is identified with the Gaṅgā as already by Alberūnī's informant. The valley of the Sind forms the district of *Lār*, the ancient Lahara, one of the main subdivisions of Kaśmīr territory.

Marshes of Sindhu delta.

Where this valley debouches into the great Kaśmīr plain, near the village of Dudrhōm, the old DUGDHĀŚRAMA, the river spreads out in numerous branches. These form an extensive delta, covered in its greatest portion by shallow marshes and known as *Anch'ār*. Its eastern side extends along the strip of high ground which connects S'rīnagar with the foot of the spur at the mouth of the Sind Valley. The western side of the delta is marked by an alluvial plateau which continues the right or western side of the lower Sind Valley down to the river's confluence with the Vitastā. The base of the triangle is the Vitastā itself. Between S'rīnagar and this junction the Vitastā flows in a bed separated by artificial banks from the marshes on either side. The waters of the Sind after spreading over this wide delta leave it in a single channel at its western extremity, opposite to the village of Shād'pūr.

Confluence of *Vitastā* and *Sindhu*.

The confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu has from early times enjoyed exceptional sanctity as a Tīrtha. Kaśmīr tradition, as recorded already in the Nīlamata, identifies the Vitastā and Sindhu, the largest and holiest rivers of the country, with the *Yamunā* and *Gaṅgā*, respectively. Their junction represents, therefore, the Kaśmīrian equivalent of the famous Prayāga at the confluence of the great Indian rivers.

The VITASTĀSINDHUSAṀGAMA is often referred to as an important Tīrtha in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the Nīlamata and numerous other texts. It is actually known by the name of Prayāga to the modern tradition and the Māhātmyas.[3] A small island built of solid masonry rises in the river-bed at the point where the waters of the two rivers mingle. It is the object of regular pilgrimages on particular Parvans throughout the year. On it stands an old Cinār tree which to the pious Kaśmīrian represents the far-famed Ficus Indica tree of the real Prayāga.

Notwithstanding the accumulated holiness of this Tīrtha there is most explicit evidence to show that its present position dates back only to about a thousand years. We owe the knowledge of this interesting fact to the detailed account which Kalhaṇa has given us of the great regulation of the Vitastā carried out under King Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883). As the change in the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu forms one of the most striking results of this regulation, Kalhaṇa's account of the latter may conveniently be noticed here. I shall restrict myself to an indication of the main facts connected with these operations, referring for all detailed evidence to Note *I* (v. 97-100).

Suyya's regulation.

69. Kalhaṇa tells us in his opening notice that the produce of Kaśmīr had in earlier times been greatly restricted owing to disastrous floods, particularly from the Mahāpadma or Volur lake, and the general water-locked condition of the country.[4] Drainage operations under King Lalitāditya had led to an increase of agricultural produce. But these works were apparently neglected under his feeble successors, and disastrous floods followed by famines became again frequent. In Avantivarman's time *Suyya*, a man of conspicuous talents but low origin, offered to

[2] See note i. 57; also iv. 391; v. 97 sqq.; viii. 1129; *Jonar.* 982; *S'riv.* iv. 110, 227, etc.

[3] For a detailed account of the references to the Vitastāsindhusaṁgama and the ancient remains near it, see Note *I*, v. 97-100, §§ 14, 15; also note iv. 391.

[4] See v. 68 sqq.

remedy these troubles. Receiving the king's assent for his scheme and the necessary means, he set about regulating the course of the Vitastā with a view to a better drainage of the whole Valley. Omitting legendary details with which evidently popular tradition has embellished Suyya's story, the course adopted was briefly the following.

The operations commenced in Kramarājya at the locality called YAKṢADARA, where large "rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river-banks," obstructed the Vitastā.[5] We have already, when describing the Vitastā Valley route, referred to Yakṣadara, the present Dyār'gul, as a spur projecting into the river-bed some three miles below the commencement of the Bārāmūla gorge. Its rocky foot forms the first rapid of the river. By removing the obstructing rocks the level of the river was lowered. Then a stone dam was constructed across the bed of the river, and the latter thus blocked up completely for seven days. During this time "the river-bed was cleared at the bottom and stone walls constructed to protect it against rocks which might roll down."[6] The dam was then removed and the river flowed forth with increased rapidity through the cleared passage.

I must leave it to competent engineering opinion to decide to what extent and at which point of the Bārāmūla gorge the operations so far described were practicable with the technical means of that age. What follows in Kalhaṇa's account is so matter-of-fact and so accurate in topographical points, that a presumption is raised as to the previous statements also resting, partially at least, on historical facts.

Wherever inundation breaches were known to occur in times of flood, new beds were constructed for the river. One of these changes in the river-bed affected the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu, and this is specially explained to us in v. 97-100. The topographical indications here given by Kalhaṇa are so detailed and exact that they enabled me to trace with great probability what I believe to have been the main course of the Vitastā before Suyya's regulation.

Change in confluence of Vitastā and Sindhu.

70. Kalhaṇa describes to us successively the position of the old and the new confluence relative to certain temples situated at the village of Trigrāmī and other points on the river-banks. Most of these structures I have been able to identify, and a close examination of the general topographical features in their neighbourhood has fully borne out the correctness of Kalhaṇa's account. The main results of my local inquiries as detailed in Note *I*, v. 97-100, and embodied in the special large scale Map of the Confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu, are briefly the following.

While the new confluence, which Kalhaṇa knew in his own time, is identical with the present junction opposite Shād'pūr,[7] the old one lay about two miles to the south-east of it, between the village of Trigām and the Par'spōr plateau. The latter is the site of the great ruins of *Parihāsapura* first identified by me and shown on the map. Trigām marks the position of the ancient *Trigrāmī*, and a short distance south of it stands the temple ruin which I identify with the shrine of Viṣṇu *Vainyasvāmin*.

Kalhaṇa mentions this temple as the point near which "the two great rivers, the

[5] See v. 87 sqq.

[6] Compare v. [illegible] sq.

[7] Shād'pūr is a modern contraction for Shahābu-d-dīnpūr, the name given to the place by Sultān Shahābu-d-dīn (A.D. 1354-73) who founded it, as Jonarāja, 409, tells us, at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu.

Sindhu and Vitastā, formerly met, flowing to the left and right of Trigrāmī respectively." Standing on the raised ground before the ruin and turning towards Shād'pūr, we have on our left a swamp about a quarter of a mile broad which runs north-east in the direction of Trigām. In this swamp and a shallow Nāla continuing it towards Shād'pūr, we can yet recognize the old bed of the Sindhu.

On the right we have the Badrihēl Nāla which divides the alluvial plateaus of Trigām and Par'spōr. This Nāla is clearly marked as an old river-bed by the formation of its banks. It connects the great swamp to the east known as *Panz'nōr Nambal* with the extensive marshes stretching west and north-west of Par'spōr towards the Volur. It still serves regularly as an outflow for the Panz'nōr Nambal whenever the latter is flooded from the Vitastā at times of high-water.

The old course of the rivers here briefly indicated explains the curious position of the *Nōr* (map 'Noroo'). This important canal leaves the Vitastā on the left bank, just opposite to the present junction with the Sindhu, and practically continues the south-westerly course of the latter for some distance. Only about one-third of a mile of low ground divides the Nōr from the end of the swamp which marks the bed of the Sindhu at the point of its old junction opposite the Vainyasvāmin ruin.

Similarly the position chosen by King Lalitāditya for his capital *Parihāsapura* becomes now intelligible. The plateau of Par'spōr, which preserves its name, is now far removed from a convenient waterway such as we find invariably near the other old Kaśmīr capitals. Before Suyya's regulation, however, the Vitastā flowed as we have seen, immediately to the north of the plateau and at the very foot of the great temples erected here by King Lalitāditya.

Results of Suyya's regulation.

71. I have shown above in Note *I* (v. 97-100) that the object and result of this change of the confluence can still be traced. By forcing the Vitastā to pass north of Trigām instead of south of it, the reclamation of the marshes south of the Volur lake was greatly facilitated. The course thus given to the river carries its waters by the nearest way into that part of the Volur which by its depth and well-defined boundaries is naturally designed as a great reservoir to receive the surplus water of dangerous floods. The reclamation of land which has gone on for centuries in the low marshy tracts south of the lake,[8] could never have been undertaken if the Vitastā had been allowed to spread itself over them from the south, the direction marked by its old course.

The change in the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu was thus closely connected with the general scheme of regulation and drainage. Kalhaṇa indicates this by referring immediately after the above passage to stone embankments constructed along the Vitastā for seven Yojanas (circ. forty-two miles), and the damming-in of the Volur lake.[9] On the land reclaimed new populous villages were founded. From the circular dykes which were built round these villages, they are said to have received the popular designation of *kuṇḍala* ('ring'). We actually still find two villages on the low ground near the Volur showing in their modern names the ending *kuṇḍ'l*, derived from Skr. *kuṇḍala*, viz. Utg'kuṇḍ'l (map wrongly 'Watrkoondl') and Mar'kuṇḍ'l.

Kalhaṇa adds that even in his own time, i.e. two and a half centuries later,

[8] Compare Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 166, for a description of these tracts and the amphibious ways of the inhabitants, who get their living as much from the water as the land around.

[9] See v. 103 sqq.

there were "seen, growing on the banks of the former river-beds, old trees which bore the marks of the boat ropes fastened to them." [10] Similarly the observant Chronicler noted the old pales securing the embankments "which the rivers display when low in the autumn." [11]

Position of *Jayapura.*

72. Following the course of the Vitastā below its present confluence with the Sindhu, we soon pass the village of Sambal, where the route from S'rīnagar to the north of the Volur lake and hence to the Trāg^abal Pass crosses the river. Here at some distance from the left bank is the site of the ancient *Jayapura*, the capital founded by King Jayāpīḍa in the second half of the eighth century.[12] It is marked by the village of And^arkōṭh, situated on an island between the Sambal marsh and a branch of the canal known as Nōr.

We should have some difficulty in understanding the position chosen for a town which was intended to be a place of importance, if we did not know the great change effected in the course of the river by the subsequent regulation of the Avantivarman. In King Jayāpīḍa's time one of the main branches of the Vitastā probably followed the line of the Nōr in this neighbourhood. The island of And^arkōṭh which forms a small alluvial plateau, was then a convenient site. This is no longer the case since the river flows to the east of And^arkōṭh and at a considerable distance.

Mānasa lake.

Close to Sambal the river passes the foot of an isolated hill, known as *Āh^atyung*, rising about a thousand feet above the plain. Under its shelter on the north is the small lake of *Mānasbal* which is mentioned by the name of *Mānasa-[saras]* in the Nīlamata and by Jonarāja.[13] It is about two miles long, and occupying a rock-basin, is deeper than the other lakes of the Kasmīr plain. It is connected with the river by a short channel and partially fed by an irrigation canal carried into it from the Sind River.[14] Its ancient name is derived from the sacred lake on Kailāsa, famous in the Purāṇas and Epics, and usually located in the Mansarōvar of the Tibetan highlands.

A short distance lower down the villages of Uts^akuṇḍ^al and Mar^akuṇḍ^al, already referred to above, are passed on the left bank. There are various indications which make it probable that in old times the Volur lake reached much closer to these villages than it does at present. Kalhaṇa's reference seems to indicate that these villages were actually reclaimed from the lake, and Jonarāja still places them on the very shore of the lake.[15] In the same way S'rīvara, speaking of the villages stretching from Samudrakoṭa,[16] the present Sud^arkōṭh, to the vicinity of Dvārikā, near And^arkōṭh, seems to place them along the shore of the Volur.

Passage of Vitastā into Volur.

A glance at the map shows that the land on the left bank of the river below the 'Kuṇḍala' villages projects like a peninsula into the lake. It can be safely assumed that the creation of this strip of land some seven miles long, is due to

[10] See v. 101.

[11] It is still the common belief in Kaśmīr that "no embankment on the river-side is sound unless it has a foundation of piles"; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 211. Considering the peaty nature of the soil along the lower course of the river, this belief may be justified by old experience.

[12] For the identification of this site, see note v. 506.

[13] As Jonarāja, 864 sq., makes the ancient name quite certain, the latter could have safely been shown on the map. In some passages of the Nīlamata and Māhātmyas it might be doubted whether this lake, or the Uttaramānasa on Mount Haramukh is intended; see, however, *Nīlamata*, 1336, where the Mānasa lake is mentioned after the Vitastāsindhusaṁgama.

[14] The construction of this canal is ascribed by Jonarāja, 864 sq., to Zainu-l-'ābidīn.

[15] See v. 120, and *Jonar.* 1230 (Bo. ed.).

[16] See *S'rīv.* i. 400 sq.

the continual deposits of silt. The silting-up process is still going on in this as in other portions of the Volur where streams enter it, and is likely to reduce the expanse of the lake still further in the future.[17]

A striking proof for the gradual change thus effected is afforded by the position of the artificial island known now as *Zain*ˢ*lānk*. It received its name (Skr. *Jainalaṅkā*) from King Zainu-l-ʿābidīn who constructed it. According to Jonarāja's description it was built in the middle of the Volur, where the water was deep.[18] It is now situated in a shallow marsh close to the present embouchure of the river.

The Volur lake.

73. The great lake, with the southern shores of which we have already become acquainted, is a very important feature in the hydrographic system of Kaśmīr. It acts as a huge flood reservoir for the greatest part of the drainage of Kaśmīr and gives to the western portion of the Valley its peculiar character. Its dimensions vary at different periods owing to the low shores to the south being liable to inundation. In normal years the length of the lake may be reckoned at about twelve and its width at six miles, with an area of about seventy-eight square miles. In years of flood the lake extends to about thirteen miles in length and eight miles in width.[19] Its depth is nowhere more than about fifteen feet and is continually lessening in those parts where the streams debouch into it. Notwithstanding this slight depth, navigation on the lake often becomes dangerous when violent storms sweep over it from the mountains in the north.

The boundaries of the lake are ill-defined in the south and partly in the east; the marshes and peaty meadows merge almost imperceptibly into its area. On the north the shores slope up towards an amphitheatre of mountains from which some rocky spurs run down to the water's edge. The fertile tract at the foot of these mountains forms the old Khūyāśrama, the modern Pargaṇa of *Khuy*ˢ*hōm*.

Ancient name *Mahāpadma*.

The ancient name of the lake is Mahāpadmasaras, derived from the Nāga *Mahāpadma*, who is located in the lake as its tutelary deity. This designation is by far the most common in the Chronicles, the Nīlamata and other old texts.[20] It is also used, as we have seen, in the description of Kaśmīr given by the T'ang Annals.

The name *Ullola* from which the present Volur (*vulgo* 'Woolar') seems to be derived, is found only in one passage of Jonarāja's Chronicle and in a single modern Māhātmya.[21] Skr. *Ullola* can be interpreted as 'turbulent' or ['the lake'] with high-going waves,[22] and those who have experienced the sensation of crossing the lake with a strong wind, will readily allow the appropriateness of this designation. Yet it is impossible to dismiss altogether the suspicion that the name which seems wholly unknown to the older texts, may be only a clever adaptation of the Kaśmīrī Volur or its earlier representative. It is certainly curious that in modern Māhātmyas we meet with *Ullola* also as a name for the Vular Pargaṇa, the genuine ancient designation of which is Holaḍā.[23] Jonarāja in his commentary on S'rīkaṇṭhacarita, iii. 9, uses Ullola as a paraphrase for Mahāpadma.

[17] Compare Drew, p. 166, and Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 20. The latter author is probably reproducing a popular tradition when mentioning that in King Zainu-l-ʿābidīn's time, the waters of the Volur stretched south to Afsm and Sambal.

[18] See *Jonar*. (Bo. ed.), 1227 sqq.

[19] See Lawrence, p. 20.

[20] For detailed references, see note iv. 593.

[21] See *Jonar*. (Bo. ed.), 1227-30; *Dhyāneśvaramāh*. 30, 33.

[22] See Bühler, *Report*, p. 9.

[23] See *Vitastāmāh*. v. 48; *Haridrāgaṇeśvaramāh*.

Legends of Mahāpadma Nāga.

74. From an early date various legends seem to have clustered around this, the greatest of Kaśmīr lakes. The Nīlamata relates at length how the lake became the habitation of the Mahāpadma Nāga.[24] Originally it was occupied by the wicked Nāga Ṣaḍaṅgula who used to carry off the women of the country. Nīla, the lord of Kaśmīr Nāgas, banished Ṣaḍaṅgula to the land of the Dārvas. The site left dry on his departure was occupied by a town called *Candrupura* under King Viśvagaśva. The Muni Durvāsas not receiving hospitable reception in this town, cursed it and foretold its destruction by water.

Destruction of *Candrapura*.

When subsequently the Nāga Mahāpadma sought a refuge in Kaśmīr and asked Nīla for the allotment of a suitable habitation, he was granted permission to occupy Candrapura. The Mahāpadma Nāga thereupon approached King Viśvagaśva in the disguise of an old Brahman and asked to be allowed to settle in the town with his family. When his prayer was agreed to, he showed himself in his true form and announced to the king the approaching submersion of his city. At the Nāga's direction the king with his people emigrated and founded two Yojanas further west the new town of *Viśvagaśvapura*. The Nāga then converted the city into a lake, henceforth his and his family's dwelling-place. A recollection of this legend still lives in popular tradition, and the ruins of the doomed city are supposed to be sighted occasionally in the water.

Another legend has found a lengthy record in Kalhaṇa's narrative of King Jayāpīḍa's reign, iv. 592 sqq. The Nāga Mahāpadma being threatened with desiccation by a Draviḍian sorcerer, appeared to the king in his dream and asked for protection. As a reward he promised to show a gold mine to the king. Jayāpīḍa agreed to the Nāga's prayer. Curiosity, however, induced him to let the Draviḍian first try his magic on the lake. When the waters had been dried up so far that the Nāga and his dependents were seen as human-faced snakes wriggling in the mud, the king interfered and caused the lake to be restored. The Nāga, however, resented the insult and showed to the king only a rich copper ore instead of the gold mine.

With reference to a Purāṇic legend the Mahāpadma is sometimes identified with the Nāga *Kāliya* who was vanquished by Kṛṣṇa. As the foot of the god when touching the Nāga's head had made lotuses (*padma*) appear on it, Mahāpadma is treated by Kaśmīrian poets as another form of Kāliya.[25]

Minor affluents of Volur.

75. Of the streams which fall into the Volur lake besides the Vitastā the stream of the *Band'pōr* Nāla is the most considerable. It drains the range between Mount Haramukh and the Trāg'bal Pass and forms a small delta of its own to the north of the lake. Its ancient name is MADHUMATĪ.[26] It is repeatedly mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī in connection with the route leading to the Dard territory, but must be distinguished from another, smaller Madhumatī which flows into the Kiṣangaṅgā near the S'āradātīrtha.

The out-flow of the waters is at the south-west corner of the lake about two miles above the town of Sōpūr. The latter is the ancient *Suyyapura*, founded by Suyya and commemorating his name.[27] If we may judge from the position of the town and the words used by Kalhaṇa in another passage,[28] it appears probable

[24] See *Nīlamata*, 976-1008, and BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 10.

[25] Compare *S'rīkaṇṭhac*. iii. 9; *Jonar*. 983, and note on Rājat. v. 114.

[26] See vii. 1179, and note vii. 1179; also viii. 2883; *Nīlamata*, 1259 sqq., 1398, etc.

[27] See note v. 118.

[28] Compare v. 104.

that the operations of Avantivarman's great engineer extended also to the river-bed on this side of the lake.

The Vitastā below the Volur.

About four miles below Sōpūr the Vitastā which now flows in a winding but well-defined bed, receives its last considerable tributary within Kaśmīr. It is the Pohur which before its junction has collected the various streams draining the extreme north-west of the Valley. This portion of the country figures but little in Kalhaṇa's narrative; hence we find in the Rājataraṅgiṇī no reference to the Pohur or any of its affluents. The old name of the river is uncertain. Jonarāja in a passage which is found only in the Bombay edition, calls this river *Pahara;* the Māhātmyas vary between *Prahara* and *Prahāra*.[29] Of the side-streams the Māvᵘr flowing through the Mach'pūr Pargaṇa (map 'Maur') is named in the Nīlamata as *Māhurī*.[30] The name of the Hamal stream is identical with that of the Pargaṇa through which its course lies, the ancient *S'amālā*.[31]

About eighteen miles from the point where the Vitastā leaves the Volur, it reaches the entrance of the gorge of Bārāmūla. Through this defile we have already before followed the river's course. At Bārāmūla navigation ceases. After passing with a violent current the ravine immediately below the town, the river, so placid within the Valley, soon turns into a large torrent rushing down in falls and rapids.

SECTION VII.—SOIL AND CLIMATE OF THE VALLEY.

76. Our survey of Kaśmīr rivers has taken us along that great flat of river alluvium which forms the lowest and most fertile part of the Valley. We must now turn to the higher ground of the vale which consists of the peculiar plateaus already alluded to.

Alluvial plateaus (*Uḍar*).

The genuine Kaśmīrī term for these plateaus is *uḍar*, found in its Sanskrit form as *uḍḍāra* in the Chronicles. Another modern designation of Persian origin, now often used, is *karēwa*. The word *uḍḍāra* is twice found as an ending of local names in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,[1] while the later Chronicles use it frequently in designations of well-known plateaus.[2] An earlier Sanskrit term is *sūḍa*, originally meaning 'barren waste ground.' Kalhaṇa employs it when speaking of the well-known Dāmᵃdar Uḍar.[3]

The Uḍars of the Kaśmīr Valley are usually considered by geologists to be due to lacustrine deposits. They appear either isolated by lower ground around them, or connected by very gentle slopes with spurs descending from the mountains. Often the tops of these plateaus seem almost perfectly flat, forming table-lands of varying dimensions. They rise generally from 100 to 300 feet above the level of the ravines and valleys which intersect them, and through which the streams from the mountains and their own drainage find their way to the Vitastā. Most of the Uḍars are found on the south-western side of the Valley, stretching from S'upiyan to Bārāmūla. But they also occur across the river on the north-eastern side of

[29] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1150, 1152; *Vitastāmāh.* xxvii. 2; *Svayambhūmāh.*

[30] *Nīlamata*, 1322 sqq.

[31] See note vii. 159.

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[1] See *Locanoḍḍāra* and *Dhyānoḍḍāra*, note viii. 1427.

[2] See *Gusikōḍḍāra*, the Uḍar of Gūs, near Rāmuh, *S'rīv.* iv. 465, 592, 596; *Dāmodaroḍḍāra*, the Dāmᵃdar Uḍar, *S'rīv.* iv. 618; *Laulapuroḍḍāra*, Fourth Chron. 175, etc.

[3] See note i. 156.

the Valley, and at both extremities of the river-flat in the south-east and north-west.

Soil of *Uḍars*.

Owing to the inferiority of the soil and the difficulty of irrigation, the Uḍars show a marked difference in point of fertility from other parts of the Valley. Those which slope down from the foot of the mountains have been brought under cultivation with the help of water-courses conducted over them from the higher ground behind. Most of these irrigation channels are, no doubt, of ancient date, and some are specially mentioned in the Chronicles. To other Uḍars, particularly those which are entirely isolated, water could not be brought. These are either entire wastes covered with low jungle or if cultivated, yield only precarious crops owing to the uncertainty of the rain-fall.

Some of the Uḍars, owing to their position near the Vitastā or for other reasons, are sites of importance in the ancient topography of Kaśmīr. Such are the plateaus of Mārtāṇḍa, Cakradhara, Padmapura, Parihāsapura. Another, the 'Uḍar of Dāmodara,' plays an interesting part in the legendary lore of the country.

Climate of Kaśmir.

77. Climatic conditions are so closely connected with a country's topography that the few old notices and references we have regarding those of Kaśmīr may fitly find mention here.

The only distinct account of the Kaśmīr climate is given by Albērūnī.[4] He clearly indicates the reason why Kaśmīr is exempt from the heavy monsoon rains of India proper. When the heavy clouds, he explains, reach the mountains which enclose Kaśmīr on the south, "the mountain sides strike against them, and the clouds are pressed like olives or grapes." In consequence "the rain pours down, and the rains never pass beyond the mountains. Therefore Kashmīr has no *varṣakāla*, but continual snow-fall during two and a half months, beginning with Māgha, and shortly after the middle of Caitra continual rain sets in for a few days, melting the snow and cleansing the earth. This rule has seldom an exception; however, a certain amount of extraordinary meteorological occurrences is peculiar to every province in India."

That this description is on the whole as accurate as Albērūnī's other data regarding Kaśmīr, will be easily seen by a reference to the detailed statements of Mr. LAWRENCE and Mr. ELIOT.[5]

What chiefly characterizes the climate of Kaśmīr as against that of the Indian plains, is the absence of a rainy season and the equally marked absence of excessive heat. The moderate temperature of the Kaśmīr summer is ensured by the high elevation of the Valley, and has at all times been duly appreciated by its inhabitants as well as its visitors. Kalhaṇa proudly claims this exemption from the torments of a fierce sun as one of the favours accorded to his country by the gods.[6] His enthusiastic description of a Kaśmīr summer passed "in the regions above the forests" shows that he was no stranger to the charms of that season in the alpine parts of the country.[7] More than once he refers to the sufferings which the heat of an Indian summer outside the Valley inflicts on Kaśmīrian exiles. Even in the hill-regions immediately to the south of the Pīr Pantsāl the hot season with its accompanying fevers has often proved disastrous to the Kaśmīrian troops employed there.[8]

[4] See *India*, i. p. 211.

[5] See LAWRENCE, p. 24 sqq.

[6] See i. 41.

[7] ii. 138.

[8] Compare vii. 970; viii. 1634, 1880, 1886, 1865; regarding the fever-season of Rājapurī and the neighbouring districts, note viii. 1878.

Rigours of Kaśmīr winter.

On the other hand we find also the rigours of a Kaśmīr winter duly illustrated by the Chronicler's narrative. We may refer to the description of the heavy and continued snow-fall which followed Sussala's murder in Phālguna, of 1128 A.D., the freezing of the Vitastā in the winter of 1087-8 A.D., etc.[9] A graphic account of the pretender Bhoja's flight to the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley shows us in full detail the difficulties which attend a winter-march over the snow-covered mountains to the north of the Valley.[10] Nor do we fail to be reminded otherwise of the great differences in climate which are implied by the varying altitudes of Kaśmīr localities.[11]

Exceptionally early snow-fall in the autumn such as saved the garrison of the frontier fort on the Dugdhaghāta Pass, has always been known and dreaded even low down in the Valley. The danger it represents for the rice-crops is illustrated by Kalhaṇa's account of the famines resulting from such premature snow-falls.[12]

In this as in other respects there is nothing to suggest any material change of the climatic conditions during historical times. Kalhaṇa, it is true, in describing the reign of Abhimanyu I., speaks of deep snow as "falling each year to cause distress to the Bauddhas" and obliging the king to pass six months of the cold season in Dārvābhisāra. But the whole story there related is nothing but a mere rechauffé of the ancient legend told in the Nīlamata of the annual migrations caused by the presence of the Piśācas. It therefore can claim no historical value whatever.[13]

78. Cultivation such as appears to have been carried on in Kaśmīr since the earliest historical period, must necessarily leave its traces in the topography of a country, and may hence claim a passing notice.

Rice-cultivation.

Rice has as far as we can go back, always been the largest and most important produce of the Valley. Its character as the main cereal is sufficiently emphasized by the fact that it is usually referred to in the Chronicles by the simple term of *dhānya*, 'grain.'[14] The conditions of its cultivation presuppose an extensive system of irrigation. For this the Kaśmīr Valley with its abundance of streams and springs is admirably adapted by nature. The elaborate arrangements which exist at present for taking water from the streams large and small and distributing it over all the ground capable of irrigation, will be found fully detailed in Mr. LAWRENCE's valuable and exhaustive account of Kaśmīr agriculture.[15] There is every reason to believe that they have come down, with little if any change, from a very early period.

Many of the larger irrigation channels which intersect the fertile alluvial flats or skirt the terraced slopes of the Uḍars and mountain sides, are shown on the map; see e.g. the tracts on the lower course of the Lidᵊr, Veśau, Sind, and other rivers. In old times when the population was larger than now, much land which is at present allowed to lie waste on the hill-sides, on the Uḍars, and in the low-lying tracts by the marshes, must have been under cultivation.[16]

I have often come across traces of old irrigation-cuts long ago abandoned which brought down the water of the melting snows from alpine plateaus high above the forest zone. Their distance from any lands capable of rice-cultivation is so great,

[9] viii. 1376 sqq.; 1434 sqq.; vii. 592.

[10] See viii. 2710 sqq. It must be remembered that as much as forty to sixty feet of snow falls in a severe winter on the higher ranges around Kaśmīr; see also viii. 411.

[11] Compare vii. 916; viii. 2511; ii. 138.

[12] ii. 18 sqq.; viii. 2449.

[13] See i. 180, and note i. 184.

[14] "The Kashmiris, so far, have considered no crop worthy of attention save rice:" LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 319.

[15] See *Valley*, pp. 323 sq.

[16] Compare *Valley*, pp. 239 and 356, as to the extensive areas which were once cultivated, and are likely to be so again in future.

and the trouble of their construction must have been so considerable that only a far greater demand for irrigation than the present one can account for their existence.

Irrigation canals.

In the earliest traditions recorded by Kalhaṇa the construction of irrigation canals plays already a significant part. The Suvarṇamaṇikulyā which is ascribed to King Suvarṇa and which still brings water to a great part of the Aḍ*vin district, has already been noticed.[17] The reference to the aqueduct by which King Dāmodara is supposed to have attempted to bring water to the great Uḍar named after him, though legendary in the main, is also characteristic.[18] Lalitāditya is credited with having supplied villages near Cakradhara : Tsak*dar with the means of irrigation by the construction of a series of water-wheels (*araghaṭṭa*) which raised the water of the Vitastā.[19]

To SUYYA, however, Avantivarman's engineer, is ascribed the merit of having on an extensive scale secured river-water for village-lands. From Kalhaṇa's detailed description it is evident that Suyya's regulation of the Vitastā was accompanied by systematic arrangements for the construction of irrigation-channels. For these the water of various hill-streams was utilized as well as that of the main river. The size and distribution of the water-course for each village was fixed on a permanent basis. He is thus said to have "embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce." The increase in produce consequent on these measures and the reclamation of new land from the river and marshes, is said to have lowered the average price of a Khāri of rice from two hundred to thirty-six Dīnnāras.[20]

The importance of irrigation from a revenue point of view must have always been recognized by the rulers of the country. Hence even in later times we find every respite from internal troubles marked by repairs of ancient canals or the construction of new ones. The long and peaceful reign of Zainu-l-'ābidīn which in many respects revived the tradition of the earlier Hindu rule, seems in particular to have been productive of important irrigation works. Jonarāja's and S'rīvara's Chronicles give a considerable list of canals constructed under this king.[21] Among these the canal which distributed the water of the Pohur River over the Zain*gīr Pargaṇa, and the one by which the water of the Lid*r was conducted to the arid plateau of Mārtāṇḍa, deserve special mention. In the latter locality some work of this kind must have existed already at a far earlier period. Or else we could scarcely understand how it could have been chosen as the site for Lalitāditya's magnificent temple and the flourishing township which once surrounded it.[22]

Saffron-cultivation.

Of the other products of the Valley only two may be mentioned here, since they have from old times received special attention in all descriptions of the country. Kalhaṇa already, in his introduction, designates saffron and grapes among "the things that even in heaven are difficult to find but are common there." [23] Saffron (*kuṅkuma*) has to the present day remained a famous product of Kaśmīr. Its cultivation has apparently from an early time specially flourished about *Padmapura*,

[17] See above, § 64.
[18] See note i. 156 sq.
[19] See note iv. 191.
[20] See v. 109-112 and note.
[21] See *Jonar*. (Bo. ed.) 1141-55, 1257 sqq.; *S'rīv*. i. 414 sqq. For repairs of old canals, see Rājat. viii. 2380.
[22] See iv. 192.
[23] i. 42.

the present Pāmpar, where the Uḍar lands are still chiefly utilized for it. The Fourth Chronicle describes at length the plant and its treatment. Abū-l-Faẓl mentions it also in the same locality and devotes to it a long notice.[24]

Grapes.

The grapes of Kaśmīr which Kalhaṇa mentions repeatedly,[25] have not retained their area of cultivation with equal persistence. They must have enjoyed reputation outside Kaśmīr, because the name *Kāśmīrā* is given by Sanskrit Kośas as the designation of a special variety of grapes.[26] They were once plentiful at Mārtāṇḍa, where both Kalhaṇa and Fourth Chronicle mention them, and at many other localities.[27] In Akbar's time grapes were abundant in Kaśmīr and very cheap. But Abū-l-Faẓl notes that the finer qualities were rare.[28] Since then viticulture among the people generally has greatly declined. Though vines of remarkable size and age can still be found in many places they are mostly wild. The produce of grapes is now restricted to a few old gardens at the mouth of the Sind Valley, and to the new vineyards established on the Ḍal shores by the late Mahārāja for the cultivation of French vines.[29]

SECTION VIII.—ETHNOGRAPHY.

79. It will be useful to refer here briefly to the data we possess regarding the old ethnography of Kaśmīr and the adjacent hill-regions.

Kaśmīri race.

As far as Kaśmīr itself is concerned our information does not allow us to connect any particular localities with ethnic divisions. Judging from Kalhaṇa's Chronicle and what other sources of information are available to us, the population of Kaśmīr has shown already in old times the same homogeneity that it does at present. The physical and ethnic characteristics which so sharply mark off the Kaśmīrī from all surrounding races, have always struck observant visitors to the Valley and have hence often been described.[1] Hiuen Tsiang's brief sketch reproduced above is the earliest in date and still applies closely to the modern inhabitants.

That the Kaśmīrīs form a branch of the race which brought the languages of the Indo-Aryan type into India, is a fact established by the evidence of their language and physical appearance. But when their settlement in the country took place, and from which direction they immigrated, are questions beyond the present range of historical research. The purity of race which has often been noted as distinguishing the great mass of the Kaśmīr population, may be admitted with a qualification. It is probably due not only to the country's natural isolation, but also to a curious faculty for absorbing foreign elements. Colonies of Mughals, Paṭhāns, Panjābīs and Pahārīs settled within comparatively recent times in the Valley, are being amalgamated with remarkable rapidity through intermarriage and other means.

[24] See Fourth Chron. 926 sqq.; *Āin-i Akb.*, i. pp. 357 sq.

[25] i. 42; iv. 192; vii. 498.

[26] See *P. W.*, s.v.

[27] Fourth Chron. 851, 928.

[28] *Āin-i Akb.*, i. p. 349; also i. p. 65.

[29] For a detailed account of Kaśmīr vineyards, see Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 351 sq.

[1] For a general account of the Kaśmīr population Drew's remarks, *Jummoo*, pp. 174 sqq., may still be recommended. Fuller and more exact details regarding the various classes, etc., will be found in Mr. Lawrence's work, pp. 302 sqq.

Foreign immigrants.

The complete absorption of these settlements which is going on under our own eyes as it were, furnishes a likely analogy for the ethnic history of earlier times. We have reason to assume that Kaśmīr has also in Hindu times been often under foreign rule. It is difficult to believe that the reign of foreign dynasties has not been accompanied also by settlements of immigrants of the same nationality. But it is not likely that these foreign colonies were ever extensive. In any case we find no trace of their having retained a distinct and independent existence.

Tribal sections.

Various tribal sections of the population are mentioned in Kalhaṇa's narrative, but we have no means of deciding to what extent they were based on race or caste distinctions. The names of the *Lavanyas* and *Tantrins* survive in 'Krāms' or tribal names still borne by sections of the Muhammadan rural population (Lūnⁱ and Tāntrⁱ).[2] But whatever distinctions of race or caste may have originally been indicated by these 'Krāms,' they have long ago disappeared. It is equally certain from an examination of the Chronicle that these sections were never confined to particular territorial divisions, but spread over the whole Valley.

The humblest of these is probably the one which has least changed its character during the course of centuries. The modern Ḍūmbs, the descendants of the old *Ḍombas*,[3] are still the low-caste watchmen and village-menials as which they figure in Kalhaṇa's narrative. They, like the still more despised Vātals or scavengers, cannot intermarry with other Kaśmīrīs. They have thus retained in their appearance a distinctive type of their own which points to relationship with the gipsy tribes of India and Europe.

It is difficult to come to any definite conclusion as regards the *Ki-lo-to* whom Hiuen Tsiang mentions as a low-born race settled in Kaśmīr from early times and opposed to the Bauddhas.[4] Their name, usually transcribed *Kṛtya*, cannot be traced in indigenous records. There is nothing to support their identification with the *Kīras* as suggested by General Cunningham.[5] The latter seem to have been a tribe settled somewhere in the vicinity of Kaśmīr.[6]

Races on Kaśmīr borders. Khaśas.

80. The ethnography of the territories immediately adjoining Kaśmīr can be traced quite clearly from the notices of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. In the south and west the adjacent hill-regions were occupied by *Khaśas*. Their settlements extended, as shown by numerous passages of the Chronicle, in a wide semicircle from *Kaṣṭᵘvār* in the south-east to the Vitastā Valley in the west.[7] The hill-states of Rājapurī and Lohara were held by Khaśa families; the dynasty of the latter territory succeeded to the rule of Kaśmīr in the eleventh century. I have shown elsewhere that the Khaśas are identical with the present *Khakha* tribe to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitastā Valley below Kaśmīr, and in the neighbouring hills, belong. We have already seen that the Khakhas have until very recent times worthily maintained the reputation which their forefathers enjoyed as marauders and turbulent hillmen.

North of the Vitastā Valley and as far as the Kiṣangaṅgā we now find the *Bombas* as the neighbours of the Khakhas to whom they are closely related. It is

[2] Compare notes v. 248; vii. 1171.

[3] See note iv. 475; also v. 353 sqq.; vi. 84, 182; vii. 964, 1133; viii. 94.

These passages show that the Ḍombas also earned their bread as hunters, fishermen, buffoons, quacks, etc., and their daughters as singers and dancers. Their occupations thus closely resembled those of the gipsies whose name, *Rom*, is undoubtedly derived from Skr. *ḍomba*; see *P.W.*, s.v.

[4] See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal., i. pp. 150, 156 sqq.

[5] See *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 93.

[6] Compare note viii. 2767.

[7] See note i. 317.

probable that the Karnāv district was held by them already in old times. Kalhaṇa seems to comprise them, viii. 3088, under the designation of Khaśa.

Daradś. The upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley above S'ardi was in old days already, as at present, inhabited by Dards (Skr. *Darad*, *Dārada*) who are often referred to by Kalhaṇa as the neighbours of Kaśmīr on the north.[8] Their seats extended then, too, probably much further to the north-west, where they are now found in Citrāl, Yāsīn, Gilgit and the intervening regions towards Kaśmīr. Megasthenes already knew them in the Upper Indus regions. Kalhaṇa relating events of his own time speaks of *Mlecchas* further to the north. These might have been Muhammadanized Dards on the Indus, and beyond.[9]

Bhauṭṭas. The regions immediately to the north-east and east of Kaśmīr were held by the *Bhauṭṭas*. We have already seen that these represent the people of Tibetan descent, the modern *Buṭ*[s] of Drās, Ladākh and the neighbouring mountain districts.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL TOPOGRAPHY.

SECTION I.—FRONTIERS OF ANCIENT KAS'MĪR.

81. Our account of the political topography of ancient Kaśmīr may conveniently open with a survey of its frontiers. These agree so closely with the natural boundaries of the Valley that we have already had occasion to trace them when dealing with the mountain-ranges enclosing the latter. It will, however, be useful to supplement our information regarding these frontiers by a brief notice of the territories which lay beyond them and formed the neighbours of the Kaśmīr kingdom in Hindu times.

Territories S.E. of Kaśmir. Kāṣṭhavāṭa. Beginning in the south-east we have first the Valley of KĀṢṬHAVĀṬA, the present Kaṣṭ[h]vār ('Kishtwar' of the maps), on the upper Cināb. It is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a separate hill-state in the time of Kalaśa.[1] Its Rājās who were Hindus till Aurangzeb's time, practically retained their independence until the conquest of their territory by Mahārāja Gulāb Singh.

The hill-district of Bhadravāh lower down on the Cināb is once named in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as BHADRĀVAKĀŚA.[2] Its Rājās were tributary to Cambā in recent centuries. This was probably the case also in earlier times, as we do not find a ruler of Bhadrāvakāśa referred to in Kalhaṇa's lists of hill Rājās.

Campā. The Rājās of Cambā, the ancient CAMPĀ, on the other hand, figure often in the Kaśmīr Chronicle.[3] Their territory has since early times comprised the

[8] See note i. 317.

[9] See note viii. 2762-64.

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[1] Compare note vii. 218, and CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 141.

[2] See note viii. 590.

[3] See note viii. 501.

valleys of the sources of the Rāvī between Kāngra, the ancient Trigarta, and Kāṣṭhavāṭa. The ancient Rājpūt family which rules this hill-state to the present day, often intermarried with the Lohara dynasty which reigned in Kaśmīr.

Vallāpura.

To the west of Cambā and south of Bhadrāvakāśa lay the old chiefship of VALLĀPURA, the modern Ballāvar.[4] Its rulers are repeatedly referred to in Kalhaṇa's narrative. They retained their independence as petty hill-chiefs till the rise of the Jammu family early in this century. Ballāvar was known also to Albērūnī.

Of the political organization of the hill territories between Vallāpura in the south-east and Rājapurī in the north-west we have no distinct information. The Hindu inhabitants of this tract including Ballāvar call themselves now *Dogrās* and their country *Duggar*. This name is traditionally derived from Skr. **Dvigarta*.[5] But this term is nowhere found in our historical texts and has probably been concocted in analogy of the ancient name Trigarta. The original form of the name seems to be *Durgara*.[6]

It is very probable that the region of the lower and middle hills between the limits indicated was already in old times divided into a number of small chiefships. Of these some eleven seem to have existed up to the extension of the Sikh power into the Pañjāb Kōhistān.[7] They were all absorbed in the growing state of Jammu which was originally one of them.

Among these small hill-chiefs of limited territory but ancient descent we have probably to class the Ṭhakkura Deṅgapāla on the Cināb who gave his daughter to the pretender Bhikṣācara in marriage.[8] Also the Rājā of KANDA must probably be located in this hill-tract.[9] Other Ṭhakkuras in this region are mentioned as levying blackmail on Prince Mallārjuna when on his march to Kaśmīr from the plains.[10]

Viṣalāṭā.

Immediately at the foot of the Bānᵃhāl Pass in the territory of VIṢALĀṬĀ we find the castle of a 'Khaśa lord' who gave shelter to Bhikṣācara and at the time was evidently independent.[11] Temporarily the chiefs of the hills immediately south of the Pīr Pantsāl Range may have acknowledged the suzerainty of strong Kaśmīr rulers. But during the greatest part of the period which is known to us from historical sources, they appear to have held their own and rather to have levied subsidies, i.e. black mail, from the Kaśmīr rulers.[12]

Territories S.W. and W. of Kaśmīr.

82. Some of the petty hill-states here referred to must have been included in the region which by its ancient name was known as DĀRVĀBHISĀRA. I have elsewhere shown that this name as a geographical term was applied to the whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Candrabhāgā and Vitastā.[13] The combined names of the Dārvas and Abhisāras are found already in the ethnographical lists of the Mahābhārata and Bṛhatsaṁhitā. A chief of this region figures under the ethnic appellation of *Abisares* in the accounts of Alexander's Indian campaign.

[4] See note vii. 220, and CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 135.

[5] See DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 43 sq.

[6] Compare the Cambā copperplate, edited by Prof. KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, 1888, p. 9.

[7] See CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 133 sqq., where a useful synopsis of the hill-states in the central portion of the Panjāb Kōhistān is given.

[8] See *Rājat.* viii. 554 sqq.

[9] See note vii. 590.

[10] viii. 1989 sqq.

[11] viii. 1665 sqq.

[12] See note viii. 2283.

[13] See note i. 180.

Rājapurī.

The most important of the hill-states in this territory was certainly the RĀJAPURĪ, represented by the modern district of Rajaurī.[14] It comprised the valleys drained by the Tohī of Rajaurī and its tributaries. Owing to its position on the most direct route to the Panjāb, Rājapurī was necessarily often brought into political relations with Kaśmīr. When Hiuen Tsiang passed through it, the 'kingdom of Rājapurī' was subject to Kaśmīr. From the tenth century onwards we find the chiefs of Rājapurī as practically independent rulers, though the Chronicle tells us of numerous expeditions undertaken into their territory by the later Kaśmīr kings. The upper Valley of the Tohī of Prūnts leading to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass was included in Rājapurī territory.[15] Here lay probably the famous stronghold of RĀJAGIRI known also to Alberūnī.[16]

Rājapurī took its name from its capital which is repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa, and undoubtedly occupied the position of the present town of Rajaurī.[17] The ruling family belonged to the Khaśa tribe. Its descendants were the Muhammadanized Rājpūt chiefs who retained this territory down to the present century.

Lohara.

On the north-west Rājapurī was adjoined by the territory of LOHARA.[18] The chief valley belonging to this hill-state was the present Lohᵃrin which we have already visited when examining the Tōsᵃmaidān route. Lohara became important for Kaśmīr from the end of the tenth century onwards when a branch of its ruling family obtained the Kaśmīr throne. Subsequently this branch succeeded also to Lohara which thus became united with Kaśmīr under the same ruler. As the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty, the castle of Lohara has played a great part during the last reigns related by Kalhaṇa. The chiefs of Lohara are distinctly named as belonging to the Khaśa tribe.

Parṇotsa.

Lohara seems to have included in those times also the town and district of PARṆOTSA, corresponding to the present Pūnch or Prūnts (the Kaśmīrī form), in the lower valley of the Tohī (*Tauṣī*).[19] In Hiuen Tsiang's time Parṇotsa gave its name to the whole hill-state which was then tributary to Kaśmīr. The Muhammadan Rājās of Prūnts, closely related to the Khakhas of the Vitastā Valley, remained more or less independent till the conquest of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh. Their territory forms now a separate small principality under a branch of the Jammu family. Parṇotsa being on the great route to the western Panjāb is often mentioned in the Kaśmīr Chronicles. The large percentage of the Kaśmīrī element in the population of Prūnts attests the closeness and ancient date of its relation to Kaśmīr. The hills to the south-west of Prūnts were held till early in this century by petty chiefs, known as the Rājās of *Kōṭlī*. It is possible that the small hill-state of KALIÑJARA repeatedly referred to by Kalhaṇa and known also to Ferishta, lay in this direction.[20]

Dvāravatī.

Proceeding to the north-west of Parṇotsa we come to the valley of the Vitastā. This, as has already been shown above, was held in old times as an outlying frontier district of Kaśmīr as far down as BOLYĀSAKA, the present Buliāsa. Beyond this point it was occupied by Khaśas. In Muhammadan times the valley was divided between several petty chiefs of the Khakha and Bomba clans who

[14] For a detailed account, see note vi. 286.

[15] See note viii. 959.

[16] See note vii. 1270.

[17] See vii. 973 sqq.

[18] Compare for a history of *Lohara* and its various localities. Note *E*, iv. 177.

[19] See for details note iv. 184.

Hiuen Tsiang's reference shows that the town of Parṇotsa must be older than the time of Lalitāditya to whom Kalhaṇa ascribes its foundation.

[20] See note vii. 1256.

seem to have acknowledged as their nominal head the Khakha Rājā of Muzaffarābād. The portion of the valley between Muzaffarābād and Buliāsa bore the old name of DVĀRAVATĪ from which the modern designation of this tract, *Dvārbidī*, is derived.[21]

Uraśā.

83. Further to the west and beyond the course of the Vitastā after its great bend, lay the ancient kingdom of URAŚĀ.[22] Its greatest part is comprised in the British district of Hazāra between the Vitastā and the Indus. It is the *Οὔαρσα* or *Ἄρσα* of Ptolemy; its ruler figures as *Arsakes* in the accounts of Alexander's campaign. Hiuen Tsiang who mentions the territory by the name of *Wu-la-shi*, found it tributary to Kaśmīr. Though this dependence seems soon to have ceased we find Uraśā often referred to in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The account of S'aṁkaravarman's ill-fated expedition in this direction furnishes us with a clue as to the position of the old capital of Uraśā. It probably lay between the present Mansahra and Abbottabad.[23]

Kalhaṇa's notice of an expedition undertaken in his own time mentions in Uraśā ATYUGRAPURA. I have shown in my note on the passage that this locality is probably represented by the modern *Agrōr*, situated towards the 'Black Mountains.' We have an intermediary form of the name in Ptolemy's *Ἰθάγουρος*, given as the designation of a 'town' in *Οὔαρσα* north of Taxila.[24]

In Muhammadan times Uraśā was included in the region known as Pakhlī. This is defined by Abū-l-Fazl as comprising the whole of the hill territory between Kaśmīr in the east and the Indus on the west.[25] To Pakhlī belonged also the lower valley of the Kiṣangaṅgā and the valleys of the streams which flow into the latter from the Kājnāg range and the mountains to the north-west of Kaśmīr.

Karṇāha.

This tract which is now known as *Karnāv* or Karnau, bore the old name of KARṆĀHA. It seems to have been held by small chiefs nominally tributary to Kaśmīr even in later Hindu times.[26] It is but rarely mentioned in the Chronicle. The inhabitants were Khaśas,[27] who are represented by the modern Bomba clans still holding Karnāv. Their Rājās were practically independent till the Sikh conquest and often harried the north-western parts of Kaśmīr.[28] The last irruption of the Karnāv Bombas and their allies, the Khakha chiefs of the Vitastā Valley, occurred as late as 1846.

The valley of the Kiṣangaṅgā above its junction with the Karnāv river and as far as S'ardi, forms a separate tract known as *Drāva*. This is possibly the *Durāṇḍu* mentioned in a passage of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.[29] The northernmost portion of the tract seems to have been a dependency of Kaśmīr even during the later Hindu reigns. At S'ardi we find the shrine of S'ĀRADĀ, one of the most sacred Tīrthas of old Kaśmīr. To this as well as an old feudal stronghold in its neighbourhood we shall have occasion to refer below.[30]

Through S'ardi leads a route to Cilās on the Indus. But this territory as well as the other portions of the upper Indus Valley lay apparently quite outside the sphere of Kaśmīr political influence. Hence we meet nowhere in the Chronicles with their ancient names.

[21] See note v. 214 and above, § 53.

[22] For a detailed synopsis of the old notices, see note v. 217.

[23] See note v. 217, and CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 104.

[24] Compare note viii. 3402.

[25] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 390 sq.

[26] Compare note viii. 2485.

[27] See viii. 2756, 3006, 3088.

[28] Compare for the modern Karnāv, BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 228.

[29] See note viii. 2709.

[30] See § 127.

Darad territory.

84. Immediately above S'ardi the valley of the Kiṣangaṅgā turns, as we have seen, into a narrow uninhabited gorge. At the other end of this gorge we reach the territory of the Dards. Their settlements on the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā and its tributaries seem to have formed a separate little kingdom, called by a general name DARADDEŚA in the Chronicle.[31] Its rulers who bore Hindu names, more than once attempted invasions of Kaśmīr.

DARATPURĪ, 'the town of the Dards,' which was their residence, may have occupied the position of the modern Gurēz (map 'Goorais').[32] The latter is the chief place of the Valley where the Nawābs, governing it till the Sikh conquest, resided. The 'Mleccha' chiefs who on two occasions figure as the Dard Rājās' allies from the north, were perhaps rulers of other Darad tribes further towards the Indus who had been early converted to Islām.[33]

The Bhauṭṭa-land.

Crossing from the head-waters of the Kiṣangaṅgā to those of the Drās River we reach high-level valleys inhabited by people of Tibetan race and language, the *Bhauṭṭas* of the Chronicles. The Rājataraṅgiṇī tells us nothing of the political organisation or topography of the Bhauṭṭa territories. It is, however, possible that we have a reference to Leh, the capital of Ladākh, in "the foreign country called *Loḥ*" which Kalhaṇa names in iii. 10. Nor do the later Chronicles supply us with details, though the several invasions which Kaśmīr suffered from this side give Jonarāja and S'rīvara occasion to refer more frequently to the Bhauṭṭas and their rulers.

It may, however, be noted that S'rīvara already knows the terms 'Little and Great *Bhuṭṭa*-land.'[34] They refer to Baltistān (Skardo) and Ladākh which have continued to be known to the present day as 'Little and Great Tibet,' or among Kaśmīrīs as *Lukh Buṭun* and *Buḍ Buṭun*.[35] These terms are in fact of a far older date, as they are found already in the Chinese Annals as 'Little and Great Poliu.'[36]

The eastern frontier of Kaśmīr is, as we have seen, formed by a mountain range which runs from the Zōjī-Lā almost due south towards Kaṣṭᵃvār. Along this range on the east lies a long narrow valley, marked as 'Maru-Wardwan' on the map (in Kaśmīrī, *Maḍivāḍvan*). It is drained by a large river which joins the Cinab near the town of Kaṣṭᵃvār. Owing to its high elevation and rigorous climate it is inhabited only by a scanty population. According to Mr. Drew's race-map and other authorities this consists now chiefly of Kaśmīrīs.

Whether this was already the case in old times, is uncertain. The valley is nowhere mentioned in our old Kaśmīrian texts.[37] It is hence doubtful whether it belonged to Kaśmīr territory in Hindu times. Yet Abū-l-Fazl counts it among the Parganas of Kaśmīr.[38] Beyond it to the east stretches an uninhabited belt of high mountains and glaciers, dividing Maḍivāḍvan from the Tibetan tracts of Sūru and Zanskar. To the south we reach once more the territory of Kāṣṭhavāṭa from which our survey of the Kaśmīr frontiers started.

[31] Compare vii. 911; for other references to the Daradas, note i. 312.

[32] See note vii. 911.

[33] See note viii. 2762.

[34] See *S'riv.* iii. 445 (*Sūkṣmabṛhadbhuṭṭadeśeṣu*).

[35] *Buṭun*, connected with the ethnic term Buṭᵘ < Bhauṭṭa (see above, § 59), is the Kaśmīri term for Tibet in general.

[36] Compare A. RÉMUSAT, *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques*, i. p. 194; and Sir H. YULE, *Cathay*, p. lxx.

[37] The Trisaṁdhyāmāhātmya which refers to the Valley as *Maḍavātira*, cannot claim any particular antiquity.

[38] See *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 369.

SECTION II.—ANCIENT POLITICAL DIVISIONS.

Kramarājya, Maḍavarājya.

85. The Valley of Kaśmīr to which we now return once more, has from early times been divided into two great parts, known by their modern names as *Kamrāz* and *Marāz*. These terms are derived from Skr. KRAMARĀJYA and MAḌAVARĀJYA, which are found very frequently in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as well as the later Chronicles.[1] The original form of the modern Kamrāz was known to the tradition of the S'rīnagar Paṇḍits generally. With the old name Maḍavarājya, however, I found only those few scholars acquainted who, like the late Paṇḍit Dāmodara and Paṇḍit Govind Kaul, had specially studied Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.

According to the generally prevailing notion Marāz comprises the districts on both sides of the Vitastā above S'rīnagar, and Kamrāz those below. The present tradition places the boundaries of the two great divisions more accurately at the Shērgaṛhi palace. That the boundary was already in old times indicated by a line drawn through the capital is easily proved by an examination of all passages in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and other Chronicles naming Maḍavarājya and Kramarājya. They invariably show localities situated above S'rīnagar in the former and those below in latter division.

We arrive at the same result on a reference to the Āīn-i Akbarī. Abū-l-Fazl distinctly informs us that "the whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions, *Marāj* on the east, and *Kamrāj* on the west."[2] He then proceeds to tabulate the thirty-eight Parganas into which Kaśmīr was divided under Akbar's administration, separately under the two main heads of Marāj and Kamrāj. The city of S'rīnagar is counted with the former, and so are also all Parganas above the capital; those below are shown in Kamrāj.

The term Kamrāz has in modern times occasionally been used also in a more restricted sense, for the designation of the Parganas to the west and north-west of the Volur lake. This usage probably arose from the fact that at various periods several of the small Parganas in this portion of the Valley were for administrative purposes grouped together in one Pargana, to which the name Kamrāj was given.[3] This circumstance explains the different accounts referred to by Prof. Bühler in his note on the term Kramarājya.[4]

Though the terms Maḍavarājya and Kramarājya are so often employed in the Chronicles, we have no distinct evidence of the two divisions having in Hindu times formed separate administrative units or provinces. It is possible that this was the case at one or the other period. But Abū-l-Fazl's account as well as the usage traceable from his time to the present day show that the terms in their popular geographical significance could maintain themselves quite independently of administrative divisions.

Administrative districts.

86. The whole of the Valley has from an early date been subdivided for administrative purposes into a considerable number of small districts known in

[1] See note ii, 15.

[2] Compare *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 368.

[3] Thus Abū-l-Fazl's table seems to show that in Akbar's time the old Parganas of Uttar, Lōlau, Hamal, and Machipūr were embodied in the large Pargana of 'Kamrāj'; see *Āīn-i Akb.*, p. 371. In Moorcroft's and Baron Hügel's list the Pargana Kamrāj includes Uttar, Hamal, and Machipūr. Owing to the frequent changes of the Pargana divisions (see below) the extent of the 'Pargana Kamrāj' has also varied from time to time.

[4] See *Report*, p. 11.

recent times as 'Parganas.' Their ancient designation, was *viṣaya*.[5] The number, names, and limits of these sub-divisions have been subject to considerable variations during the period over which our documents extend. The great majority of the Parganas known in recent times can be safely assumed to have existed already during Hindu rule. This is proved by the fact that the names of numerous Parganas are found in their ancient forms already in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the other Chronicles. But these texts do not furnish us anywhere with a complete list of the Parganas. It is hence impossible for us to restore in full detail the map of the administrative sub-divisions for any particular epoch during Hindu times.

The Lokaprakāśa, it is true, tells us of the division of Kaśmīr into twenty-seven 'Viṣayas,' and enumerates some nineteen of the latter. But several of the names are so corrupt as to be beyond recognition, while others bear a distinctly modern look. In any case it is impossible to fix the date to which this notice may belong or to judge of its authenticity.[6]

Abū-l-Faẓl's Pargaṇa list.

Abū-l-Faẓl's account is the first which presents us with a systematic statement of Kaśmīr Parganas. It is of special interest, because it shows us how their list could be increased or readjusted within certain limits according to fiscal requirements or administrative fancies. The return of Āsaf Khān reproduced by Abū-l-Faẓl shows thirty-eight Parganas, while the earlier one of Qāẓi 'Alī contained forty-one. The difference is accounted for by the amalgamation of some and the splitting-up of other Parganas. The Parganas varied greatly in size, as shown by the striking contrasts in the revenue assessments. Thus, e.g., Paṭan was assessed at circ. 5300 Kharwārs, while the revenue from 'Kamrāj' amounted to 446,500 Kharwārs.

The number of Parganas had changed but little during Mughal and Paṭhān times. For the Sikhs on their conquest of the Valley, seemed to have found thirty-six as the accepted traditional number. But there had been various changes in the names and extent of these Parganas. These changes became still more frequent under the Sikh administration, as is seen by a comparison of the lists given by Moorcroft (1823), Baron Hügel (1835) and Vigné (1840 ?). They all show a total of thirty-six Parganas, but differ from each other in the names of individual Parganas.

Modern Pargaṇa lists.

These frequent changes and redistributions of the Parganas continued during Dogrā Rule. The most accurate list I am able to refer to for this most recent period, is that given by Major Bates. It shows a total of forty-three Parganas for the year 1865.[7] Subsequently Tahsīls were constituted, after the fashion of British provinces, with a view to reducing the number of sub-divisions. The latest list shows eleven Tahsīls.[8] In their constitution little regard was paid to

[5] Compare for the term *viṣaya*, v. 51; viii. 1260. 1413, 2697.

The later Chroniclers use also the term *rāṣṭra*; comp. e.g. *Jonar*. 141; *S'rīv*. ii. 19, iii. 25, 159, 425.

The expression Pargaṇa may have been introduced by the Mughal administration. Its Skr. original **paragaṇa* is not found in the Chronicles.

[6] Of the Lokaprakāśa's Viṣayas *Khoyāśrama*, *S'amālā*, *Lahara*, *Aulaḍiya*, *Nilāśa*, *Khaḍūviya* correspond clearly to the Khūyāśrama, S'amālā, Lahara, Holaḍā, Nilāśva, Khaḍūvi of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. *Ekena*, *Devasāvi* may possibly be corruptions for Evenaka and Devasarasa. *Krodhana*, *Drāviṁśati*, *Bhṛṅga*, *Phāgvā* seem to represent the modern Parganas of Kruhin, Dūnts, Bring, Phākh. *Cālana*, *Vitasthā*, *Satrava*, *Svanavāri*, *Nīlā*, *Hāri*, *Jalahaḍiyu*, are quite uncertain.

[7] See *Gazetteer*, pp. 2 sqq.

[8] Compare the sketch-map attached to Mr. LAWRENCE's *Valley*.

the historical division of the country. Fortunately, however, Kaśmīrīs are as conservative in their topographical nomenclature as in many other matters. The old Pargaṇa names are hence still in ordinary use and likely to remain so for some time to come.[9]

The absence of a complete list of Pargaṇas for an earlier period and the changes in their constitution during more recent times make a systematic exposition of the ancient territorial divisions impracticable. In a separate note I have given a comparative table of the Pargaṇa lists we possess since Akbar's time. There, too, I have indicated the ancient equivalents of the Pargaṇa names, as far as they can be traced in the Sanskrit Chronicles.[10]

Density of population.

87. The large number of administrative sub-divisions which, as we have seen, goes back to an early date, may be taken as an indication of the dense population of the Valley. We have no means of forming any accurate estimate as to the number of the population which the country contained in Hindu times. But there is every reason to believe that even at a later period it was far larger than at the present day. The existence of a very great number of deserted village sites in all parts of the country, the remains already alluded to of a far more extended system of irrigation, the number of great temple-ruins, and the uniform tradition of the people,—all point to the same conclusion.

The present century has witnessed in Kaśmīr a series of appalling famines and epidemics. These wrought terrible havoc in the mass of the rural population particularly. The last famine, 1877-79, alone is supposed to have removed three-fifths of the population from the Valley.[11] The political vicissitudes, too, of the first half of the century had a baneful influence on the economical condition of Kaśmīr, and brought about an extensive emigration both among the industrial and agriculturist classes.

Notwithstanding all these trials the population, which in 1835 was estimated at about 200,000 souls, had risen to 814,000 according to the census of 1891. These figures indicate great powers of recuperation, and yet it is held by competent judges that the present agricultural population is by no means sufficient even for the land actually under cultivation. It would hence manifestly be hazardous to make any guess as to the numbers which the country might have supported in the most prosperous times of Hindu rule.

Number of villages.

The fact of Kaśmīr having possessed a far greater population in ancient times helps to explain the curious traditional verse which puts the number of villages in Kaśmīr at 66,063. The verse is found twice in the Lokaprakāśa and still lives in the oral tradition of the Brahmans throughout the Valley. It has been reproduced from the latter in Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's Tīrthasaṁgraha.[12] That it can claim some antiquity is evident from the allusion made to the same number in Jonarāja's Chronicle.[13] Though that figure must have at all times implied a considerable exaggeration, it is nevertheless characteristic of the popular notion on the subject. Even Sharīfu-d-dīn whose information, collected about A.D. 1400, is on the whole accurate

[9] The Survey of India maps indicate the approximate extent of the Pargaṇas recognized in the fifties.

[10] See Supplementary Note *BB*.

Individual Pargaṇa names will be noticed below in connection with our detailed survey of the Valley

[11] Compare for this and other statistical details Mr. Lawrence's *Valley*, pp. 223 sqq.

[12] *Ṣaṣṭir grāmasahasrāṇi ṣaṣṭir grāmaśatāni ca | ṣaṣṭir grāmās trayo grāmā hyetat Kaśmīramaṇḍalam* ||; compare *Lokaprakāśa*, in *Ind. Studien*, xviii. p. 375.

[13] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 158.

and matter-of-fact, records: "It is popularly believed that in the whole of the province—plains and mountains together—are comprised 100,000 villages.[14] The land is thickly inhabited." It is curious that Mirzā Ḥaidar, who had ruled Kaśmīr himself, copies this statement without modification or dissent.

SECTION III.—THE OLD AND NEW CAPITALS.

S'rīnagara in Hiuen Tsiang's time.

88. The ancient divisions of Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya are separated by a line drawn through S'rīnagar. This fact, as well as the great historical interest attaching to S'rīnagar as the capital of the country, make it a convenient starting-point for our survey. The history of Kaśmīr has always been reflected as it were in that of its capital. The site of the latter has not changed for more than thirteen centuries. It is thus easy to account for the ample historical data which enable us to restore in great part the ancient topography of S'rīnagar and to trace back the city's history to the time of its foundation.

Hiuen Tsiang who visited the Kaśmīr capital about A.D. 631, and whose record is the earliest we possess, found it already in the position of the present S'rīnagar. He describes it as situated along the bank of a great river, i.e. the Vitastā, 12 or 13 *li* long from north to south and 4 or 5 *li* broad from east to west About 10 *li* to the south-east of this, 'the new city,' the pilgrim notices a Buddhist convent which lay between a high mountain on the north and the site of 'the old city' on the south.

It is the merit of General CUNNINGHAM to have first recognized that the situation here indicated for the new capital of Hiuen Tsiang's time corresponds exactly to that of the modern S'rīnagar.[1] A glance at the map shows that the position and dimensions ascribed by Hiuen Tsiang to the new city apply to that part of S'rīnagar which occupies the right or eastern river-bank, and which, as we shall see, forms the older portion of the city. The two and a half miles represented by the 12 or 13 *li* of the Chinese measurement, agree accurately with the length of the city within its ancient limits along the right bank of the Vitastā. The estimate of its breadth at somewhat less than one mile (4 or 5 *li*) is equally correct.

Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna.

89. The position of 'the old city' is marked by the present village of *Pāndrēṭhan* which derives its name from the appellation PURĀṆĀDHIṢṬHĀNA, meaning 'the old capital.' It lies to the south-east of S'rīnagar, just as Hiuen Tsiang says, at the south foot of a mountain spur which rises with bold slopes to a height of some 3000 feet above the village. Measured from the nearest point of old S'rīnagar the distance to the presumptive site of the monastery, between Pāndrēṭhan and the steep hillside, is exactly 2 miles or 10 *li*. The history of 'the Old Capital' is so closely connected with that of S'rīnagara that it will be useful to acquaint ourselves first with the data bearing upon it.

[14] See *Tārīkh-i Rashīdi*, p. 430.

Ritter who produces the passage of the Zafarnāma from De la Croix's translation, shows the number of villages as 10,000; see *Asien*, ii. p. 1123.

It may be noted in passing that according to the census of 1891 the number of villages in Kaśmīr was then reckoned at 2,870.

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[1] Gen. CUNNINGHAM'S identification was first indicated, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 283. For a fuller account, see *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 93 sqq.

The name of PURĀṆĀDHIṢṬHĀNA meets us first in Kalhaṇa's account of the reign of King Pravarasena I. (or S'reṣṭhasena) who is said to have erected there a shrine known as [S'iva] Pravares'vara.[2] At the beginning of the tenth century the minister Meruvardhana built at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna a Viṣṇu temple called after his own name. This has been rightly identified by General Cunningham with the well-preserved little temple which still stands in the village of Pāndrēṭhan and has often been described by European travellers.[3] Even in Kalhaṇa's own time pious foundations are recorded at this ancient site.

The identity of Pāndrēṭhan with the site named in the Chronicle as 'the Old Capital' is proved by ample evidence. It is indicated in the old gloss on Rājat. v. 267, and is still known to Paṇḍit tradition. S'rīvara in describing the flight of some troops which had been defeated in S'rīnagar and were retiring along the Vitastā to the east, speaks of the road from the Samudrāmaṭha (Sud*rmar on the right bank of the river near the Second Bridge) to *Pūrvādhiṣṭhāna*, as covered with the corpses of the slain.[4] It is clear that by the latter designation, which also means 'the Old Capital,' he refers to our present Pāndrēṭhan. This name itself is the direct phonetic derivative of *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna.*[5]

Aśoka's *S'rīnagarī.*

90. General Cunningham has assumed that 'the Old Capital' marked by the site of Pāndrēṭhan was in reality the ancient S'RĪNAGARĪ which Kalhaṇa mentions as a capital founded by the great Aśoka.[6] His assumption was based on another passage of the Chronicle which mentions the foundation of the shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra at S'rīnagarī by Jalauka, the son of Aśoka. General Cunningham thought he could recognize this shrine in the extant temple on the top of the Takht-i Sulaimān hill, below which, at a distance of about one and a half miles, Pāndrēṭhan is situated.

I have shown in Note *C* (i. 124) that no reliance can be placed on the alleged tradition which General Cunningham had adduced as the sole proof of his location of the shrine. Yet at the same time the evidence recorded by me proves that Jyeṣṭharudra must have been worshipped either on the hill itself or in its close vicinity. Accordingly Aśoka's S'rīnagarī may safely be looked for in the same neighbourhood.

A further indication is furnished by the significant name *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna*, 'the Old Capital.' It shows that the site of Pāndrēṭhan must have once been occupied by an important city. Next it is to be noted that Kalhaṇa's narrative knows nothing of any other capital which might have been founded in this vicinity previous to the new capital built by Pravarasena II on the site of the present S'rīnagar. Lastly we have an indication in the very name *S'rīnagara* which Pravarasena's city has come to bear in general usage instead of its proper and official designation Pravarapura.

[2] See note iii. 99, where detailed references have been given regarding the site.

[3] See note v. 267, also for a description of the temple.

[4] See *S'rīv.* iv. 290.

[5] The Kś. derivative of Skr. *purāṇa* is *prąn'*; this forms, with assimilation of the initial double consonant, the first part *Pān-* of the modern name. The elision of the second *ā* in the assumed intermediary form **P[ur]ā-nādēṭhan* is accounted for by the influence of the stress-accent which lies on the second syllable of the modern name. The development of the combination *nd* into *ndr* is paralleled by similar cases in other Indo-Āryan Vernaculars; comp. e.g. GRIERSON, *Phonology*, *Z.D.M.G.*, l. p. 37, § 115.

The nasalization of *ā* may be of recent date, as the old gloss of A₂ on Rājat. v. 267, shows the name as *Pāhydṛthan*, i.e. *Pāa'drethan*.

[6] See Note *C*, i. 124.

Transfer of name to new capital.

If Aśoka's S'rīnagarī actually lay at or near the present Pāndrēṭhan the transfer of its name (meaning 'the City of *S'rī*, i.e. Lakṣmī') to the new capital is most readily accounted for. General Cunningham already has rightly pointed out the numerous analogies for such a transfer furnished by the history of other Indian capitals.[7] Pravarasena's city was practically contiguous to the older S'rīnagarī and existed for centuries side by side with it. We can hence easily understand why popular usage retained for the new capital the old familiar designation.[8] Exactly in the same way the several new cities founded by successive kings in the vicinity of Delhi all continued to be known simply by the name of Delhi, though each of them was originally intended to bear the distinctive name of its founder.

Though Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna had sunk to small importance already in Hindu times, extensive remains of ancient buildings can still be traced on the terraced slopes rising immediately to the north and north-east of Pāndrēṭhan.[9] Those to the north extend close to the gap, known as *Ait*ᵉ*gaj*, between the Takht-i Sulaimān and the hills east of it.

The advantages of Pāndrēṭhan as the site for a great city cannot be compared with those offered by the position of S'rīnagar. Yet the close vicinity of the Vitastā, coupled with the security from floods which the near hill-slopes afford, must have been appreciated in an early period when probably the riveraine flats of the valley were less drained. The small semicircular glens lying between projecting spurs both north and east of the present village, with their gentle slopes offer convenient building sites. The fertile shores of the Dal are also within easy reach of Pāndrēṭhan through the gap already mentioned. It is probably in this direction that we have to look for the Saṅghārāma Hiuen Tsiang names in connection with 'the old city.'

Pravarasena's new capital.

91. Kalhaṇa's Chronicle furnishes us with a full account of the origin of the new city which was the capital of Kaśmīr in his own time and destined to remain so to the present day.[10] Kalhaṇa attributes the foundation of this capital to King Pravarasena II. The topographical details of his description make it clear beyond all doubt that its site was that of the present S'rīnagar.

The identity of the latter with Pravarasena's town was duly recognized by General Cunningham, who referred to the close agreement between the general features of Kalhaṇa's description and the situation of the present capital. He also pointed out that Kalhaṇa distinctly mentions as one of the pious buildings founded in Pravarasena's city that very *Jayendravihāra* in which Hiuen Tsiang resided during his long stay in the Kaśmīr capital.[11] Subsequently Prof. Bühler noticed the survival of several old local names for parts of the modern city, which also prove its identity with Pravarasena's capital.[12] Many other ancient buildings and localities which Kalhaṇa mentions in Pravarasena's town have since been identified by me within the modern S'rīnagar and in its environs.

Name of *Pravarapura*.

The attribution of this new capital to King Pravarasena rests on equally strong proof. Through a chain of references extending over nearly twelve

[7] See *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 97 sq.

[8] The feminine form *S'rīnagarī* is used also for the new capital; comp. note i. 104. There is thus no difference in the name as applied to both Aśoka's and Pravarasena's cities. For a whimsical etymology of European growth which has turned *S'rīnagara*, 'the City of S'rī,' into 'the City of the Sun,' see above, § 4, note.

[9] See note iii. 99.

[10] See iii. 336-363.

[11] See *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 97; also above, note iii. 355.

[12] Compare *Report*, p. 16.

centuries we can trace the use of the name PRAVARAPURA, shortened *bhīmavat* for PRAVARASENAPURA, as the official and correct designation of the city occupying the site of the present S'rīnagar. We have found this appellation already in the record of the T'ang Annals going back to the commencement of the eighth century. It is found also in the works of Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, and numerous other Kaśmīrian authors. It has continued to be used to the present day in colophons of Sanskrit Manuscripts, in horoscopes, and similar documents.[13]

The date of King Pravarasena II. whose name the above designation of the new capital was intended to preserve, cannot be fixed with accuracy. Various historical and numismatic indications, however, make it probable that he ruled about the middle of the sixth century. Thus we can easily understand that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit (A.D. 631) S'rīnagara or Pravarapura was still the 'new city.'

Legend of foundation of Pravarapura.

92. The traditional account of the foundation of Pravarapura as recorded by Kalhaṇa is of considerable interest. Though largely interwoven with legendary matter it preserves for us a series of exact topographical data. Kalhaṇa's story is contained in verses 336-349 of the Third Book, and runs briefly as follows.[14]

When King Pravarasena II. had returned from his victorious expeditions abroad, he desired to found a new capital which was to bear his name. He was then residing in the city of his grandfather, Pravarasena I., i.e. in Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna.[15] From there the king went forth at night in order, as the text says, "to ascertain in a supernatural way the proper site and the auspicious time for the foundation of the new city." On his way he reached a stream which skirted a burning-ground, and was illuminated by the glow of funeral pyres. Then on the other bank of the stream there appeared to him a demon of terrible form. Promising him fulfilment of his desire, the demon invited the king to cross over to his own side by the embankment he was preparing for him. Thereupon the Rākṣasa stretched out his own knee from the other bank, and thus caused the water of the *Mahāsarit* to be parted by an embankment (*setu*). The courageous Pravarasena drew out his dagger (*kṣurikā*), cut with it steps into the flesh of the Rākṣasa, and thus crossed over to the place which has since been known as *Kṣurikābala*. The demon then indicated to him the auspicious time and disappeared after telling him to build his town where he would see the measuring line laid down in the morning. This line (*sūtra*) of the Vetāla the king eventually discovered at the village of *S'āriṭaka* at which the goddess *S'ārikā* and the demon *Aṭṭa* resided. There he built his city in which the first shrine erected was the famous one of S'iva PRAVARES'VARA.

Keeping in view the details of the ancient topography of S'rīnagar we can still follow up step by step the localities by which the legend here related leads King Pravarasena to the site of his new city. We have already seen that the *Mahāsarit* is the stream, now known as Tsūṇṭh Kul, which flows from the Ḍal

[13] For detailed references see note iii. 339-349.

S'rī-Pravarapure (for *S'rīpravarasenapure*) is often written in the abbreviated form *S'rīpre* in the formulas of the Lokaprakāśa, in almanacs, etc.

Kalhaṇa often uses the simple *Pura* for Pravarapura and *Nagara* for S'rīnagara.

[14] For all detailed references in connection with this story, note iii. 339-349 should be consulted.

[15] That *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* is meant is proved by iii. 99.

There Kalhaṇa, speaking of a foundation of Pravarasena I. in his capital, by a kind of anachronism uses the designation of Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna.

into the Vitastā. Near its confluence with the Vitastā, which we have also found already mentioned as a Tīrtha, there existed until the times of Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh, a much-frequented Hindu burning Ghāṭ. It was undoubtedly of ancient date. Kalhaṇa relates how the body of King Uccala, murdered in his palace at S'rīnagar, was hurriedly cremated at the burning place situated on the island at the confluence of the *Mahāsarit* and *Vitastā*.[16] It is certain that the island of Māyᵃsum (Skr. Mākṣikasvāmin) is meant here, at the western end of which the Mahāsarit or Tsūṇṭh Kul falls into the Vitastā.

Setu.

The stream flowing from the Ḍal is bounded on its northern bank by an old embankment which stretches from the west foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān close to the high bank to the Vitastā near the Second Bridge. This embankment which is the most substantial around S'rīnagar and only known by the general designation of *Suth* (from Skr. SETU), 'dyke,' is undoubtedly of very early date. It protects the whole of the low-lying portions of the city on the right river-bank as well as the floating-gardens and shores of the Ḍal which would otherwise be exposed to annual inundations from the Vitastā. A tradition still heard by Mr. Vigne ascribed the construction of this embankment to King Pravarasena.[17] It is indeed evident that its construction was a necessary condition for the safety of the newly founded city.

Several topographical indications warrant the conclusion that it was this old dyke in which the popular legend recorded by Kalhaṇa recognized the leg and knee of the demon. A glance at the map shows that the eastern portion of the 'Suth' turns sharply at a right angle and thus curiously resembles a bent knee. KṢURIKĀBALA was the name of the place where Pravarasena according to the legend was supposed to have reached firm ground after crossing the stream. I have shown that this name in the form of its Kaśmīrī derivative *Khuḍᵃbal* still attaches to the city quarter which lies at the western end of the 'Suth.'[18] Finally it will be seen from the map that Kalhaṇa's words regarding the 'Setu' dividing the waters of the Mahāsarit describe exactly the present embankment which has on one side the Tsūṇṭh Kul, and on the other the various marshes and canals fed by the Mār. It has been shown above that this second outflow of the Ḍal also shared the old name of Mahāsarit.[19]

Extent of Pravarapura.

93. The name of the village S'āriṭaka where the demon showed the king the proper site for his city, has long ago disappeared. Its position, however, is sufficiently marked by the mention of the goddess S'ārikā. The latter, a form of Durgā, has since ancient times been worshipped on the hill which rises to the north of the central part of S'rīnagar and is still called after her. The modern name of the hill, *Hārᵃparvat*, is the regular phonetic derivative of Skr. S'ĀRIKĀPARVATA. By this name it is designated in the later Chronicles and Māhātmyas.[20]

Another passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī shows that the term *Vetālasūtrapāta*, 'the demon's measuring line,' clearly connected with the above legend, was also in

[16] See viii. 339.

[17] See VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 69.

[18] See note iii. 339-349 (p. 101).

[19] Compare § 65.

[20] See note iii. 339-349 (p. 101). *Hārᵉ* is the Kaśmīrī name of the goddess *S'ārikā* as well as of the *S'ārikā* bird (Maina); comp. BÜHLER, *Report*, pp. 16 sq.

Panjābis and other foreign visitors from India have by a popular etymology turned the 'Hill of S'ārikā' into the 'Hill of Hari (Viṣṇu),' or the 'Verdant Hill.' The latter interpretation could be justified only on the principle of *lucus a non-lucendo*; for verdure is scarce indeed on the rocky faces of the S'ārikāparvata. Dr. BERNIER already, *Travels*, p. 398, was told this popular etymology, no doubt by his friends from Delhi.

later times applied to the limits of the oldest part of Pravarapura.[21] But our materials do not enable us to ascertain these limits in detail. Kalhaṇa, it is true, has not failed to specify them, as he mentions the temples of *Vardhanasvāmin* and *Viśvakarman* as marking the extreme ends of Pravarasena's city.[22] Unfortunately the position of neither of them can now be traced.

So much, however, is clear that the new city was at first confined to the right bank of the river. Kalhaṇa tells this distinctly,[23] and those sites and structures which he particularly mentions in his description of Pravarasena's capital, are all found, as far as they can be identified, on the right bank. The account of Hiuen Tsiang and the T'ang Annals shows that even in the seventh century Pravarapura extended mainly along the eastern bank of the river.[24]

Description of Pravarapura.

Kalhaṇa follows up his account of the foundation of the new city with a brief description of its splendours.[25] He notes the extravagant story of its having once counted thirty-six lakhs of houses, and refers to the regularly arranged markets with which its founder provided it. The city of his own time still boasted of "mansions which reached to the clouds," built, no doubt, mostly of wood, just as the mass of private houses in modern S'rīnagar.[26]

When he mentions "the streams meeting, pure and lovely, at pleasure-residences and near market streets," he evidently means the numerous canals from the Dal and Auch'ār lakes which intersect the suburbs and also pass through the heart of the city. They and the river still serve as the main thoroughfares for the market traffic, and all principal Bazars are built along their banks.[27] The S'ārikāparvata receives due mention as "the pleasure-hill from which the splendour of all the houses is visible as if from the sky." Nor does he forget to praise the cool water of the Vitastā which the citizens find before their very houses on hot summer days.

Finally he refers to the abundance of magnificent temples with which successive kings had adorned Pravarapura, and of which so many are particularly mentioned in his narrative. Of the number and imposing appearance of these structures we can even at the present day form some idea if we examine their massive remains which meet us in every part of modern S'rīnagar. The high embankments which now line the course of the river within the city, are mainly composed of carved slabs, columns and other ancient stone materials. Their profusion and imposing dimensions must impress even a superficial observer with an idea of the architectural splendour of ancient S'rīnagara.

Advantages of site of S'rīnagara.

94. It can scarcely be the result of chance that Pravarasena's city has escaped the fate of so many Indian capitals, of being superseded by later foundations. There had indeed not been wanting attempts on the part of later rulers to transfer

[21] See note vi. 191.

[22] iii. 357.

[23] iii. 358.

[24] See above, §§ 9, 10.

[25] vii. 357-363.

[26] Both Mirzā Ḥaidar and Abū-l-Faẓl speak admiringly of the many lofty houses of S'rīnagar, built of pine wood. This material was used then as now, as being cheap and more secure against earthquakes. According to Mirzā Ḥaidar "most of these houses are at least five stories high, and each story contains apartments, halls, galleries, and towers"; see *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 425.

That the mass of private dwellings in S'rīnagar was already in Hindu times constructed of wood, is shown by Rājat. viii. 2390. The many disastrous fires recorded point to the same conclusion.

[27] Useful and convenient as these canals undoubtedly are, it is rather difficult to concede to them now the epithets of 'pure and lovely.' They add, however, greatly to the picturesqueness of the city, and certainly make the want of carriage roads less felt.

the capital to other sites which they had chosen for their own cities. The great Lalitāditya, then Jayāpīḍa, Avantivarman, and S'aṁkaravarman, had successively endeavoured to effect this object. The great ruins of Parihāsapura, Jayapura and Avantipura show sufficiently that the failure of the first three kings was not due in any way to deficient means or want of purpose.

Of Lalitāditya the Chronicle distinctly records that he proposed, Nero-like, to burn down the old capital to assure the predominance of his own creation, Parihāsapura. Yet each one of these temporary capitals speedily sank into insignificance, while Pravarapura has continued to be the political and cultural centre of Kaśmīr down to the present day.

We can safely attribute this exceptional position of S'rīnagar to the great natural advantages of its site. Occupying a place close to the true centre of the Valley, S'rīnagar enjoys facilities of communication which no other site could offer. The river along which the city is built, provides at all seasons the most convenient route for trade and traffic both up and down the Valley. The two lakes which flank S'rīnagar, offer the same facilities for the fertile tracts which lie immediately to the north. The lakes themselves furnish an abundant supply of products which materially contribute towards the maintenance of a large city population. The great trade-route from Central Asia debouches through the Sind Valley at a distance of only one short march from the capital.

Natural defences of S'rīnagara.

Nor can we underrate the security which the position of S'rīnagar offers both against floods and armed attack. The neck of high ground which from the north stretches towards the Vitastā and separates the two lakes, is safe from all possible risk of flood. It is on this ground, round the foot of the S'ārikā hill, that the greatest part of the old Pravarapura was originally built. The ancient embankment which connects this high ground with the foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān hill, sufficed to secure also the low-lying city-wards fringing the marshes of the Dal. A considerable area, including the present quarters of Khānᵃyār and Rānⁱvōr (Skr. Rājānavāṭikā), was thus added to the available building ground on the right bank and protected against all ordinary floods.

The frequent sieges which S'rīnagar underwent during the last reigns related by Kalhaṇa, give us ample opportunity to appreciate also the military advantages of the position of the city. With the exception of the comparatively narrow neck of high ground in the north, the S'rīnagar of the right river-bank is guarded on all sides by water. On the south the river forms an impassable line of defence. The east is secured by the Ḍal and the stream which flows from it. On the west there stretch the broad marshes of the Anchⁱār close to the bank of the Vitastā.

From the north, it is true, the city can be approached without passing such natural obstacles. But the map shows that just to the north of the S'ārikā hill inlets from the two lakes approach each other within a few thousand feet. The narrow passage left here could at all times easily be guarded. It is curious to note that all successful attacks on the city of which the Chronicle tells us, were delivered from the north, treachery or the defenders' weakness having opened this passage.[28]

Extension of City to left bank.

The later and smaller portion of S'rīnagar occupying the left river-bank, does not share the same natural advantages as the old one. The ground on which it stands at present appears to have been raised gradually by the accumulated *débris*

[28] Compare for Uccala's entry into S'rīnagar, vii. 1539 sqq. that of Sussala, viii. 944 sqq. compare also note viii. 1104-1110.

of centuries. We do not know exactly when the extension of the city in this direction began. The number of ancient sites on this side is comparatively small. The royal road residence was transferred to it only in the reign of Ananta (A.D. 1028-63). Here, too, we find a natural line of defence. It is the Kṣiptikā or Kuṭ°kul which flows round the western edge of this part of the city and is also often mentioned in the accounts of the later sieges.

SECTION IV.—ANCIENT SITES OF S'RĪNAGARA.

Hill of *S'ārikā.*

95. Having thus reviewed the origin and general position of the Kaśmīr capital, we may proceed to a brief survey of the more important ancient sites which we are able to identify in it. We can conveniently start on our circuit from the Hill of S'ĀRIKĀ to which the legendary account of the city's foundation had taken us.

The goddess S'ārikā which has given to the hill its name, has been worshipped since ancient times on the north-west side of the hill. Certain natural markings on a large perpendicular rock are taken by the pious as representing that kind of mystical diagram which in the Tantraśāstra is known as *S'rīcakra.*[1] This 'Svayambhū' Tīrtha is still a much-frequented pilgrimage-place for the Brahmans of the City, and has been so probably since early times.[2] The S'ārikāmāhātmya now in use relates that the hill was carried to its present position by Durgā, who had taken the shape of a S'ārikā bird, and who used it to close a gate of hell. This legend is alluded to already in the Kathāsaritsāgara.[3]

Another ancient designation of the Hār°parvat is 'Hill of Pradyumna' (*Pradyumnapīṭha, -giri, -śikhara,* etc.), often found in the Chronicles and elsewhere.[4] The Kathāsaritsāgara accounts for the origin of this name by a story which connects the hill with the love of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna. Kalhaṇa mentions a Maṭha for Pāśupata mendicants which King Raṇāditya built on the hill. The eastern slopes of the latter are now occupied by extensive buildings connected with the famous Ziārats of Muqaddam Ṣāhib and Ākhūn Mullā Shāh. It is probable that Muhammadan shrines have taken here the place of Hindu religious buildings, just as at so many old sites of Kaśmīr.

Close to the foot of the southern extremity of the hill is a rock which has from ancient times received worship as an embodiment of Gaṇeśa, under the name of BHĪMASVĀMIN. A legend related by Kalhaṇa connects this 'Svayambhū' image with Pravarasena's foundation of Pravarapura.[5] From regard for the pious king the god is said to have then turned his face from west to east so as to behold the new city. The rock is covered by the worshippers with so thick a layer of red paint that it is not possible to trace now any resemblance to the head of the elephant-faced god, still less to see whether it is turned west or east. In fact, if we are to believe Jonarāja, the rock-image has changed its position yet a second time. This Chronicler relates that Bhīmasvāmin from disgust at the iconoclasm of Sikandar Būtshikast has finally turned his back on the city.[6]

There is nothing in the Chronicles that would lead us to assume that the Hill

[1] Compare note i. 122 regarding the worship of such diagrams.

[2] Compare *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 472, 767.

[3] See lxxiii. 107 sqq.

[4] See note iii. 460.

[5] See note iii. 352.

[6] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 766.

of S'ārikā was ever fortified in Hindu times. The great bastioned stone-wall which now encloses the hill and the ground around its foot ('Nāgarnagar'), was built by Akbar,[7] as an inscription still extant over the main gate proclaims. The fort which now crowns the summit of the hill, is of even more modern origin.

Temple of S'iva *Pravareśvara.*

96. A short distance to the S.E. of the Bhīmasvāmin rock and outside Akbar's fortress, lies the Ziārat of Bahāu-d-dīn Ṣāhib, built undoubtedly with the materials of an ancient temple. The cemetery which surrounds it contains also many ancient remains in its tombs and walls. At the S.W. corner of this cemetery rises a ruined gateway, built of stone blocks of remarkable size, and still of considerable height. This structure is traditionally believed by the S'rīnagar Paṇḍits to have belonged to the temple of S'iva PRAVAREŚVARA which Kalhaṇa mentions as the first shrine erected by Pravarasena in his new capital.[8]

An old legend, related by Kalhaṇa and before him already by Bilhaṇa, makes the king ascend bodily to heaven from the temple of Pravareśvara.[9] Bilhaṇa speaks of the temple as "showing to this day a gap above, resembling the gate of heaven, through which King Pravara bodily ascended to heaven." Kalhaṇa, writing a century later, also saw at the temple of Pravareśvara "a gate resembling the gate of heaven." Its broken stone roof was supposed to mark the king's passage on his way to S'iva's abode.

This tradition still attaches to the roofless stone-gate above described, which may, indeed, be the very structure seen by Bilhaṇa and the Chronicler. As far as its architecture is concerned, it might well belong to the earliest monuments of S'rīnagar. It owes its preservation probably to the exceptional solidity of its construction and the massiveness of its stones. Blocks measuring up to sixteen feet in length, with a width and thickness equally imposing, were no convenient materials for the builders of Muhammadan Ziārats Ḥammāms, etc., who have otherwise done so much to efface the remains of ancient structures in S'rīnagar. The position of the ruins is very central and might well have been chosen by the founder of Pravarapura for a prominent shrine in his new city.

Position of *Raṇasvāmin* temple.

Not far from Bahāu-d-dīn Sāhib's Ziārat, to the S.W., stands the Jāmi' Masjīd, the greatest Mosque of S'rīnagar. Around it numerous ancient remains attest the former existence of Hindu temples. Proceeding still further to the S.W., in the midst of a thickly-built city-quarter, we reach an ancient shrine which has remained in a comparatively fair state of preservation probably owing to its conversion into a Ziārat. It is now supposed to mark the resting-place of the saint styled Pīr Ḥājī Muḥammad. It consists of an octagonal cella of which the high basement and the side walls are still well-preserved. The quadrangular court in which it stands is enclosed by ancient walls and approached by ornamented gateways.

The position of this shrine has suggested to me its possible identity with the ancient temple of Viṣṇu RAṆASVĀMIN which Kalhaṇa mentions as founded by King Raṇāditya.[10] This temple must have enjoyed considerable celebrity up to a comparatively late period. Maṅkha refers to it as an object of his father's devotion, and Jonarāja in his comments on the passage speaks of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin as one of the chief shrines of Pravarapura.[11] The evidence on which the suggested identification is based has been fully indicated above in note iii. 453.

[7] Compare Fourth Chron. 939 sqq.

[8] See note iii. 350.

[9] See *Vikram.* xviii. 28.

[10] See iii. 453 sq.

[11] See *S'rīkaṇṭhacar.* iii. 68.

Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha.

97. Crossing the Mār to the south we reach the city-quarter known as Braḍ'mar, occupying the right bank of the river between the fourth and fifth bridge. It derives its name from the ancient BHAṬṬĀRAKAMAṬHA which is repeatedly referred to in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as a building of considerable size and strength.[12] Bilhaṇa, too, notices it specially in his description of S'rīnagara. Like other Maṭhas built originally to serve the purposes of a Sarai it was used on occasion as a place of defence. Queen Diddā sent her infant son there at the time of a dangerous rising. The Chronicle shows us often the Maṭhas of S'rīnagara, utilized as places of refuge in the times of internal troubles, occasionally also turned into prisons.[13] We may hence conclude that they were substantially built, probably like modern Sarais, in the form of detached quadrangles, and thus better adapted for defence than other city-buildings.

Diddāmaṭha.

That Maṭhas more than once left their names to the city-quarters in which they stood, is shown by the designations of other wards. Thus the large quarter of *Did'mar* which forms the western end of the city on the right river-bank, retains the name of the DIDDĀMAṬHA.[14] It was built by Queen Diddā for the accommodation of travellers from various parts of India. As a local name Diddāmaṭha meets us often in the later Chronicles. Above Didᵘmar we find near the Sixth Bridge the quarter of *Balanḍimar.*[15] It takes its name in all probability from the *Balāḍhya-maṭha* of the later Chronicles built by Balāḍhyacandra under King Rājadeva in the thirteenth century.[16]

Skandabhavana.

A little to the north of the Sixth Bridge lies the Mahalla known by the name of *Khand'bavan.* It has received its appellation from the ancient Vihāra of SKANDABHAVANA, a foundation of Skandagupta whom Kalhaṇa mentions among the ministers of Pravarasena II.'s successor Yudhiṣṭhira.[17] The site of the Vihāra has been traced by me in the close vicinity of the Ziārat of Pīr Muḥammad Bāsur. Certain ancient remains there were locally known and worshipped till the middle of the present century as a Tīrtha sacred to Skanda. Near the Skandabhavana-vihāra there stood once the temple of S'iva *Parvaguptes'vara,* referred to by Kalhaṇa as a foundation of King Parvagupta.[18]

Immediately to the north-east of Khand'bavan there is now an open waste space used partly for Muhammadan graveyards. It seems to have been unoccupied already in old times. For it was chosen as the burning-place for the widows of the murdered king Sussala when a rebel force hovering around the capital rendered the usual burning-ground on the island of Mākṣikasvāmin inaccessible.[19]

The quarter of *Narvor* still further to the north is probably identical with old NADAVANA, mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the site of a Vihāra built by one of King Meghavāhana's queens. I have shown in my note on the passage that the modern name goes back to a form **Naḍavāṭa.*[20] The termination *-vāṭa,* 'garden,' frequent in the old local terminology of Kas'mīr, may safely be taken as the equivalent of *-vana* in Kalhaṇa's form of the name.

[12] See note vi. 240; viii. 2426; also *Vikram.* xviii. 11.

For the derivation of *Braḍ'-* from *Bhaṭṭāraka,* compare *Brārinambal* < *Bhaṭṭāranaḍvalā,* below. § 99 That Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha was the old name of this locality is known to the tradition of the Paṇḍits; see BÜHLER, *Report,* p. 16.

[13] Compare vi. 223; viii. 374, 1062, 2309.

[14] See note vi. 300.

[15] The old name could not be shown on the map owing to want of space.

[16] See *Jonar.* 82.

[17] See iii. 380.

[18] Compare Note *K,* vi. 137, on the site of the Vihāra.

[19] viii. 1441 sq.

[20] Compare note iii. 11.

Bridges of old S'rīnagara.

96. Before we continue our survey further up the river, it will be useful to make a brief reference to the bridges which connect the two river-banks within the city. S'rīnagar has now seven bridges across the Vitastā. Their number has remained unchanged for at least five hundred years.

Already Sharīfu-d-dīn had heard that of the thirty boat-bridges constructed across the great river of Kaśmīr there were seven in the town of S'rīnagar.[21] The boats were bound together by chains, and through the bridges a way could be opened for the river traffic. Sharīfu-d-dīn's notice is of interest, because it shows clearly that down to the end of the Hindu period permanent bridges across the Vitastā were unknown in Kaśmīr. I had been led to the same conclusion by an examination of the Rājataraṅgiṇī passages bearing on the subject.[22] Kalhaṇa distinctly says of the two bridges the construction of which he specially records, that they were built with boats. Elsewhere this inference may be drawn from the rapidity with which the bridges are broken at the approach of the enemy or in danger of fire.[23]

Bṛhatsetu.

The first bridge of this kind is ascribed by Kalhaṇa to Pravarasena II. who built the 'Great Bridge' (*Bṛhatsetu*) in his new capital. "Only since then is such construction of boat-bridges known."[24] This 'Great Bridge' is subsequently mentioned in connection with a great conflagration which destroyed the city in the time of Sussala (A.D. 1123). This fire arose at the southern end of S'rīnagar, and Kalhaṇa mentions that the smoke first rising from Mākṣikasvāmin : Māyᵃsum had scarcely been noticed from the 'Bṛhatsetu' when the fire was already spreading over the whole city.[25] Kalhaṇa evidently refers here to the 'Great Bridge' as a comparatively distant point from Mākṣikasvāmin.

Considering that the river forms an almost straight reach from this locality to the present Fourth Bridge, it appears to me likely that Pravarasena's bridge was somewhere in the vicinity of the latter. The position is in the very heart of the city. It is just here that Zainu-l-'ābidīn subsequently constructed the first permanent bridge over the Vitastā named after him Zaina Kadᵃl (*Jainakadali*).[26] Another old boat-bridge had been established by Harṣa just opposite his palace.[27] The latter, as we shall see, was situated on the left bank somewhere near the present Second Bridge (Haba Kadᵃl).

There can be little doubt that the first permanent bridge across the Vitastā was of wood and showed the same peculiar cantilever construction which is observed in the Kaśmīr bridges of our time. The latter have attracted the attention of all modern travellers and have hence often been described.[28] But it is curious that none of them can be traced back beyond the time of Zainu-l-'ābidīn. The explanation may lie in the fact that stone-architecture, in which the engineers of the Hindu period were so proficient, did not permit of the construction of bridges with sufficient span. For their Muhammadan successors working chiefly in wood it was easier to overcome this difficulty.

Among the most characteristic features of the river-scene as it now presents itself within S'rīnagar, are the numerous wooden bathing cells moored before all city Ghāṭs. They have been there already in Hindu times. For Kalhaṇa men-

[21] See *Tārīkh-i Rashidi*, p. 431.
[22] See note iii. 354.
[23] See vii. 909, 1589; viii. 1182; *S'riv.* i. 308, 729; ii. 70, 122.
[24] iii. 354.
[25] See note viii. 1171-72.
[26] See *S'riv.* i. 231 sq., 296.
[27] vii. 1549.
[28] See e.g. VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. 23; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 37.

tions more than once the *snānakoṣṭhas* of the river.[29] From a humorous sketch of city life which Kalhaṇa draws for us, we can see that they formed then, as now, the favourite meeting-place of the idle and curious.[30]

Eastern quarters of S'rinagara.

99. Resuming our walk up the river-bank we pass the remains of more than one old temple near the present Ziārats of Baḍ Shāh (Zainu-l-'ābidīn), Shāh Hamadān, and elsewhere. But we have no data for their identification. An old site is marked by the present Ghāṭ Sōmᵃyār, below the Second Bridge, which represents the SOMATĪRTHA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[31] The place is still visited as a Tīrtha, and some old Liṅgas are found by the riverside. The quarter in which the Somatīrtha lies is known as *Sudᵃrmar*. It owes its name to the SAMUDRĀMAṬHA built by Samudrā, the queen of Rāmadeva, in the thirteenth century. The numerous passages in which the Samudrāmaṭha is mentioned by the later Chronicles, make this identification quite certain.[32]

Samudrāmaṭha.

A little higher up, if we can trust local tradition, stood the ancient temple of VARDHAMĀNEŚA mentioned already in King Saṁdhimat's reign. The site so designated by the Purohitas of the adjoining Mahalla is close to the Malᵃyār Ghāṭ. I have referred already in a previous note to the curious manner in which an ancient Liṅga supposed to be that of Vardhamāneśa was recovered a few years ago from a neighbouring Mosque, and a Māhātmya composed for the newly-established shrine.[33]

Mārīsaṁgama.

The confluence of the Tsūṇṭh Kul or Mahāsarit with the Vitastā we have also already had occasion to notice.[34] It is the Tīrtha now known as MĀRĪSAṀGAMA. Beyond it lies the great island of *Māyᵉsum*, the ancient MĀKṢIKASVĀMIN, now chiefly occupied by the houses and camps of European residents and visitors. From the way it is referred to by Kalhaṇa, it appears that it was already partly inhabited in old times.[35] Following up the right bank of the Mahāsarit above the junction we reach the quarter of *Khuḍᵃbal* already identified with the KṢURIKĀBALA of King Pravarasena's story.

Setu.

Here begins the old embankment or SETU, noticed in connection with the latter.[36] To the north of this embankment stretches an extensive marsh fed by canals coming from the Dal and known as *Brārinambal*. It is the BHAṬṬĀRANAḌVALĀ of the Chronicle into which the body of one of Harṣa's ministers was thrown after his execution.[37]

At the eastern end of the Setu where it joins the rocky foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān hill, there has been for at least a century a gate through which the Tsūṇṭh Kul flows out from the lake. It is closed at times of flood when the Vitastā rises higher than the level of the Dal. It is highly probable that this gate is very old and co-eval with the construction of the embankment itself. Beyond it lies the suburb of *Drugᵃjan*. This is identified in an old gloss of the Rājataraṅgiṇī with DURGĀGALIKĀ where according to tradition the blind King Yudhiṣṭhira was imprisoned after his abdication.[38]

[29] Compare viii. 706, 1182, 2423. Also Kṣemendra, *Samay.* ii. 38, knows the term *snānakoṣṭhaka* which lives in the present Kś. *srānᵃkuṭh*.

[30] See viii. 706-710.

[31] See note viii. 3360.

[32] See *Jonar.* 111; *S'rīv.* iv. 121, 169, 290; Fourth Chron. 504, 618.

[33] See above, § 31.

[34] See above, § 65.

[35] See note iv. 88.

[36] Compare above, § 92.

[37] See vii. 1038. *Nambal*, from Skr. *naḍvalā*, is the regular Kś. word for marsh. *Brāri* is a direct phonetic derivative of Skr. *bhaṭṭāra*, 'god.'

[38] See ii. 4.

Leaving the Setu where it makes its great bend and going north across low ground flanked by marshes, we reach the quarter of *Nāv'pür*. The bridge which leads here over the Mār or Mahāsarit, is repeatedly mentioned as NAUPURASETU by S'rīvara, in connection with later sieges of S'rīnagar.[39] By breaking it, the south-eastern parts of the city were rendered more secure.

Rājānavāṭikā.

Continuing our route to the north we come to the great suburb of *Rạ̄n'vōr*. It is traversed by numerous canals coming from the Ḍal. Kalhaṇa mentions it repeatedly by its ancient name of *Rājānavāṭikā*. It was largely inhabited by Brahmans whose solemn fasts (*prāyopaveśa*) gave no small trouble to King Sussala in his worst straits.[40] Rạ̄n'vōr has continued to the present day a favourite place of residence for city Brahmans.

Ancient sites of left river-bank.

100. We have now completed our circuit of the ancient city as far as it lay on the right bank of the river, and may proceed to the smaller and later portion which occupies the left bank. Just opposite to the 'Mārisaṁgama' stands the Shērgaṛhi, the modern palace of the Dogrā rulers. Its site was apparently first chosen by the Paṭhān governors for their fortified residence.

Immediately below the palace the Kuṭ'kul or KṢIPTIKĀ branches off from the river. We have already noticed its value as a line of defence for this part of the city.[41] The quarter of *Kāṭhül* which lies between the Kuṭ'kul and the river is of ancient date. It is mentioned as KĀṢṬHĪLA by Kalhaṇa and other writers, Bilhaṇa speaking of it particularly as a locality inhabited by Brahmans.[42]

Site of Royal Palace.

At the northern end of the Kāṭhül quarter and close to the present Second Bridge, we must assume the palace of the later Hindu kings to have stood. Its position is indicated by an interesting passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which informs us that King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) abandoned the palace of the former dynasties and transferred the royal residence to the vicinity of the shrine of SADĀŚIVA.[43] The new site was adhered to by subsequent kings probably till long after Kalhaṇa's time. The mention of the Sadāśiva shrine and the frequent references to the Kṣiptikā as flowing near to the royal palace (*rājadhānī*) enable us to fix the position of the latter with fair accuracy. In the note on the above passage I have shown that the Sadāśiva temple lay opposite to the Samudrāmaṭha which occupies the right river-bank just below the Second Bridge. Exactly in the position thus indicated we find now an ancient Liṅga on the river Ghāṭ of Puruṣ'yār which the tradition of the local Purohitas knows by the name of *Sadāśiva*.

It is in this neighbourhood then that the palace stood which had witnessed so many tragic scenes related in the last two Books of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. Its great height is specially referred to by Bilhaṇa. This suggests that it was in part at least built of wood, just like a later palace described by Mirzā Ḥaidar.[44] "Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn built himself a palace in the town which in the dialect of Kashmīr is called *Rājdān* [i.e. Skr. *rājadhānī*]. It has twelve stories, some of which contain fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The whole of this lofty structure is built of wood." This construction of the palace would well explain the rapidity with which it was burned down by the pretender Uccala on his final attack upon

[39] See *S'rīv.* iv. 122, 243.

[40] See viii. 756, 768, 899. For the phonetic relation of *Rạ̄n'* < Skr. *Rājāna*, see note viii. 756; *-vōr* is common in Kś. local names and derived from Skr. *vāṭa*, 'garden,' of which *vāṭikā* is a frequent diminutive.

[41] See above, § 94.

[42] See note viii. 1169, and *Vikram.* xviii. 25.

[43] Compare viii. 186-187, and for detailed evidence of the identification the note thereon.

[44] See *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 429.

Harṣa.[45] We can thus also understand why there are no particularly striking remains at the site which could be attributed to the ruins of this royal residence.

Gardens near later palace.

The last-named incident gives Kalhaṇa occasion to mention also some other data regarding the royal palace. Close to it was a garden in which Harṣa and his ill-fated son Bhoja enjoyed a deceptive rest before the rebels' last assault.[46] The gardens near the palace are also elsewhere mentioned. Harṣa had their trees cut down because they obstructed the view, and at a later time the besieging Ḍāmaras fed their camp fires with fuel brought from the same gardens.[47] Even at the present day there are numerous old gardens across the Kṣiptikā close to the site where the palace once stood. In front of the palace was the boat-bridge already mentioned which the king had himself constructed, and which was the scene of his last desperate struggle.[48]

The old palace.

Where the old palace stood which was abandoned by King Ananta, we cannot say with accuracy. It is, however, probable that its site was in the old part of Pravarapura on the right bank. Kalhaṇa mentions it twice (*purāṇarājadhānī*), but gives no particulars.[49] Its deserted ground was built over with a Maṭha in Kalhaṇa's own time.

Though the embankments on the left side of the river as well as the walls of Ziārats, etc., show ample remains of ancient buildings, we have yet no means of identifying any particular sites. At the western extremity of this part of the city, however, we may locate with some probability the temple of *Kṣemagaurīśvara*, built by Queen Diddā's weak husband Kṣemagupta. Bilhaṇa in his description of S'rīnagar mentions it as an imposing building, the 'Maṇḍapas' of which extended to a 'Saṁgama' of the Vitastā.[50] I have shown elsewhere that the confluence meant is probably that of the Vitastā with the Dugdhasindhu or Chaṭ͡ṣkul which lies opposite to the quarter of Diddāmaṭha.[51]

SECTION V.—THE ENVIRONS OF S'RĪNAGARA.

101. Having completed our survey of old S'rīnagara we may now proceed to examine the ancient sites of its environs. They are almost all situated to the north of the Vitastā within the Pargaṇa now known as *Phākh*, and designated *Phākhuvā* in S'rīvara's Chronicle.[1] It comprises the tract lying between the east shore of the Anch'ār, the range towards the Sind Valley and the hills which enclose the Ḍal on the east and south. Owing to the facility of communication across the lake and the manifold attractions of its shores Phākh seems to have always been a favourite resort for the inhabitants of the capital. This fact is fully illustrated by the numerous places of ancient date which we find dotted around the lake.

The Gopa Hill (*Gopādri*).

Starting from its southernmost corner in the immediate vicinity of the city we come first to the hill popularly known as Takht-i Sulaimān. Its bold pyramidal

[45] See vii. 1565 sq.; 1583.
[46] vii. 1586 sqq.
[47] vii. 1223; viii. 1056.
[48] See vii. 1539, 1549.
[49] See viii. 837, 2417.
[50] *Vikram.* xviii. 23.
[51] Compare note vi. 172-173.

[1] *S'rīv.* iv. 306. The Lokaprakāśa writes *Phāgvā* while the modern Māhātmyas of Īśālaya or Iśᵃbar' and Sureśvarī affect the term *Phālaka*.

form and the old temple which crowns its summit make this hill a most conspicuous object in the landscape of S'rīnagar.

The present name of the hill meaning 'Salomon's throne' is undoubtedly of Muhammadan origin, and its alleged derivation from *Saṁdhimat*, the saintly hero of a well-known legend recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, nothing but an invention of the Bāchbaṭṭas of S'rīnagar.[2] That the ancient designation of the hill was GOPĀDRI is proved beyond all doubt by an interesting passage of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. It relates how the troops of the pretender Bhikṣācara when repulsed from the city which they had endeavoured to enter after crossing the Mahāsarit, i.e. from the south-east, took refuge on the 'Gopa Hill' or *Gopādri*.[3] There they were besieged by the royal troops until a diversion made by Bhikṣācara enabled them to retreat to the higher hills in the east by the low neck which connects these with the Takht-i Sulaimān.

Temple on *Gopādri*.

Kalhaṇa in the First Book of his Chronicle informs us that King Gopāditya built a shrine of S'iva Jyeṣṭheśvara on the Gopādri.[4] It is difficult not to connect this notice in some way with the extant temple which occupies so prominent a position on the summit of the hill. General Cunningham, it is true, on the strength of an alleged tradition had proposed to identify this temple with the Jyeṣṭharudra shrine which Kalhaṇa mentions as a foundation of Jalauka, Aśoka's son, in the ancient S'rīnagarī.[5] But Prof. Bühler has already shown that there is no genuine tradition regarding the temple among the S'rīnagar Brahmans.[6]

It is certain that the superstructures of the present temple belong to a very late period.[7] But the massive and high base on which this temple is raised, and certain parts of the structure are no doubt of a far earlier date. These may well have formed part of a building which in Kalhaṇa's time,—rightly or wrongly, we have no means to judge,—was looked upon as a shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara erected by King Gopāditya. There is no other ancient ruin on the hill. Nor would the configuration of the latter have admitted at any other point but the summit, of the construction of a shrine of any dimensions.[8] It is of interest to note that the tradition of Abū-l-Faẓl's time distinctly attributed "the temple which now stands on Salomon's hill" to the time of Gopāditya.

Tīrtha of *Jyeṣṭheśvara*.

102. In Note *C*, i. 124, I have shown that an old tradition which can be traced back to at least the sixteenth century, connected the Takht Hill with the worship of S'iva Jyeṣṭharudra or, by another form of the name, JYEṢṬHEŚVARA (Jyeṣṭheśa).[9] And we find in fact a Liṅga known by this name worshipped even at the present day at the Tīrtha of *Jyāṭhēr*, scarcely more than one mile from the east foot of the hill.

This Tīrtha, which undoubtedly derived its name from Jyeṣṭheśvara, lies in a

[2] The name Takht-i Sulaimān is common enough in the local nomenclature of Muhammadan countries; compare, e.g., the peak of this name in the Sulaimān Kōh, south of the Gumal Pass. The derivation from Saṁdhimat, referred to by Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 17, is not supported by any evidence whatever and unknown even to the most modern Māhātmyas.

[3] See note viii. 1104-10.

That the Takht-i Sulaimān was called by its ancient name Gopādri had been surmised already by P. Govind Kaul at the time of Prof. Bühler's visit; see *Report*, p. 17. But no decisive evidence was known to him.

[4] See note i. 341.

[5] i. 124; *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 95; also above, § 90.

[6] See *Report*, p. 17.

[7] See the remarks of FERGUSSON, *History of Indian Archit.*, p. 282, against Gen. Cunningham's and Major Cole's assumptions, who represented this temple as one of the earliest buildings in Kaśmīr.

[8] *Aīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 383.

[9] Compare Fourth Chron. 592, 853, 806.

glen of the hillside, a short distance from the east shore of the Gagri Bal portion of the Ḍal. Its sacred spring, designated in the comparatively modern Māhātmya as *Jyeṣṭhānāga*, forms a favourite object of pilgrimage for the Brahmans of S'rīnagar. Fragments of several colossal Liṅgas are found in the vicinity of Jyēṭhēr and show with some other ancient remains now built into the Ziārats of Jyēṭhēr and Gupᵃkār that the site had been held sacred from an early time. It is in this vicinity that we may look for the ancient shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra which Jalauka is said to have erected at S'rīnagarī. But in the absence of distinct archæological evidence its exact position cannot be determined.

Gopāgrahāra.

Kalhaṇa in the same passage which mentions the erection of King Gopāditya's shrine on the 'Gopa Hill,' makes that prince bestow the GOPĀGRAHĀRAS on Brahman settlers from Āryadeśa.[10] The combination of the two local names suggests that the fertile lands of the present *Gupᵃkār* are meant, between the north foot of the Takht hill and the Ḍal. The name Gupᵃkār may be, in fact, the direct phonetic derivative of the term used by Kalhaṇa.[11]

Bhūkṣīravāṭikā.

Our surmise is supported by the reference which Kalhaṇa in the verse immediately following makes to the village BHŪKṢĪRAVĀṬIKĀ. This place is identified by the old glossator A₂ with *Buchᵢvōr*, a small hamlet situated on the narrow strip of land at the rocky north-west foot of the Takht hill. The modern name is clearly derived from Kalhaṇa's form. Gopāditya is said to have removed to this confined and secluded spot Brahmans who had given offence by eating garlic.

The combined mention of Gopādri, Gopāgrahāra and Bhūkṣīravāṭikā in i. 341 sq., suggests that Kalhaṇa has reproduced here local traditions collected from the sites immediately adjoining the hill. Whether the connection of these localities with King Gopāditya's reign was based on historical fact, or only an old popular etymology working upon the word *Gopa* found in the first two names, can no longer be decided.

Theḍā.

Continuing our route along the eastern shore of the Ḍal we come at a distance of about one mile from Gupᵃkār to the large village of *Thīd*, prettily situated amid vineyards and orchards. It is the THEḌĀ of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, mentioned as one of the places which the pious king Saṁdhimat or Āryarāja adorned with Maṭhas, divine images, and Liṅgas.[12] Abū-l-Faẓl speaks of Thīd as "a delightful spot where seven springs unite; around them are stone buildings, memorials of bygone times."[13] The remains here alluded to can no longer be traced, but the seven springs (*Saptapuṣkariṇī*) which are also referred to in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi (iv. 40 sqq.), are still pointed out.

The cluster of villages which we reach about one and a half miles beyond Thīd, and which jointly bear the name *Brạ̄n*, can be safely identified with BHĪMĀDEVĪ which Kalhaṇa notices along with Theḍā. The Nīlamata knows the sacred site of Bhīmādevī in conjunction with the Sureśvarī Tīrtha which we shall next visit, and in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi it is named with the Seven Springs of Theḍā. The Tīrtha of Bhīmādevī is no longer known, but may be located with some probability at the fine spring near *Dāmpōr* marked now by a Muhammadan shrine.

[10] See i. 341. For *agrahāra*, see note i. 87.

[11] *Gupᵃkār* may go back to a form **Gupᵃgār*, with assimilation of *g* to the preceding tenuis. In Kś. the hardening of *g* to *k* is by no means unknown; see Dr. GRIERSON's note, *Z.D.M.G.*, l. p. 8. **Gupᵃgār* could easily be traced back to *Gopāgrahāra* through Pr. forms like **Gupagrār*.

[12] See note ii. 135.

[13] *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 361.

Tīrtha of *Sureśvarī.*

103. A sacred site of far greater fame and importance is that of the present village of *Iś̄bar* which lies about two miles further north on the Ḍal shore and a little beyond the Mughal garden of Nishāt. The site was known in ancient times as *Sureśvarīkṣetra* ('the field of Sureśvarī').[14] It was sacred to Durgā-Sureśvarī who is still worshipped on a high crag rising from the mountain range to the east of Iś̄bar village. The seat of the goddess is on a rugged rock, some 3000 feet above the village, offering no possible room for any building. The numerous shrines erected in her honour were hence built on the gently sloping shore of the lake below. The Tīrtha of Sureśvarī is often referred to in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle and Kaśmīrian texts as a spot of exceptional holiness. It was particularly sought by the pious as a place to die in. The pilgrimage to Sureśvarī is connected with visits to several sacred springs in and about Iś̄bar. One of them, *S'atadhārā*, is already mentioned by Kṣemendra.[15] It is passed in a narrow gorge some 1500 feet below the rock of Sureśvarī.

Temple of *Īśeśvara.*

Iś̄bar derives its present name from the shrine of ĪŚEŚVARA which King Saṁdhimat-Āryarāja according to the Rājataraṅgiṇī erected in honour of his Guru Īśāna.[16] An earlier form, *Iś̄brōr*, which is found in an old gloss of the Chronicle and which was evidently heard also by Abū-l-Fazl, helps to connect Iś̄bar and Īśeśvara.[17] Iś̄bar is still much frequented as a pilgrimage place. The chief attraction is a sacred spring known as *Guptagaṅgā* which fills an ancient stone-lined tank in the centre of the village. This conveniently accessible Tīrtha is the scene of a popular pilgrimage on the Vaiśākhī day and has fairly obscured the importance of the mountain seat of Sureśvarī. A ruined mound immediately behind the tank is popularly believed to mark the site of the Īśeśvara shrine. Numerous remains of ancient buildings are found around the sacred springs and elsewhere in the village. They probably belong to the various other temples, the erection of which is mentioned by Kalhaṇa at the site of Sureśvarī.[18]

Ṣaḍarhadvana.

Passing round the foot of the ridge on which Sureśvarī is worshipped, we come to the small village of *Hārvan* which the old glossator of the Rājataraṅgiṇī identifies with ṢAḌARHADVANA ('the wood of the Six Arhats'). This place is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the residence of the great Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna.[19] The name Hārvan may well be derived from Ṣaḍarhadvana, but in the absence of other evidence the identification ca. not be considered as quite certain. On the hillside south of the village remarkable remains of ancient ornamented brick-pavements have come to light on occasion of excavations made for the new S'rīnagar waterworks.

Tīrtha of *Tripureśvara.*

Proceeding further up the valley of the stream which comes from the Mār Sar lake, we reach, at a distance of about three miles from the Ḍal, the village of *Triphar*. Evidence I have discussed elsewhere, makes it quite certain that it is the ancient TRIPUREŚVARA.[20] The latter is repeatedly mentioned as a site of great sanctity by Kalhaṇa as well as in the Nīlamata and some older Māhātmyas; but it has long ago ceased to be a separate pilgrimage place. A little stream known as the *Tripuragaṅgā* near Triphar is, however, still visited as one of the stations on the Mahādeva pilgrimage.

[14] Compare for *Sureśvarī* and the site of Iś̄bar, note v. 37.

[15] See *Samay.* ii. 29.

[16] See note ii. 134.

[17] *-bar* is a modern contraction for Kś. *-brōr*, from Skr. *bhaṭṭāraka*, which in Kaśmīr local names has often taken the place of its synonym *-īśvara*; comp. e.g. Skr. *Vijayeśvara* > Kś. *Vij̄brōr*.

[18] See v. 37, 40 sq.; viii. 3365.

[19] See note i. 173.

[20] Compare note v. 46.

Kṣemendra in the colophon of his Daśāvatāracarita refers to the hill above Tripureśa as the place where he was wont to find repose and where he composed his work. In Zainu-l-'ābidīn's time Tripureśvara seems yet to have been a Tīrtha much frequented by mendicants.[21] Tripureśvara, too, possessed its shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara, and to this King Avantivarman retired on the approach of death.[22]

Mount Mahādeva.

The whole mountain-ridge which stretches to the south of Triphar and along the Ḍal, bore in ancient times the name of S'RĪDVĀRA.[23] On the opposite side of the valley rises the bold peak of MAHĀDEVA to a height of over 13,000 feet. Numerous references to it in the Nīlamata, S'arvāvatāra and other texts show that it was in old times just as now frequented as a Tīrtha.

We may now again descend the valley towards the north shore of the Ḍal. On our way we pass close to Hārvan the village of Tsatsa where the convenience of modern worshippers has located a substitute for the ancient Tīrtha of the goddess S'āradā (see below, § 127). Leaving aside the famous garden of Shālimār of which our old texts know nothing,[24] we come to a marshy extension of the Ḍal known as Tēlᵃbal. The stream which flows through it and which forms a branch of the river coming from the Mār Sar, bore the old name of *Tilaprasthā*.[25]

Hiraṇyapura.

104. The route which takes us from Tēlᵃbal to the mouth of the Sind Valley is the same which was followed by the pretender Bhikṣācara and his rebel allies on a march to Sureśvarī described in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[26] The narrow embankment on which they fought and defeated the royal troops, leads across the Tēlᵃbal marshes.

At the south foot of the ridge which descends to the opening of the Sind Valley, we find the village of *Ranyil*, the ancient HIRAṆYAPURA.[27] The place is said by Kalhaṇa to have been founded by King Hiraṇyākṣa. As it lies on the high road from the Sind Valley to S'rīnagar it is repeatedly mentioned also in connection with military operations directed from that side against the capital. The victorious Uccala, when marching upon S'rīnagar, had the Abhiṣeka ceremony performed *en route* by the Brahmans of Hiraṇyapura. It seems to have been once a place of importance, since it figures in a fairy-tale of the Kathāsaritsāgara as the capital of Kaśmīr.[28] A spring a little to the south of the village is visited by the pilgrims to the Haramukuṭagaṅgā and bears in the Māhātmyas the name of *Hiraṇyākṣanāga*.

Juṣkapura.

From near Ranyil several old watercourses radiate which carry the water of the Sind River to the villages lying between the Anchiār and Ḍal lakes. One of these canals passes the village of *Zukur*. A tradition recorded already by General Cunningham identifies this place with the ancient JUṢKAPURA. Kalhaṇa names the place as a foundation of the Turuṣka (i.e. Kuṣana) King Juṣka who also built a Vihāra there.[29] The Muhammadan shrines and tombs of the village contain considerable remains of ancient buildings.

Amareśvara.

To the west of Juṣkapura, and on the shore of the Anchⁱār, lies the large village of Amburhĕr. It is the ancient AMAREŚVARA often mentioned in the

[21] See *S'rīv.* i. 402.

[22] See note v. 123.

[23] See viii. 2422.

[24] The first reference to this somewhat overpraised locality I can find, is by Abū-l-Fazl who mentions the waterfall or rather cascades of 'Shālamār'; see ii. p. 361. We might reasonably expect that Jonarāja and S'rīvara in their detailed accounts of the Ḍal would have mentioned the place if it had then claimed any importance.

[25] See note v. 46; *S'rīv.* i. 421.

[26] See note viii. 744.

[27] For detailed references, see note i. 287.

[28] See *Kathās.* lxv. 215 sqq.

[29] See note i. 168; *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 101.

Rājataraṅgiṇī in connection with military operations to the north of S'rīnagar.[30] This is easily accounted for by the fact that the place lay then as now on the high road connecting the Sind Valley with the capital. It took its name from a temple of S'iva Amareśvara which Sūryamatī, Ananta's queen, endowed with Agrahāras and a Maṭha. The ancient slabs and sculptured fragments which I found in 1895 in and around the Ziārat of Farrukhzād Ṣāhib, may possibly have belonged to this temple.

Continuing on the road towards S'rīnagar for about two miles further we come to the large village of Vicār Nāg, prettily situated among extensive walnut groves. A fine Nāga near the village forms the object of a popular Yātrā in the month of Caitra. It is held to be a manifestation of the Ailāpattra Nāga who is mentioned also in the Nīlamata. An earlier designation seems to be MUKTĀMŪLAKANĀGA which is given to the locality by S'rīvara and in the Tīrthasaṁgraha.[31] To the west of the village and near an inlet of the Anch'ār are the ruins of three ancient temples now converted into Ziārats and tombs.[32]

Amṛtabhavana.

Only a quarter of a mile to the east of Vicār Nāg and on the other side of the old canal called Lachᵉm Kul (*Lakṣmīkulyā), stands the hamlet of *Āntᵉbavan.* In my "Notes on Ou-k'ong's account of Kaśmīr" I have proved that Āntᵃbavan derives its name from the ancient Vihāra of AMṚTABHAVANA which Amṛtaprabhā, a queen of Meghavāhana, is said to have erected.[33] Ou-k'ong mentions the Vihāra by the name of *Ngo-mi-t'o-po-wan* which represents a transcribed Prakrit form *Amitabhavana or *Āmitabhavana. An ancient mound with traces of a square enclosure around it which is found between the canal and the hamlet, may possibly belong to the remains of this Vihāra.

Tīrtha of *Sodara.*

Proceeding to the east of Āntᵃbavan for about a mile we come to the large village of *Sudarᵃbal* situated on a deep inlet of the Ḍal known as *Sudarᵉkhun.* The name of the village and the neighbouring portion of the lake make it very probable that we have to place here the sacred spring of SODARA.[34] An ancient legend related by Kalhaṇa represented this spring as an Avatāra of the Sodara Nāga worshipped originally near the sacred site of Bhūteśvara below Mound Haramukuṭa.[35]

Close to the mosque of Sudarᵃbal and by the lake shore are two pools fed by perennial springs. These, according to a local tradition, were in old times visited by numerous pilgrims. Now all recollection of this Tīrtha has been lost among the Brahmans of S'rīnagar. But the name of a portion of the village area, *Baṭṭᵉpōr,* points to a former settlement of Baṭṭas or Purohitas. It is curious, too, that we find only half a mile from the village the Ziārat of Ḥazrat Bal, perhaps the most popular of all Muhammadan shrines in the Valley. It is supposed to be built over the remains of the miracle-working Pīr Dastagīr Ṣāhib. Is it possible that the presence of the rather ubiquitous saint at this particular spot had something to do with the earlier Hindu Tīrtha?

[30] See note vii. 183.

[31] See *S'rīv.* iv. 65.

[32] Compare for these remains COLE, *Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, p. 31.

[33] See note iii. 9 and *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 9 sqq.

[34] See note i. 125-126. Kś. *-bal* in Sudarᵃbal means merely place.

[35] For this *Sodara* the present Nāran Nāg, see notes i. 123; v. 55-59.

SECTION VI.—NORTHERN AND EASTERN DISTRICTS OF MAḌAVARĀJYA.

105. Our circuit through the Phākh Pargaṇa has brought us back to the purlieus of the capital. We must leave them now once more and start on our tour through the outlying districts. We may direct it first to the upper half of the Valley, the ancient Maḍavarājya. This again is divided by the Vitastā into two portions, one to the north-east, the other to the south-west of the river. We shall begin with the Parganas on the right bank, starting from S'rīnagar.

District of Khaḍūvi.

The Pargaṇa which adjoins S'rīnagar from the south-east, is now known as *Vihī*. It extends from near Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna to the Vastᵉrvan spur near Vạntⁱpōr (Avantipura) and comprises a wide semicircular tract of fertile Karēwa lands. In ancient times the district took its name from the village of KHAḌŪVĪ, the present *Khruv*.[1] The Ḍāmaras of the *Khaḍūvī* district are repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa along with those of Holaḍā, the modern Vular Pargaṇa.

The site of Pāndrēṭhan or Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna has already been fully noticed. About two miles higher up the river lies Pāndᵉchuk village with some ancient remains and traces of a stone bridge-head, probably of late date. The old name of the place is unknown. We pass next by the river the village of *Simpōr*. This may retain the name of Siṁhapura founded by King Jayasiṁha in Kalhaṇa's time.[2]

Jayavana.

Less than two miles to the north-west of Simpōr lies the village of *Zevan*, the ancient JAYAVANA. It was correctly identified already by Prof. Bühler on the basis of the happy and exact description given of it by Bilhaṇa.[3] The poet mentions in this "place of high-rising monuments" the "pool filled with pure water, sacred to Takṣaka, lord of snakes." This pool still exists in the Takṣaka Nāga which is visited annually by the pilgrims to Harṣeśvara.[4] The mention made by Kalhaṇa in his story of Narapura of the pilgrimage to the Takṣaka spring proves that in old times it must have enjoyed great reputation as a separate Tīrtha. It is, in fact, the only Kaśmīr Nāga which is distinctly mentioned in the Tīrtha list of the Mahābhārata (III. lxxxii. 90). Abū-l-Fazl records the interesting fact that this spring was popularly held to be the place whence the cultivation of saffron flourishing in this neighbourhood originated.[5] In Akbar's time the cultivators, undoubtedly Muhammadans, still worshipped at this fountain at spring time. It was customary to pour cow's milk into it to secure a good omen for the success of the crop. We see that the Takṣaka Nāga long retained his importance as a local divinity with the cultivators.

Khonamuṣa.

About two miles to the north-east of Zevan we come on gently rising ground to the village of *Khunᵉmoh*. It is, as already stated above, the ancient KHONAMUṢA, famous as the birthplace of Bilhaṇa. The latter in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita gives an enthusiastic description of the charms of his home.[6] The saffron-fields which Bilhaṇa mentions, extend close to the lower of the two separate hamlets which form the village. In the upper hamlet is a sacred spring called

[1] Compare note viii. 733.
[2] See note viii. 2443.
[3] Compare *Report*, pp. 5 sq.; my note vii. 607; *Vikram.* xviii. 70.
[4] See note i. 220.
[5] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 358.
[6] For a detailed and accurate account of the position and remains of Khonamuṣa, see Prof. BÜHLER'S *Report*, pp. 5 sq.
The identity of Khunᵉmoh with the Khonamuṣa of Rājat. i. 90 was first pointed out by Gen. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 98.

Dāmodaranāga with some sculptured funeral Stêlês and a few fragmentary inscriptions. On the hillside above the village issues another Nāga which under the name of *Bhuvaneśvarī* is visited on the pilgrimage to HARṢEŚVARA. The latter Tīrtha lies on the summit of the high ridge which rises to the north of the village. It consists of a 'Svayaṁbhū' Liṅga situated in a small cave and enjoys considerable popularity. I have not been able to trace its name except in the local Māhātmya and the Tīrthasaṁgraha.

Padmapura.

The chief place of the Vihī Pargaṇa is now the town of *Pāmpar*, the ancient PADMAPURA,[7] about four miles south-west of Khun*moh. It was founded in the beginning of the ninth century by Padma, the powerful uncle of the puppet-king Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa. Padma is said by the Chronicle to have also built a temple of Viṣṇu-Padmasvāmin. To this may possibly have belonged the scanty remains of an ancient temple which have been described by General Cunningham.[8] Close by is the Ziārat of Mīr Muḥammad Hamadānī with some fine ancient columns and ornamented slabs which are likely to have been taken from this temple. Also the other Ziārats of the town show similar remains. Padmapura owing to its central position in a fertile tract seems to have always been a place of importance and is often mentioned by Kalhaṇa and the later Chroniclers.

Proceeding north-eastwards of Padmapura we pass first *Bāl*hōm*, a large village, which in the Lokaprakāśa and Tīrthasaṁgraha figures as BĀLĀŚRAMA. Under a large Deodar near it Bāladevī is now worshipped in the form of an old stone-image. Numerous ancient Stêlês, showing miniature reproductions of temples, are found in the neighbouring rivulets and canals. They were apparently used in recent times as stepping-stones, which would account for their preservation. At the foot of a rocky spur which descends from the mountain-range to the north, lies the picturesque village of *Uyan*, once mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the name of OVANĀ.[9] It has a large sulphurous spring visited by the sick.

Khaḍūvi.

About two miles further east we reach the village of *Khruv*, the ancient KHAḌŪVĪ which, as we have seen, gave to the district its former name. There is an abundance of fine springs in and about Khruv; Abū-l-Faẓl mentions them as objects of worship and estimates their number at 360.[10] Above the village a so-called 'Svayaṁbhū-cakra' or mystical diagram is shown on a rock.[11] It is held sacred to Jvālāmukhi-Durgā and largely visited by pilgrims. I am, however, unable to trace any old reference to this Tīrtha.

S'anāra.

Only a mile to the south-east of Khruv is the village of *S'ār*, until recently the seat of a flourishing iron-industry. Kalhaṇa mentions it by the name of S'ANĀRA as an Agrahāra founded by King S'acīnara.[12] Whatever the historical value of this notice may be which Kalhaṇa took from Padmamihira, the evidence detailed in my note on the passage proves that the present S'ār is intended. An intermediate form of the name is preserved in the *S'nār* of an old gloss. The Ziārat of Khwāja Khizar which stands here near several small springs, is built with remains of a Hindu temple.

About two miles south-west of S'ār are found the well-preserved ruins of a temple near the village of *Ladu* (not marked on Survey map). They have been

[7] For a detailed notice see note iv. 695.
The old name of the place is well known to S'rinagar Paṇḍits; VIGNE, too, *Travels*, ii. p. 31, recognised it correctly.

[8] See *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 274.

[9] vii. 295.

[10] *Ain-i Akb.*, ii. p. 358.

[11] Compare for such diagrams, also designated *devīcakra* or *mātṛcakra*, note i. 122.

[12] See note i. 100.

described by Bishop Cowie,[13] but I am unable to trace any old reference to this shrine in the texts I have examined. It is remarkable for having a circular cella, the only one known to me in Kaśmīr. A small square cella to the east of this temple has been annexed to a neighbouring Ziārat.

Near the south end of the Vihī Pargaṇa and on the bank of the Vitastā lies the village of *Lat'pōr*. An old gloss of the Rājataraṅgiṇī identifies it with LALITAPURA, a place founded in honour of King Lalitāditya by his architect.[14] The king, according to the Chronicle, was not pleased with the attention; in any case no importance seems to have attached to the place. There are no old remains above ground, but the local tradition still knows of King 'Laltādit' as the founder of a large town on the neighbouring Uḍar.

District of *Holaḍā*.

106. Passing round the foot of Mount Vast'rvan we enter the Pargaṇa of *Vular*, the ancient HOLAḌĀ. This identification is supported, apart from the clear evidence of the modern name, by all passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which mention Holaḍā.[15] Its feudal barons played a great part in the troubled times of the later Hindu reigns.

Avantipura.

Its most important place in old times was undoubtedly the town of AVANTIPURA, founded by King Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883).[16] Its position is marked by the present village of *Vānt'pōr* on the Vitastā. The conspicuous ruins of this place attracted already the attention of the early European visitors. General Cunningham did not fail to recognize in them the remains of the two great temples of *Avantisvāmin* and *Avantīśvara* which Avantivarman built here.[17] Of the two great ruins one is at Vānt'pōr itself, the other and larger one half a mile further down the river close to the hamlet of Jaubrār (map 'Jabair'). Owing to the complete destruction of the central shrines it is impossible to ascertain now which was dedicated to Viṣṇu and which to S'iva. The fine enclosing quadrangles of the temples have also suffered badly. That of Avantisvāmin was used as a temporary fortification in Kalhaṇa's own time and underwent a severe siege.[18]

The site on which Avantivarman's town was built, had apparently enjoyed some sanctity before these temples were founded, and bore the old name of *Viśvaikasāra*. The great extent of the town is indicated by the traces of ruined buildings which cover the foot of the hills east of Vānt'pōr for a considerable distance. The frequent references to Avantipura in the Chronicles show that the town retained importance long after the death of its founder.

Other old sites in Holaḍā.

We hear but little of other old sites in Holaḍā. The great town of *Mihirapura* which King Mihirakula is said to have founded in it, can no longer be traced.[19] *Khuli*, a village situated a short distance to the south-west of Trāl, the modern headquarters of the tract, may possibly be the KHOLA of the Chronicle, one of Gopāditya's Agrahāras.[20] Of Trāl I am unable to trace any old notice. The identification of the village of *Būṭs*, about two miles south of Khuli, with the old BHAVACCHEDA is also uncertain.[21] It is based on a gloss of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, the writer of the codex archetypus. Still further south lies the village of *Kai*, probably the old KAṬIKĀ named by Kalhaṇa as a foundation of Tuñjīna I.[22] This

[13] See *J.A.S.B.*, 1866, pp. 97 sqq.

[14] See iv. 186.

[15] See note i. 306.

[16] See note v. 45 sq.
Its identity with Vānt'pōr was first pointed out by Dr. WILSON in his note on Moorcroft's *Travels*, ii. p. 244.

[17] See for a full description, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 275 sqq., also *ib.* 1866, 121 sqq.

[18] See viii. 1429 sq., 1474 sqq.

[19] See i. 306.

[20] See note i. 340.

[21] Compare note iii. 381.

[22] Rājat. ii. 14.

identification is made in the old gloss of the passage and supported by the phonetic evidence of the modern name.

Of old remains in Vular the interesting temple of *Nārastān* at the northern extremity of the district (34° 3′ lat. 75° 10′ long.) deserves notice.[23] Unfortunately I am unable to find any clue as to its old name or history. Excavations made by me at the site in 1891 brought to light interesting sculptures, but no evidence as to its name. The large village of Sutur (map 'Sootoor') to the south-west of Nārastān may possibly account for the entry *Sutrava* in the Lokaprakāśa's list of Parganas.

District of *Dakṣiṇapāra.*

107. The eastern boundary of Vular is marked by the high spur which descends from the north towards the confluence of the Vitastā and Gambhīrā. The adjoining district to the east is one of considerable extent. It comprises besides the whole right or western side of the Lidᵉr Valley, also the low-lying tract between the Vitastā and the lower course of the Viśokā. The modern name of this great Pargaṇa is *Dachünpōr* which appears in S'rīvara's Chronicle as DAKṢIṆAPĀRA. This clearly means 'the right bank [of the Ledarī or Lidᵉr].' Another form of the same significance, is *Dakṣiṇapārśva* found in the Lokaprakāśa and Mārtāṇḍa-māhātmya. To this designation corresponds the term *Vāmapārśva*, now Khōvurpōr, which, as we shall see, is applied to the left side of the Lidᵉr Valley.[24]

The junction of the Vitastā with the Gambhīrā, i.e. the united Viśokā and Ramaṇyāṭavī, has already been mentioned above as a Tīrtha.[25] Not far from it lies the village of *Marhōm* on the Vitastā, mentioned by Jonarāja under its old name of MAḌAVĀŚRAMA.[26] The first part of the name is identical with that of *Maḍavarājya.*

About two miles south-east of Marhōm and not far from the Vitastā, we find the village of Vāgᵉhōm, with a sacred spring known by the name of HASTIKARṆA. This name seems to have applied formerly to the place itself which we find thus twice referred to by Kalhaṇa.[27] It is possibly the Hastikarṇa, where Bhoja, Harṣa's son, was treacherously murdered.

Temple of *Cakradhara.*

About one mile to the south of Hastikarṇa the Vitastā makes a great bend. The peninsula thus formed is occupied by a small 'Uḍar' or alluvial plateau which owing to its height and isolated position is a very conspicuous object in the landscape. It was once the site of one of the oldest and most famous shrines of the Valley, the temple of Viṣṇu CAKRADHARA. The plateau is still known as Tsakᵉdar Uḍar.[28] Brahman tradition is aware of the derivation of this name from Cakradhara. It was first brought to the notice of European scholars by Prof. Bühler who had duly recognized the antiquarian importance of the site.[29]

The shrine of Cakradhara is often mentioned as a Tīrtha of great sanctity.[30] It was also closely connected with the legends regarding the burned city of Narapura,

[23] See Mr. LAWRENCE'S notice, *Valley*, p. 172 (reproduced from BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 290). The attached photograph shows the site after my excavations. Regarding the result of the latter, see *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 1891, pp. 346 sqq.

[24] General CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 94, assumes 'that Kś. *dachūn*, "right," is now used to denote the "north," and *Kāwar* [recte *Khōvur*] or the "left" to denote the "south."' This assumption, however, as well as the explanation given for the alleged change of meaning, are based on a misunderstanding.

[25] See § 64.

[26] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 132.

[27] See note v. 23; also vii. 1650.

Another Hastikarṇa, mentioned by S'rīvara, i. 441, seems to have been near S'rinagar on the west.

[28] See notes i. 38, 201.

[29] See *Report*, p. 18.

[30] See *Rājat.* vii. 258, 261, 269; *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 763, *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 12; *Nīlamata.* 1170.

localized, as we shall see, in its close vicinity. But the only detailed notice of the temple we owe to a historical incident which took place there during the civil wars of Sussala's reign.[31] The royal troops having been forced to evacuate the neighbouring town of Vijayeśvara or Vijᵃbrōr, the inhabitants of the latter place and of the neighbouring villages took refuge in the temple of Cakradhara. This by its position on the high and steep Uḍar was naturally well adapted for defence. The temple filled by the crowds of fugitives and routed soldiers, was soon besieged by the rebel troops of Bhikṣācara. The temple courtyard was protected by massive wooden ramparts and gates. When these had been set on fire by the assailants a mighty conflagration ensued in which the whole mass of people inside perished. Kalhaṇa vividly describes this great catastrophe which he believes to have provoked divine vengeance, and thus to have brought about the downfall of the pretender.

Siege of Cakradhara.

The account here given is of topographical interest. It shows that the temple actually stood on the flat top of the Uḍar, and at the same time explains the scarcity of stone remains in this locality. The absence of conspicuous ruins had already been noticed by Prof. Bühler. At the northern end of the Uḍar, however, which is separated from the rest by a dip in the ground, the outlines of a quadrangular enclosure about forty yards square, can still be traced in regular rows of hollows. These hollows may possibly be the last indications of the wooden ramparts which enclosed the shrine.

The temple seems to have been subsequently restored, and Jonarāja mentions the statue of Cakradhara among those chief divine images which Sikandar Būtshikast destroyed.[32] Jayadratha in his Haracaritacintāmaṇi devotes a separate canto (vii.) to the relation of the legend which localized the god wielding the disk (*cakra*) at the Tīrtha of Cakradhara. The latter is still referred to in a general way in the old Vijayeśvaramāhātmya. Now, however, Cakradhara is no longer visited as a Tīrtha, though the Purohitas of Vijayeśvara still retain a recollection of the former sanctity of the site.

Legend of *Narapura.*

108. There can be no doubt that at the foot of the Cakradhara Uḍar there stood once an ancient town of considerable importance. From the low ground towards the river and from the river-bed itself, ancient coins reaching back to Greek and Indo-Scythian rule are annually extracted in considerable quantities. Popular tradition still asserts that this site was once occupied by a great town. This tradition existed already in the time of Kalhaṇa who records it in the interesting legend of Narapura.[33] This is told at great length in a poetic episode of the First Book.

King Nara is said to have founded a splendid capital, called after himself NARAPURA, on the sandy bank of the Vitastā close to the shrine of Cakradhara. "There in a grove was a pond of limpid water, the habitation of the Nāga Suśravas." A young Brahman who had found occasion to assist the Nāga and his two daughters when in distress, was allowed to marry in reward one of the latter. He lived in happiness at Narapura until the beauty of the Nāga lady excited the passion of the wicked king. When Nara found his advances rejected, he endeavoured to seize the beautiful Candralekhā by force. The couple thereupon fled for protection to their father's habitation.

[31] See viii. 971-995.
The date of the burning of Cakradhara seems to have been the twelfth S'rāvaṇa *śudi*, A.D. 1121.

[32] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 763.

[33] See i. 201-274.

Destruction of Narapura.

The Nāga then rose in fury from his pool and "burned the king with his town in a rain of fearful thunderbolts." Thousands of people were burned before the image of Viṣṇu Cakradhara, to which they had fled for protection. Ramaṇyā, the Nāga's sister, came down from the mountains carrying along masses of rocks and boulders. These she dropped, as we have seen, along the bed of the Ramaṇyāṭavī or Rembyār² stream, when she found that Suśravas had already wreaked his vengeance. The Nāga himself feeling remorse at the carnage he had caused, removed to a lake on a far-off mountain. There "he is to the present day seen by the people on the pilgrimage to Amareśvara."[34] "To this day," thus closes Kalhaṇa's story, "that tale is remembered by the people when they behold close to Cakradhara that town destroyed by fire and that pond which has become a dry hollow."

Whatever the origin of the legend may have been, it is clear that popular tradition in Kalhaṇa's time looked upon the barren ground which stretches along the river between Tsakᵊdar and the present Vijᵊbrōr as the site of an ancient city. The ruins which in the twelfth century were pointed out as the remains of the burned Narapura, may have supplied the immediate starting point of the legend. What these remains were we cannot say. As the ground referred to is subject to annual inundation it is possible that the remains meant have since disappeared under alluvial deposits. The habitation of the 'Suśram' Nāga was still shown to me by Muhammadan peasants in a generally dry hollow close to the south-east foot of the Uḍar. The name of Narapura and its king are no longer remembered. But the main features of the legend as heard by Kalhaṇa, still live in the local tradition.

Tīrtha of Vijayeśvara.

109. The ancient town which once stood in the position indicated, was evidently succeeded by VIJAYEŚVARA, the present *Vijᵊbrōr*. The latter place situated less than two miles above Cakradhara, received its name from the ancient shrine of S'iva Vijayeśvara (Vijayeśa, Vijayeśāna).[35] This deity is worshipped to the present day at Vijᵊbrōr. The site has evidently from early times been one of the most famous Tīrthas of Kaśmīr. It is mentioned as such in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and many old Kaśmīrian texts.[36] The tradition regarding Aśoka's connection with it supplies historical proof for its antiquity According to Kalhaṇa's account which may well have been based on genuine local tradition or even inscriptional evidence, Aśoka had replaced the old stuccoed enclosure of the temple by one of stone. The great king was also credited with having erected within this enclosure two temples called *Aśokeśvara*.

Temple of S'iva-Vijayeśvara.

This old shrine, which is often mentioned by Kalhaṇa, and which has been the scene of many a historical incident, has now completely disappeared. According to the tradition of the local Purohitas it stood at a site close to the river-bank and nearly opposite to the bridge over the Vitastā. When I first visited Vijᵊbrōr in 1889 I still found some ancient slabs and fragments at this spot. It was then some fifteen feet below the level of the surrounding ground,[37] and has since been partly built over. Stone materials are said to have been removed from here for the new temple of Vijayeśvara which was built by Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh some thirty years ago higher up on the river-bank.

[34] Compare regarding the lake of *Suśramnāga* on the route to Amburnāth, above, § 59.

[35] Compare for detailed references, notes i. 38, 105.

[36] The legend of the Tīrtha is given at length in *Haracar.*, x.

[37] General Cunningham who saw these remains in 1847, rightly attributes them to the temple of Vijayeśa, but calls the place 'Vijayapura.' He justly points to the difference of level as an indication of the antiquity of the structure; see *Anc. Geogr.*, ii. p. 98.

It is probable that a temple so much frequented had undergone more than one restoration in the course of the fifteen centuries which passed between the time of Aśoka and the end of Hindu reign in Kaśmīr. Some time before A.D. 1081, while King Ananta was residing at the Tīrtha of Vijayeśvara, the temple was burned down in a general conflagration, caused by his son Kalaśa. The latter, however, subsequently restored the shrine. The old Liṅga of S'iva Vijayeśvara seems to have been destroyed by Sikandar Būtshikast.[38]

Town of Vijayeśvara.

The town which we must suppose to have sprung up gradually around the temple, is ascribed by Kalhaṇa to King Vijaya (ii. 62). But nothing else is recorded of this ruler, and this may cause a doubt as to his historical existence. It is significant that the town is designated either simply as *Vijayeśvara* or as *Vijayakṣetra* which is abbreviated from *Vijayeśvarakṣetra*. The modern name Vijᵉbrōr is the Kś. equivalent of Vijayeśvara, Kś. *-brōr*, from Skr. *bhaṭṭāraka*, 'god,' having replaced the more specific *-īśvara*, the usual designation of S'iva.[39]

That there existed a town of some importance already at a comparatively early date near the shrine, is indicated by the mention of a thousand Agrahāras, said to have been granted here by King Mihirakula to a settlement of Gandhāra Brahmans.[40] It was large enough to accommodate the whole court and army of King Ananta when the latter removed his residence to Vijayeśvara.[41] The narrative of the civil wars in Kalhaṇa's viii. Book shows the importance of the town by frequent references to the military operations of which it was the object.[42] One of these passages proves that there was a bridge over the Vitastā here already in the twelfth century, just as there is one still.

Vijᵉbrōr has remained a town of some importance and still boasts of a large number of Brahmans, mostly Purohitas of the Tīrtha. The latter being conveniently situated on the pilgrims' way to Mārtāṇḍa and Amaranātha is well frequented even at the present day. The Māhātmyas of Vijayeśvara do not fail to name a considerable number of minor Tīrthas to be visited along with the main site. But apart from Cakradhara and Gambhīrasaṃgama I am unable to trace any of these in the older texts.

The Lidᵉr Valley.

Turning to the last portion of the Dachünpōr district which lies in the Lidᵉr Valley, we have but few old localities to notice. The village of *Livᵉr*, some ten miles to the north-west of Vijayeśvara, is the LEVĀRA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, mentioned as an Agrahāra established by King Lava.[43] *Kular*, about four miles higher up the valley, is identified by an old gloss with *Kuruhāra*, said to have been an Agrahāra of Lava's son Kuśa.[44] Close to Pahᵉlgām where the Lidᵉr valley divides into two branches, lies the hamlet of *Māmal*. A small temple of the usual Kaśmīr style built by the side of a fine spring is visited by the pilgrims to Amaranātha and designated in the Māhātmya called Amareśvarakalpa as MAMMES'VARA. It

[38] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 762; for an earlier mention of this emblem, see *ib.* 127.

[39] Compare note i. 38; also ii. 134.

In the same way *Iśᵉbrōr* represents *Īśeśvara*; with the feminine *-brār* for *bhaṭṭārikā* we have *Sundᵉbrār* for *Saṁdhyādevī*, *Budᵉbrār* for *Bheḍādevī*, etc.

The forms 'Bijbiāra,' 'Bijbihara,' 'Bijbehara,' etc., under which the local name figures in European books, are all based on a faulty Panjābī pronunciation. A fanciful etymology of the name in which the first part of the word is taken to represent *vidyā*, 'learning,' and the second 'Vihāra,' has found favour in the guide-books, and may be mentioned here for curiosity's sake.

[40] See i. 317.

[41] See vii. 336 sqq.

[42] viii. 746 sqq., 969 sqq., 1140, 1509 sqq., etc.

[43] See i. 87

[44] i. 88.

is in all probability identical with the shrine of this name mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[45]

District of *Vāmapārśva*.

110. As we have already before noticed the several sacred sites of the Amaranātha pilgrimage, we may now turn back and descend to the left or eastern portion of the Lidᵃr Valley. It forms the modern Pargaṇa of *Khōvurpōr*. The latter name, meaning 'left side,' reproduces the earlier designation VĀMAPĀRŚVA, of the same significance, found in Jonarāja's Chronicle, the Lokaprakāśa and elsewhere.[46] In the upper portion of the Pargaṇa I am not able to identify any particular old locality, though ancient remains in the form of sculptures of some interest are found near several Nāgas of this tract, e.g. at Lokuṭpōr and Sāli (Pāpaharaṇanāga).

An old site is undoubtedly the large village of *Hutᵃmar*. Its modern name seems to identify it with the S'ĀKTAMAṬHA which Kṣemendra names as one of the stations in the peregrinations of his heroine Kaṅkālī. The chief mosque of the place is built with the remains of a Hindu temple and preserves in its walls some sculptured fragments of remarkable beauty.[47]

Shrine of *Bhīmakeśava*.

About one mile below Hutᵃmar and on the bank of a branch of the Lidᵃr lies the hamlet of *Bumᵃzu*, which contains an ancient structure of considerable historical interest. The Ziārat of Bāba Bāmᵃdīn Ṣāhib is nothing but a well-preserved temple, converted, with a liberal use of plaster, into the supposed resting-place of a Muhammadan saint. I have shown elsewhere that there is good reason to identify this shrine with the BHĪMAKEŚAVA temple which *Bhīma S'āhi*, king of Kābul, the maternal grandfather of Queen Diddā, is said to have erected in the lifetime of her husband Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958).[48]

The legendary of the Ziārat relates that the saint was originally a Hindu and bore before his conversion to Islām the name of *Bhīma Sādhi*. It is easy to recognise in this name an adaptation of Bhīma S'āhi. Also the name of the locality Bumᵃzu which the Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya renders by *Bhīmadvīpa*, is clearly derived from the old name of the shrine. *Bhīma* (> Kś. *Bumᵃ*) is an abbreviation of *Bhīmakeśava* to which Kś. *zu*, 'island,' has been added with reference to the several islands formed here by the Lidᵃr immediately in front of the hamlet.

Kalhaṇa tells us a curious anecdote regarding the fate of Bhīma S'āhi's temple in King Harṣa's time, who confiscated the great treasures with which it was endowed.[49] Close to the present Ziārat of Bāmᵃdīn Ṣāhib is a small cave in the cliff containing a well-preserved little temple which is still used for Hindu worship. Another smaller shrine outside has been turned into the tomb of Rishi Ruknu-d-dīn Ṣāhib.

Tīrtha of *Mārtāṇḍa*.

111. About one mile south of Bumᵃzu we reach the Tīrtha sacred to MĀRTĀṆḌA which has from early times to the present day enjoyed a prominent position among the sacred sites of Kaśmīr. It is marked by a magnificent spring (traditionally represented as two, *Vimala* and *Kamala*) which an ancient legend connects with the birth of the sun-god Mārtāṇḍa.[50] The Tīrtha is visited at

[45] See viii. 3360.

[46] *Jonar*. (Bo. ed.), 79, 1232.

[47] See *Samayam*. ii. 43.

The change of *S'ākta* > *hutᵃ* is in accordance with the phonetic laws of Kaśmīrī; *mar* is the regular derivative of *maṭha*, see above, § 56. [When preparing my map, I had not noticed the local name of Kṣemendra's text; it is hence not shown on it.]

[48] See note vi. 178.

For an accurate description of the temple see Bishop COWIE's paper, *J.A.S.B.*, 1866, pp. 100 sqq.

[49] See vii. 1081 sqq.

[50] Compare for a detailed account of the Tīrtha, note iv. 192.

The Vimala Nāga is named by the *Nīlamata*, 963; *S'rīv*. i. 377, etc.

frequent intervals by crowds of pilgrims and is well known also in India proper. The popular name of the Tīrtha, *Bavan*, is derived from Skr. *bhavana*, '[sacred] habitation.' This somewhat general appellation seems to have come into use already at an early date as S'rīvara employs it,[51] and is in itself an indication of the Tīrtha's great popularity. A more specific designation is *Matsᵉbavan*, Skr. *Matsyabhavana;* this is due to the abundance of sacred fish which swarm in the large basins filled by the spring.[52]

Temple of *Mārtāṇḍa*.

The ancient remains at the sacred spring itself are very scanty. All the more imposing are the ruins of the great temple which King Lalitāditya erected at a short distance in honour of the presiding deity of the Tīrtha.[53] They are situated a little over a mile to the south-east of 'Bavan,' near the northern edge of the great Uḍar which stretches towards Anatnāg. It can scarcely be doubted that the site was chosen with a view to the prominent position it assured to the great temple. Kalhaṇa duly praises "the wonderful shrine of Mārtāṇḍa with its massive walls of stone, within a lofty enclosure." Its ruins, though much injured by the ravages of time and earthquakes, form still the most impressive specimen of ancient Kaśmīr architecture. They have been much admired by European travellers and often described. They are the earliest ruins in Kaśmīr, the date of which is fixed with approximate accuracy.

The name Mārtāṇḍa, in the form of *Mārtaṇḍ* or *Maṭan*, still attaches to the ruins though they have long ago ceased to be an object of religious interest. King Kalaśa had sought this great fane at the approach of death, and expired at the feet of the sacred image (A.D. 1089). Harṣa, his son, respected this temple in the course of the ruthless confiscations to which he subjected the other rich shrines of the country. Subsequently, in Kalhaṇa's time the great quadrangular courtyard of the temple, with its lofty walls and colonnades, was used as a fortification. The destruction of the sacred image is ascribed to Sikandar Būtshikast.

Town of Mārtāṇḍa.

Kalhaṇa distinctly mentions the town "swelling with grapes" which Lalitāditya founded near his temple; but of this no trace remains now. It is probable that a canal then supplied water from the Lidᵉr to the naturally arid plateau on which the temple stands. This canal seems to have been repaired by Zainu-l-'ābidīn, whose irrigation works on the Mārtaṇḍ Uḍar are described at length by Jonarāja.[54] The plateau has since become once more an arid waste though the course of the old canal can still be traced above Hutᵉmar. The town of Mārtāṇḍa had left its name to the small Pargaṇa of Maṭan which comprised this plateau as well as the villages situated along the foot of the hills further east. It is referred to as *Mārtāṇḍadeśa* by Jonarāja.[55] Abū-l-Faẓl notices the large temple of *Maṭan* and the well or pit close by which a Muhammadan legend represents as the place of captivity of the 'angels Hārūt and Mārūt.'[56]

Anantanāga.

112. At the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtaṇḍ plateau lies the town of Islāmābād, or by its Hindu name *Anatnāg*. The latter is derived from the great spring of the ANANTANĀGA which issues at the southern end of the town. The Nāga, though no Tīrtha of particular repute, is mentioned in the Nīlamata,

[51] *S'rīv.* i. 376, 387.
[52] Compare *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 358.
[53] See note iv. 192 for detailed references.
[54] See *Jonar.* 1246 sqq.
[55] *Jonar.* 1310.
[56] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 358.
For the Muhammadan tale see also VIGNE, i. p. 361.

Haracaritacintāmaṇi and some Māhātmyas.[57] Of the town, however, I cannot find any old notice, and it is in all probability, as its Muhammadan name implies, a later foundation. To the north of the town and on the way to Bavan, is the *Gautamanāga*, named by the Nīlamata and the Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya.

The modern name of the small district which comprised besides Anatnāg the tract immediately south and west of it, is *Anyech*. This is represented in some Māhātmyas of recent composition by *Anekākṣa*. This name occurs also once in S'rīvara's Chronicle, but the locality there meant is not certain.[58]

Tīrtha of *Kapaṭeśvara*.

The valley of the Ār^apath or Harṣapathā which opens to the east of Islāmābād, forms the Pargaṇa of *Kuṭ^hār*. This name is in all probability connected with that of the ancient Tīrtha of KAPAṬEŚVARA, situated on the southern side of the valley close to the village of *Kōṭhēr*.[59] The name of the latter is undoubtedly a derivative of Kapaṭeśvara, as the analogy of Jyēṭhēr < Jyeṣṭheśvara, Triphar < Tripureśvara, etc., clearly shows.

The place of pilgrimage is the sacred spring of PĀPASŪDANA ('sin-removing'), situated a short distance above Kōṭhēr. In it S'iva is believed to have shown himself in the disguise (*kapaṭa*) of pieces of wood floating on the water. The legend is related at length in the Nīlamata, and the author of the Haracaritacintāmaṇi devotes to it a separate canto which has now become the official Māhātmya of the Tīrtha.[60] The importance of the latter is shown by the fact that Kalhaṇa mentions it in his Introduction first among the sacred sites of Kaśmīr.

Before him already Albērūnī had heard of the story that pieces of wood sent by Mahādeva appear annually "in a pond called *Kūdaiśhahr* to the left of the source of the Vitastā, in the middle of the month of Vaiśākha."[61] *Kūdaiśhahr* (کودیشهر) is an easily explained corruption for کودیشر i.e. **Kavadēśvar*, a Prakritized form of the name. The map shows that the description of the Tīrtha's position is accurate enough with reference to the Nīlanāga as the Vitastā's traditional source. The date named by Albērūnī is identical with that prescribed for the Kapaṭeśvara Yātrā.

The sacred spring rises in a large circular tank which is enclosed by an ancient stone-wall and steps leading into the water. According to Kalhaṇa's account this enclosure was constructed, about a century before his own time, at the expense of the well-known King Bhoja of Mālava. The latter is said to have taken a vow always to wash his face in the water of the Pāpasūdana spring, which he caused to be regularly supplied to him in jars of glass.[62] In my note on the passage I have shown that local tradition at Kōṭhēr still retains a recollection of this story though in a rather legendary form. A small temple which stands to the east of the tank, and some other remains probably belong to the period of Bhoja. Abū-l-Fazl, too, knows, "in the village of Kotihār, a deep spring surrounded by stone temples. When its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandal-wood appears."

S'amāṅgāsā.

About four miles to the north-east of Kōṭhēr and on a branch of the Ār^apath river lies the populous village of *S'āngas*, the ancient S'AMĀṄGĀSĀ. Kalhaṇa mentions the place twice.[63] The modern name can be traced back to S'amāṅgāsā

[57] See *Nīlamata*, 903; *Vitastā-*, *Trisandhyākuṇḍamāhātmya*, etc., also *Haracar.* x. 251 sqq. (Anantabhavana).

[58] *S'rīv.* iii. 184.

[59] See note i. 32.

[60] *Haracar.* xiv.

[61] See *India*, ii. p. 181.

[62] See vii. 190 sqq.

[63] See i. 100; viii. 651.

through a course of regular phonetic conversion, one stage of which is preserved in the form *S'vāngas* supplied by the old glossator of the Chronicle.[64] Some old carved slabs built into the chief Ziārat of the place attest its antiquity. A short distance above S'āngas we come to another old place. It is the present village of *Vut'rus* which on the authority of the same glossator and of the name itself we can safely identify with Kalhaṇa's *Utrāsa*.[65] Uccala and Sussala in their flight from Harṣa's court found a temporary refuge with the Ḍāmara of this locality.

Turning back to the west we find in the middle of the valley the village of *Khondur*. An old gloss enables us to identify it with the ancient SKANDAPURA mentioned by Kalhaṇa as an Agrahāra of King Gopāditya.[66] More important is *Ach'bal*, a large village situated at the extremity of the hill range which lines the Kuṭ'hār Pargaṇa from the south. It is mentioned in the Chronicle under the name of AKṢAVĀLA. The beautiful springs of the place have often been described since Abū-l-Fazl's time, also by Bernier. The park around them was a favourite camping ground of the Mughal court.[67] The Nīlamata calls the spring *Akṣipālanāga*.

SECTION VII.—THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF MAḌAVARĀJYA.

District of Bring.

113. The Kuṭ'hār Pargaṇa is adjoined on the south by the district of Bring which coincides with the valley of the Bring stream. Its old name cannot be traced; the Lokaprakāśa transcribes the modern designation by *Bhṛṅga*. At the western end of the Pargaṇa and about five miles to the south-west of Ach'bal, is the village of *Lōk'baran* which an old gloss identifies with LOKAPUṆYA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[1] The numerous passages which mention the place agree with this location. The name Lōk'bavan applies also to the fine Nāga adjoining the village, and this explains the second part of the present name, *-baran* (Skr. *-bharana*).[2] King Lalitāditya is said to have built a town here. A small garden-palace erected in Mughal times near the spring is partly constructed of old materials.

Ascending the Bring valley we come again to an old site at the large village of *Biḍ'r*. It is certainly the BHEḌARA of Kalhaṇa who notices here a wealthy Agrahāra of King Bālāditya.[3] A ruined mound in the village and some old sculptures at the neighbouring Brahman village of Hāngalguṇḍ are the only ancient remains now above ground.

Tīrtha of *Ardhanārīśvara*.

From Biḍ'r we may pay a passing visit to a small Tīrtha which, though I cannot find it mentioned in any old text, may yet claim some antiquity. About one and a half miles to the south-east of Biḍ'r lies the village of Nāru in the low hills flanking the valley. It contains a small temple of ancient date which was restored some forty years ago by a pious Dogrā official. It stands by the side of a small Nāga at which, according to the local Māhātmya I acquired from the resident Purohita, S'iva is worshipped as ARDHANĀRĪŚVARA, that is, in conjunction with his consort Pārvatī. Inside the temple is an ancient image of Viṣṇu with a short Sanskrit

[64] Compare note i. 100.
[65] Compare vii. 1254.
[66] i. 340.
[67] Compare note i. 338. In the translation of the *Āīn-i Akb.* the name appears as 'Aoch Dal,' ii. p. 358; see BERNIER, *Travels*, p. 411.

[1] See note iv. 193.
[2] See above, § 111.
[3] iii. 481.

inscription said to have been found in a miraculous fashion at the restoration of the temple. About half a mile to the south-west is a sacred spring known as *Svedanāga* which seems to have risen originally within a large temple. The remains of the latter lie in shapeless heaps around the spring. The latter is still visited by pilgrims.

It appears to me that it is this spot which Abū-l-Fazl wishes to describe in the following notice. After mentioning the Kukar Nāg and Sundᵊbrār (see below) among the sacred places of Bring he says: "At a little distance in the midst of a beautiful temple, seven fountains excite the wonderment of the beholder. In the summer-time self-immolating ascetics here heap up a large fire around themselves, and with the utmost fortitude suffer themselves to be burned to death."[4] He then mentions a lofty hill containing an iron mine to the north of this spot. This can only be the hill above Sōp on the northern side of the valley and nearly opposite Nāru, from which iron is still extracted at the present day. There is no other Nāga within Bring to which Abū-l-Fazl's description would apply so closely as to the Svedanāga.

The Kukᵊr Nāg, mentioned by Abū-l-Fazl for its good water inciting a healthy appetite, lies about a mile above Biḍᵊr. It is a spring of very great volume, but is referred to only in the Trisaṁdhyāmāhātmya (*Kukkuṭeśvara*).

Spring of *Trisaṁdhyā*.

Bring contains one of the holiest of Kaśmīr Tīrthas in the sacred spring of the goddess SAṀDHYĀ, also called *Trisaṁdhyā*, the modern *Sundᵊbrār*.[5] It is situated in a side-valley opening to the south of the village of Devalgōm, circ. 75° 22′ long. 33° 32′ lat. The spring of Saṁdhyā derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that for uncertain periods in the early summer it flows, or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times during the night. Owing to the analogy thus presented to the threefold recitation of the Gāyatrī (Saṁdhyā) it is held sacred to the goddess Saṁdhyā. At the season indicated it is visited by a considerable concourse of pilgrims.

The small spring, which is usually dry for the greater part of the year, has, owing to the curious phenomenon above indicated, always enjoyed great fame as one of the 'wonders' of the Valley. Kalhaṇa duly mentions it immediately after Kapaṭeśvara. The Nīlamata, too, knows it. Abū l-Fazl describes it in detail, and Dr. Bernier made it a special point to visit this 'merveille de Cachemire.'[6] He has observed the phenomenon with his usual accuracy. The ingenuous explanation he has recorded of it, shows how closely he had examined the topographical features of the little valley. Close to the Trisaṁdhyā spring there is another Nāga, sacred to the Seven Ṛṣis, but not sharing the former's peculiar nature. There are no ancient remains in the neighbourhood deserving special notice.

District of Vēr; *Nīlanāga*.

114. To the south of Bring lies the valley of the Sāndran River which forms the Pargaṇa of Shāhābād. This name is of comparatively modern origin, as Abū-l-Fazl still knows the tract as *Vēr*.[7] This designation still survives in the name Vērnāg, i.e. 'the Nāga of Vēr,' popularly given to the fine spring which we have already noticed as the habitation of the NĪLANĀGA and the traditional source of the Vitastā. Abū-l-Fazl still saw to the east of it 'temples of stone.' These have now disappeared, their materials having been used probably for the construction of the fine stone-enclosure which Jahāngīr built round the spring. The deep blue colour of the water which collects in the spring-basin, may possibly account for the

[4] See *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 356.

[5] See note i. 33.

[6] Compare *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 355 sq.; BERNIER, *Travels*, pp. 410 sqq.

[7] See *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 361, 370.

location of the Nīlanāga in this particular fountain. Kalhaṇa's reference to the "circular pond" from which the Vitastā rises,[8] shows that the spring had already in ancient times an artificial enclosure similar to the present one.

Vitastātra.

Reference has already been made to the sacred spring of *Vith'vutur*, only about one mile to the north-west of Vērnāg. The small village near by is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a town under the name of VITASTĀTRA.[9] Asoka is said to have erected here numerous Stūpas; within the *Dharmāraṇya* Vihāra there stood a lofty Caitya built by him. Of these structures no remains can now be traced above ground. Vitastātra could never have been a large town as the ground is too confined. But some importance is assured to the site by the route to the neighbouring pass of Bān'hāl (*Bāṇaśālā*). We have already spoken of the pass and its ancient name.[10]

PAÑCAHASTĀ the present *Pānzath*, also in Vēr, has already been referred to as the site of one of the traditional sources of the Vitastā. Kalhaṇa mentions it in connection with a Maṭha which S'ūravarman, Avantivarman's minister, built here.[11] A pretty valley which opens to the south of Pānzath, is now known by the name of its chief village *Ruzul*. The latter is mentioned by Jonarāja as RĀJOLAKA.[12] About three miles higher up this valley is the Nāga of VĀSUKI. It is mentioned in the Nīlamata and other old texts, but does not appear to have ever been an important Tīrtha.[13]

District of *Devasarasa.*

115. The Pargaṇa of *Div'sar* which adjoins Shāhābād-Vēr on the west, may be roughly described as comprising the tract of alluvial plain drained by the Vesau (Viśokā). By its ancient name of DEVASARASA it is often mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and other Chronicles.[14] Being extensively irrigated by canals drawn from the Viśokā it is very fertile. This accounts for the great part which the Ḍāmaras or feudal landholders of Devasarasa played during the weak reigns of the later kings. No certain reference to a specific locality within this tract can be traced in our old texts. But it seems probable that *Pāreviśoka*, repeatedly named in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, must be looked for within Devasarasa; the name means literally 'beyond the Viśokā.'[15]

Kheri.

The fertile valleys descending to the right bank of the Viśokā from that portion of the Pīr Pantsāl Range which lies between the Kōns'r Nāg Peak and the Mohi Pass, form a small district of their own, known in recent times by the double name of Khur-Nār'vāv. The first part of this name is taken from the large village of *Khur* situated about two miles from the Viśokā, circ. 74° 56′ 45″ long. 33° 37′ lat. It is marked as 'Koori' on the larger survey map. The name KHERI, which we find used by Kalhaṇa and S'rīvara for the designation of the tract, is in all probability the older form of Khur.[16] It seems that in later Hindu times the administration of Kherī, perhaps as a royal allodial domain, formed a special charge. Kalhaṇa often refers to the *Kherīkārya* as a high state-office. The Sikhs and Dogrās who established Jāgīrs for members of the reigning family in Khur-Nār'vāv, may thus have followed an earlier arrangement.

Godharā-Hastiśālā.

The only localities in this little district that are known to us by their ancient names, are GODHARĀ and HASTIŚĀLĀ, the present *Gudar* and *Ast'hāl*.[17] These two small villages are situated close together, on a branch of the Viśokā near the

[8] See i. 28.
[9] See note i. 102.
[10] Compare above, § 41.
[11] v. 24.
[12] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 90.
[13] See *Nīlamata*, 901.
[14] Compare note viii. 504.
[15] Compare note iv. 5.
[16] Compare note i. 335.
[17] See note i. 96.

eastern limits of Khur-Nār^avāv. Kalhaṇa mentions the 'Agrahāra of Godharā-Hastiśālā' as a foundation of King Godhara. The old gloss which transcribes these local names by 'Godhar-Astīhil' enabled me to identify the places intended. A small stream which falls into the Viśokā at Gudar is known by the name of *Godāvarī* and forms a Tīrtha of some repute among the Brahmans of the neighbouring districts. In the Māhātmya of the Tīrtha the site of the village is called *Godara*, and its name connected with the legend of the appearance of the Godāvarī. The local tradition regarding a town which King Gudar is supposed to have founded here has been discussed in my note on the above-quoted passage of Kalhaṇa.

The Naubandhana Tīrtha and the Kramasaras or Kōns^ar Nāg south of this district have already been previously noticed.

District of *Karāla*.

116. To the north of Div^sar extends the considerable district of Āḍ^avin reaching from the western end of Khur-Nār^avāv to the lower course of the Viśokā. Its present name is derived from that of the large village of *Āḍ^avin*, which lies on the left bank of the Viśokā about three miles south-west of Vij^abrōr. In the form of *Ardhavana* this name is found already in a passage of Jonarāja's Chronicle, supplied by the new edition.[18] The ancient designation of the district, however, was KARĀLA. This is used by Kalhaṇa when speaking of the Suvarṇamaṇikulyā, the present canal of Sun^amaṇ^i Kul, which has already been referred to as irrigating part of Āḍ^avin.[19]

In the lower portion of the district and on the left bank of the Viśokā, we have the ancient KAṬĪMUṢA, the present village of *Kaimuh*. The place is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as an Agrahāra, founded by Tuñjīna I., and contains some old remains built into its chief Ziārat.[20]

Pargaṇa of Zain^apōr.

Part of Āḍ^avin lies on an alluvial plateau. The northernmost portion of this Uḍar ground seems to have been formed into a separate Pargaṇa after Zainu-l-'ābidīn had constructed there extensive irrigation channels. From the small town of *Jainapurī* founded by him, the new sub-division took the name of Zain^apōr or JAINAPURA.[21] At the east foot of the Zain^apōr Uḍar lies the village of *Vaṛk^i* (map 'Woochi') which on the authority of an old gloss may be identified with VAṢCIKĀ (or Vaśeika), an Agrahāra founded by Gopāditya.[22]

Pargaṇa of Bāṭ.

The Pargaṇa which joins on to Āḍ^avin in the north-east, is now known as *Bāṭ* (map 'Batoo'). Its ancient name is unknown. The only old locality I can trace in it, is the village of *Sidau*, 74° 51′ long. 33° 41′ lat., the ancient SIDDHAPATHA.[23] It has given its name to the route previously mentioned which leads to the Būdil and Kōns^ar Nāg Passes. It is curious that we find no old mention whatever of the present *S'upiyan*, a considerable town, which is the trade-emporium for the Pīr Pantsāl route. In this character S'upiyan has replaced the ancient *S'ūrapura* or Hür^apōr, but the change must be a comparatively recent one.

S'ūrapura.

S'ŪRAPURA which we have already noticed as the Kaśmīr terminus of the Pīr Pantsāl route, lies some seven miles higher up on the Rembyār^a.[24] It received its name from the minister S'ūravarman who built it in the time of Avantivarman and transferred to it the watch-station or 'Draṅga' of the route. The position of the latter is marked by a spot known as Ilāhī Darwāza a short distance above Hür^apōr.[25]

[18] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1880.

[19] See note i. 97 and above, § 78.

[20] Compare note ii. 55.

[21] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1144 sqq.; *S'rīv.* iii. 194; Fourth Chron. 860, 383.

[22] Compare note i. 343.

[23] See note viii. 557.

[24] Compare Note *D* (iii. 227); note v. 39; also *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 381 sqq.

[25] See above, § 42.

S'ūrapura must have been a place of considerable extent as ruins of old habitations can be traced on the river-banks for over two miles below the present Hūr°pōr. It must have retained its importance down to Akbar's time, because it is regularly mentioned by all the later Chroniclers whenever they refer to marches and traffic by the Pīr Pantsāl route. The ancient remains of the place have been described by me in my notes on the latter.

Tīrtha of *Kapālamocana.*

Our previous account of the old localities on the way to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass makes it unnecessary for us to proceed now further in this direction. Descending then by the Rembyār° we come on its left bank to the village of *Dēgām* situated about one and a half miles to the west of S'upiyan. It is the DEGRĀMA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the site of the KAPĀLAMOCANA Tīrtha.[26] The sacred spring of the latter is supposed to mark the spot where S'iva cleaned himself from the sin attaching to him after the cutting-off of Brahman's head (*kapāla*). The Tīrtha is old, because the Haracaritacintāmaṇi mentions it twice.[27] There are, however, but few ancient remains and the extant Māhātmya is evidently not of old date. It calls the village *Dvigrāma* and knows the modern S'upiyan by the name of *S'ūrpāyaṇa.*

117. The villages which lie at the foot of the pine-clad spurs descending into the plain west and north-west of S'upiyan, formed until recent times a small distinct Pargaṇa known as *Sūparsāmün.* Abū-l-Fazl mentions it (Sōparsāman), but I am not able to trace its name in our older texts.

District of S'ukru.

To the north of this tract and of Boṭ extends the Pargaṇa of *S'ukru.* Its old name is unknown. Here at the foot of the hills we have the ancient KALYĀṆAPURA, represented by the present village of *Kalampōr,* situated 74° 54′ long. 33° 48′ lat. It was founded by Kalyāṇadevī, a queen of Jayāpīḍa.[28] Being on the high road from the Pīr Pantsāl Pass to S'rīnagar it was repeatedly the scene of battles fought with invaders from that direction.[29] At Kalyāṇapura there was in Kalhaṇa's time the splendid country-seat of a powerful Ḍāmara.[30] The large village of *Drāb°gām,* some three miles north of Kalampōr, is mentioned as DRĀBHAGRĀMA by S'rīvara, along with Kalyāṇapura, in the description of a battle which was fought between the two places.[31]

Tīrtha of *Bheḍā.*

High up in the valley of the Birnai stream which debouches at Drāb°gām from the south-west, is the site of an ancient Tīrtha which, though now completely forgotten, must have ranked once amongst the most popular in Kaśmīr. In Kalhaṇa's introduction there is named along with Trisaṁdhyā, Svayaṁbhū, S'āradā, and other famous sites, "the hill of BHEḌA (*Bheḍagiri*), sanctified by the *Gaṅgodbheda* spring." There the goddess Sarasvatī was believed to have shown herself as a swan in a lake situated on the summit of the hill. This Tīrtha has long ago ceased to be visited by pilgrims, and all recollection regarding its position has been lost to Paṇḍit tradition. Fortunately the old Māhātmya of the sacred lake has survived in a single copy. With the help of some indications furnished by it and an opportune notice of Abū-l-Fazl, I was able to make a search for this ancient Tīrtha which ultimately led to its discovery at the present Buḍ°brār in the valley above indicated.

For the detailed evidence regarding this identification I must refer to Note A (i. 35). Here a brief reference to the topographical peculiarity of the site will

[26] See note vii. 266.

[27] See *Haracar.* x. 249; xiv. 111.

[28] See note iv. 483.

[29] See viii. 1261 sqq.; 2814 sqq.; *S'rīv.* iv. 466 sqq.

[30] See viii. 2348 sqq.

[31] See *S'rīv.* iv. 467. For a miniature temple extant at Drāb°gām, compare Bishop Cowie's note, *J.A.S.B.*, 1866, p. 117.

suffice. The Māhātmya describes the lake sacred to the goddess Sarasvatī-Bheḍā as situated on the summit of a hill and Gaṅgodbheda as a spring flowing from it. At *Buḍᵉbrār*, a small Gujar hamlet which occupies the position marked by BHEḌAGIRI on the map, I found an ancient stone-lined tank fed by a spring on the top of a small hillock. The latter rises about seventy feet above the level of the narrow valley of the Birnai stream. From the side of the hillock issues a spring which is the natural outflow of the tank and exactly corresponds to the description given of Gaṅgodbheda. The name *Buḍᵉbrār* is the direct derivative of *Bheḍādevī*, 'the goddess Bheḍā,' the popular designation of the Tīrtha found in the Māhātmya; *-brār* < Skr. *bhaṭṭārikā* is the equivalent of *devī*, as in Sundᵉbrār, Harᵉbrār, and other names.

The water of the spring which fills the tank, is said to keep warm in the winter. This accounts evidently for the story told in the Māhātmya that snow never lies on the ground around the sacred tank. Also Abū-l-Faẓl's notice of the Tīrtha knows of this particular feature: "Near Shukroh (S'ukru) is a low hill on the summit of which is a fountain which flows throughout the year and is a place of pilgrimage for the devout. The snow does not fall on this spur." [32]

Bheḍāvana.

Also S'rīvara helped to guide my search in the direction of Buḍᵉbrār and to confirm the subsequent identification. He mentions the route through *Bheḍāvana*, 'the forest of Bheḍā,' as the line of retreat taken by the troops who, after their defeat in the above-mentioned engagement near Drābᵃgām, were fleeing towards Rajaurī.[33] A glance at the map shows that the thickly-wooded valley of Buḍᵉbrār is meant here. For a force beaten near Drābᵃgām it afforded the most direct and safest retreat to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass and hence to Rajaurī. The route leading through the valley joins the 'Imperial Road' at Dubji and is shown on the map.

Returning once more to the plain we have yet to notice two other old localities of S'ukru. *Bilau* (map 'Belloh'), about four miles north-east of Drābᵃgām, is probably the 'village of BILĀVA,' once mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[34] Within a mile of it lies the village *Sunᵉsāmil*, which we may safely identify with the *Suvarṇasānūra* of the Rājataraṅgiṇī in view of the resemblance of the names and the repeated mention of the latter place together with Kalyāṇapura.[35]

District of S'āvur

118. East of S'ukru towards the Vitastā stretches the Pargaṇa of *S'āvur* (map 'Showra'). The earlier form of its name cannot be traced. Its northern part is formed by the alluvial plateau known as the *Naunagar Uḍar*. This latter is twice referred to as NAUNAGARA in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.[36] The village of *Pāyer* which lies at the foot of the Uḍar at its north-western end, contains a well-preserved little temple often described by European travellers.[37] Nothing is known regarding the original name of the locality.

District of Chrāṭh

To the north of S'ukru we have the district of *Chrāṭh* (shown only on the larger survey map). It extends from the hills above Rāmuh in a north-easterly direction to the left bank of the Vitastā. Its old name is restored in Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's Tīrthasaṁgraha as **S'rīrāṣṭra*, but I do not know on what authority.

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[32] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 362.

[33] Compare *S'rīv.* iv. 496 and the preceding narrative.

[34] See vii. 1016.

[35] See note vii. 1519; *sunᵃ-*, 'gold,' is the regular Kś. derivative of Skr. *suvarṇa*.

[36] See vii. 358.

[37] Compare e.g. CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 254 sqq. I am unable to explain why the place figures in all European accounts as Pāyech, Pā Yech, etc. VIGNE, ii. 41, first uses this form which is locally quite unknown. He does not fail to explain it by one of his naïve etymologies.

Rāmuh, first correctly identified by Prof. Bühler with Kalhaṇa's RĀMUṢA,[38] is a considerable village on the high road from S'upiyan to S'rīnagar. It is first mentioned as an Agrahāra, founded by a queen of Tuñjīna I. A small spring at the northern end of the village, called *Dhananāga*, is visited as a Tīrtha and contains some fragments of ancient sculptures. The temple erected by the Brahman family which now holds Rāmuh as a Jāgīr, does not seem to mark an old site.

A short distance to the north of Rāmuh rises an alluvial plateau which is crossed by the road to S'rīnagar. It is known as *Gūs Uḍar* and takes its name from the village of *Gūs* situated at its eastern foot, about two miles from Rāmuh. The place is mentioned as GUSIKĀ in S'rīvara's Chronicle, which also knows the plateau by the name *Gusikoḍḍāra*.[39] At the other end of Chrāṭh towards the Vitastā lies the large village of *Ratanpōr*, 75° 1′ long. 33° 55′ lat., which in all probability represents the RATNĀPURA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[40] The latter was founded in Kalhaṇa's time by Queen Ratnādevī, who also constructed there a fine Maṭha.

With Chrāṭh may be mentioned two localities on the left bank of the Vitastā, though in recent times they were counted with the riverain Pargaṇa of Sāiru-l-mawāzi' Bālā. *Gūr'pūr*, a small village opposite to the foot of Mount Vast*rvan, is identified by an old gloss with the GOPĀLAPURA which according to Kalhaṇa was founded by Queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904-6).[41]

Lower down on the river is the large village Kāk*pōr which forms as it were the riverside station or port for S'upiyan. A note from the hand of Paṇḍit Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha who wrote the codex archetypus of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, identifies UTPALAPURA with Kāk*pōr.[42] Utpalapura was founded by Utpala, an uncle of King Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa, in the early part of the ninth century. If this identification is correct, one of the ruined temples extant at Kāk*pōr and noticed already by Cunningham, may be the shrine of Viṣṇu *Utpalasvāmin* mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the foundation of Utpalapura. Jonarāja also knows the latter place and records a late restoration of its Viṣṇu temple.[43]

District of *Nāgrāma*.

119. North of Chrāṭh we come to the district of *Nāgām*, which is one of considerable extent. Its old name NĀGRĀMA is often mentioned in the later Chronicles.[44] The only old locality which I can trace in it, is the village of *Ār'gōm*, situated 74° 45′ long. 33° 56′ lat. It is the HĀḌIGRĀMA of Kalhaṇa, mentioned as an Agrahāra of Gopāditya and as the scene of several fights in the Chronicler's own time.[45] Some remains of old buildings are reported to exist at the place; I have not seen it myself.

About five miles due south of Ār'gōm we find a small lake known as Nīl*nāg, situated in a valley between low spurs descending from the Pīr Pantsāl range. It seems to have been formed by an old land-slip which blocked a narrow defile in the valley. This lake does not appear ever to have enjoyed any particular sanctity.

[38] See *Report*, p. 7 and my note ii. 55. Modial *ṣ* becomes in Kś. regularly *h*: comp. *Katimuṣa* > *Kaimuh*.

[39] *S'rīv.* iv. 582, 465, 592 sqq. *-uḍḍāra* is the Skr. original of the Kś. term *uḍar*; see note viii. 1427.

[40] See viii. 2434.

[41] See note v. 244.

[42] See note iv. 695. Ratnakaṇṭha's note is in a copy of the *Kṣetrapālapaddhati* seen by me in 1895 in the possession of Paṇḍit Jaganmohan, Hund, at Lahore.

[43] See *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 111 sqq., 369, 1142.

[44] Compare *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 661; *S'rīv.* ii. 10; iii. 24, 430; iv. 349; Fourth Chron. 256, etc.

[45] See note i. 340. The old glossator on this passage renders Hāḍigrāma correctly by *Āḍegrām*.

But Abū-l-Fazl, by some curious misapprehension, transfers to it the legends of the famous Nīlanāga (at Vērnāg). He adds to them what appears like a garbled version of the story of the city submerged in the Mahāpadma or Volur lake.[46]

District of *Ikṣikā*.

Nāgām is adjoined on the north by the Pargaṇa of *Yech* which extends to the immediate vicinity of S'rīnagar. Its old name is given as IKṢIKĀ by S'rīvara.[47] In the centre of the tract lies an arid alluvial plateau known as *Dām*ᵃ*dar Uḍar*, where an ancient popular tradition surviving to the present day has localized the legend of King *Dāmodara*.

Dāmodara's Uḍar.

The story as related by Kalhaṇa, represents the king as having built a town on the Uḍar, which latter was called after him DĀMODARASŪDA.[48] In order to bring water to it he had a great dam, called GUDDASETU, constructed by supernatural agency. Once hungry Brahmans asked the king for food just as he was going to bathe. The king refused to comply with their request until he had taken his bath. The Brahmans thereupon cursed him so that he became a snake. Ever since, the unfortunate king is seen by people in the form of a snake "rushing about in search of water far and wide on the Dāmodarasūda." He is not to be delivered from the curse until he hears the whole Rāmāyaṇa recited to him in a single day, a task which renders his release hopeless.

The modern name 'Dām*dar Uḍar' is the exact equivalent of Kalhaṇa's *Dāmodarasūda*, the old Skr. term *sūda* meaning a 'place where the soil is barren.' The local name Guddasetu still lives in that of the small village *Guḍ*ᵃ*suth*, situated at the south foot of the Uḍar. Just at this point the latter shows its greatest relative elevation and falls off towards the valley with a steep bank over one hundred feet high. The wall-like appearance of this cliff probably suggested the story of an embankment which was to bring water to the plateau. In view of the configuration of the ground no serious attempt at irrigation by means of an aqueduct could ever have been made in this locality.

The Uḍar extends for about six miles from the village of Vahᵃtōr in a north-westerly direction. with a breadth varying from two to three miles. It bears scanty crops of Indian corn only in patches. Being entirely devoid of water it is a dry and barren waste, a haunt of jackals as in the days when King Kṣemagupta hunted over the '*Dāmodarāraṇya*.'[49] The main features of the legend regarding it are well known to popular tradition throughout Kaśmīr. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages also point to a spot on the Uḍar known as *Sat*ᵃ*rās Tēng*, as the site of Dāmodara's palace. A spring called Dāmodar Nāg in the village of Lalgām, is believed to have served for the king's ablutions.

To Yech belongs also the small village of *Somar*ᵃ*bug* on the left bank of the Vitastā, which according to the note of the old glossator A, marks the site of the temple of Viṣṇu SAMARASVĀMIN mentioned by Kalhaṇa.[50] Another old locality in Yech is probably marked by the hamlet of *Hal*ᵃ*thal* to which Abū-l-Fazl refers. It is not shown on the survey map, and I have not been able to ascertain its exact

[46] Compare *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 363. It is possible that of the two Nīlanāgas which the Nīlamata, 903, mentions besides the famous spring of that name, one was located in the Nāgām lake.

[47] *S'rīv.* iii. 25.

[48] Compare for detailed references, above, note i. 156.

[49] Compare vi. 183.

[50] See note v. 25. The ending *-bug* is not rare in Kaśmīr village names. According to Paṇḍit tradition it is derived from Skr. *bhoga* in the sense of 'property granted for the usufruct [of a temple].'

position. Hal°thal is evidently a derivative of S'ĀLĀSTHALA, the name given by Kalhaṇa to a locality where a fight took place in the time of King Ananta.[61] Abū-l-Fazl mentions 'Halthal' for its quivering tree. "If the smallest branch of it be shaken, the whole tree becomes tremulous."

SECTION VIII.—THE SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF KRAMARĀJYA.

District of Dūnts.

120. To the west of Yech, but also reaching close to the capital, lies the Pargaṇa now called *Dūnts* (map 'Doonsoo'). Its ancient name is uncertain; possibly the *Dvāviṁśati* in the Lokaprakāśa's list of 'Viṣayas' is intended for it. In Abū-l-Fazl's table of Pargaṇas Dūnts ('Dūnsū') is already counted with Kamrāz. An old locality in it is *S'īl'pōr*, a large village situated circ. 74° 45' long. 34° 1' lat. (map 'Shalipoor'). We may safely recognize in it the SELYAPURA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which is referred to as a place on the direct route from the Tōṣ°maidān Pass and the Kārkoṭadraṅga to S'rīnagar.[1] *Hukh°lit°r* (map 'Haklitri') can safely be identified in view of the name and the evidence of an old gloss with S'UṢKALETRA mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī as a place where Stūpas were erected by King Aśoka.[2] I have not visited the village myself, and am hence unable to say whether there are any remains in the vicinity which could be attributed to Stūpas. Kalhaṇa locates at S'uṣkaletra the fierce battle by which King Jayāpīḍa recovered his kingdom.

District of *Bahurūpa*.

West of Dūnts and towards the mountains of the Pīr Pantsāl lies the Pargaṇa of *Bīru*. Its old designation BAHURŪPA is derived from the spring of that name which is situated at the present village of Bīru, 74° 39' long. 34° 1' lat., and is referred to as a Tīrtha already in the Nīlamata.[3] Abū-l-Fazl knows the village and spring by an intermediate form of the name, *Bīruwā*, and mentions the miraculous power of the spring to heal leprosy.[4] Close to the village of Bīru is *Sun°pāh* in which we may, with the old glossator of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, recognize SUVARṆAPĀRŚVA, an Agrahāra of Lalitāditya.[5]

About four miles to the south-west of Bīru we reach *Khāg*, a considerable place, which is undoubtedly the KHAGI or KHĀGIKĀ mentioned by Kalhaṇa as an Agrahāra both of Khagendra and of Gopāditya.[6] Some miles north of Khāg an isolated spur known as *Pōṣkar* projects from the slopes of the Pīr Pantsāl range into the plain. At its eastern foot is the *Puṣkaranāga*, referred to as a Tīrtha in the Nīlamata and several old Māhātmyas and still the object of a regular pilgrimage.[7] Of the route which leads down from the Tōṣ°maidān Pass into Bīru, and of KĀRKOṬADRAṄGA, the old watch-station on it, we have already spoken above.

[61] See note vii. 159; *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 363.

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[1] See note vii. 494; viii. 200.

[2] Compare notes i. 102; iv. 473. Kś *Hukh°lit°r* is the direct phonetic derivative of the Skr. form.

[3] See *Nīlamata*, 948, 1180, 1341 sq. The name Bahurūpa is given to the tract by *Jonar*. (Bo. ed.), 286, 840; *S'rīv.* ii. 19; iii. 159; iv. 620.

[4] *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 363.

[5] See iv. 673.

[6] Compare i. 90, 340.

[7] See *Nīlamata*, 1021, 1347.

There were several other Puṣkaratīrthas in Kaśmīr. One was connected with the Sureśvarī pilgrimage and probably situated in Phākh; see *S'arvāv.* v. 56 sqq.

District of Māñch°hōm.

Bīru and Dūnts are adjoined on the north by the Pargaṇa of *Māñch°hōm* which extends eastwards as far as the Vitastā. It is probably intended by the name of *Mākṣāśrama* found in a single passage of S'rīvara and of the Lokaprakāśa.[8] The village of *Raṭ°sun*, situated 74° 38′ long. 34° 4′ lat., is probably, as indicated by an old gloss, the ARIṢṬOTSĀDANA of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[9] From the latter form the modern name of the village can be derived without difficulty. A temple is said to have been erected there by a queen of Bālāditya.

On the Vitastā, some six miles below S'rīnagar, is the small village of *Malur* which, on the authority of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, may be identified with MALHĀṆAPURA, a foundation of King Jayāpīḍa.[10] *Zain°kōṭh*, situated near marshy ground about two miles south-east of it, preserves the name of Zainu-l-'ābidīn, its founder, and is mentioned as JAINAKOṬṬA by Jonarāja.[11]

Site of *Parihāsapura*.

121. The Pargaṇa of *Par°spōr* (map 'Paraspoor'), which lies next to Māñch°hōm, is one of small extent, but contains a site of great historical interest. It has received its name from the ancient PARIHĀSAPURA which King Lalitāditya had built as his capital.[12] The identity of the names *Par°spōr* and *Parihāsapura* is evident on phonetic grounds, and was well known to the authors of the Persian abstracts of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Yet curiously enough the site of Parihāsapura had remained unidentified until I visited the spot in 1892 and traced the ruins of Lalitāditya's great structures as described by Kalhaṇa on the plateau known as the 'Par°spōr Uḍar.'

This plateau rises south-east of Shād'pūr, between the marshes of Panz'nōr on the east and those of Hār°traṭh on the west. Its length is about two miles from north to south and its greatest breadth not much over a mile. On the north this plateau is separated from the higher ground of Trigām by the Badrihēl Nāla which, as I have shown above, represents the old bed of the Vitastā previous to Suyya's regulation. On the other sides it is surrounded by marshes which for a great part of the year are still accessible by boats. Its general elevation is about one hundred feet.

Ruins of *Parihāsapura*.

A broad ravine which cuts into the plateau from the south and in which the village of *Divar* (map 'Diara') nestles, divides it into two parts. On the south-western portion are the ruins of two large temples, much decayed, but still showing dimensions which considerably exceed those of the great temple of Mārtāṇḍa. On that part of the Uḍar which lies to the north-east and towards the Badrihēl Nāla, there is a whole series of ruined structures. Among these three great buildings attract attention. At some distance from this group of ruins there is another smaller one, at the south-eastern extremity of the plateau now known as *Gurdan*.

I must refer for a detailed account of these ruins and their relative position to Note *F* (iv. 194-204). Here it will suffice to point out that the four great temples of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava, Muktākeśava, Mahāvarāha, and Govardhanadhara as well as the Rājavihāra, with its colossal image of Buddha, which Kalhaṇa mentions as Lalitāditya's chief structures at Parihāsapura, must all be looked for among these ruins. Their extremely decayed condition makes an attempt at detailed identification difficult.

[8] See *S'rīv.* iv. 351.
[9] iii. 482.
[10] Compare iv. 484.
[11] *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1248.
[12] For a detailed account of the site of Parihāsapura and its identification compare Note *F*, iv. 194-204. The large scale map of 'Parihāsapura and the Confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu' shows the position of the several ruins in detail.

Still less we can hope to trace now the position of the numerous shrines, Lingas, Vihāras, etc., which are mentioned by Kalhaṇa as having been erected at the king's favourite residence by his queens and court.[13] One of the great ruins of the northern group shows features characteristic of a Vihāra and may be the *Rājavihāra*. Some clue is also furnished by the name *Gurdan* attaching to the isolated ruins above mentioned. Gurdan is the common Kaśmīrī form of the name *Govardhana*, and hence points to these ruins being the remains of the temple called GOVARDHANADHARA.

Later history of Parihāsapura.

The state of utter destruction in which the ruins of Parihāsapura are now found, is easily accounted for by the history of the site. Parihāsapura ceased to be the royal residence already under the son of its founder.[14] When a century later King Avantivarman effected his great regulation of the Vitastā, the bed of the river and its junction with the Sindhu was diverted to Shād'pūr, nearly three miles away from Parihāsapura.[15] This change must have still more seriously diminished the importance of the latter. The ruinous condition into which Parihāsapura must have fallen only one and a half centuries after its foundation, is shown by the fact that S'aṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) carried away from it materials for the construction of his new town and temples at Pattana (Paṭan).[16]

Some of the shrines of Parihāsapura, however, survived to a later period, and a great festival established here by Lalitāditya seems to have been held still in Kalhaṇa's time.[17] In the rising which led to the downfall of Harṣa, Parihāsapura was occupied by the pretender Uccala.[18] The steep slopes of the plateau and the marshes around made it a position of military value. When Uccala had suffered a defeat some of the routed rebels threw themselves into the Rājavihāra, which was subsequently burned down. After this Harṣa carried away and broke up the famous silver statue of Viṣṇu which had been placed by Lalitāditya in the temple of Parihāsakeśava.

The final destruction of the temples is attributed by Abū-l-Faẓl and the Muhammadan chroniclers to Sikandar Būtshikast. The former records the tradition that after the destruction of the lofty temple of 'Paraspūr' a copper tablet with a Sanskrit inscription was discovered which predicted its destruction 'after the lapse of eleven hundred years' by one Sikandar.[19] This prophecy, *post factum*, shows that its author, whoever he may have been, was rather weak in historical chronology. Parihāsapura had been founded only about six and a half centuries before Sikandar Būtshikast's time.[20] At the beginning of the eighteenth century the ruins seem still to have been in a somewhat better condition than now. Both Muḥammad Aẓīm and Nārāyaṇ Kaul mention them and speak particularly of fragments of a large monolithic column. Tradition seems to have connected these fragments with the pillar of Garuḍa which Kalhaṇa mentions as having been set

[13] See iv. 207-216.

[14] iv. 395.

[15] See above, § 70.

[16] See v. 161.

[17] See iv. 242 sq. For the Rāmasvāmin temple seen empty in Kalhaṇa's time, compare iv. 275, 334 sq.

[18] vii. 1326 sqq.

[19] See *Āīn-i Akb.*, p. 364.

[20] Exactly the same tradition is now current among the Purohitas of Vij'brōr about the destruction of the Vijayeśvara image. This alleged inscription is said to have run: *Ekādaśaśataṁ varṣaṁ Sikendaramahābala | bismilla iti mantreṇa naśyante Vijayeśvarāḥ ||*. The curious Sanskrit of this doggrel is an indication that its author may probably have belonged himself to the noble guild of the Bāchbaṭṭas.

up by Lalitāditya.[21] The huge square block of stone still visible on the top of the northernmost mound is perhaps one of them.

Trigrāmī.

122. We have already above when describing the old bed of the Vitastā near Parihāsapura, had occasion to refer to the village of *Trigām*, the ancient TRIGRĀMĪ. It lies about one and a half miles to the north-east of the Parᵃspōr ruins.. It is mentioned already in Lalitāditya's time in connection with an affray which took place at Parihāsapura.[22] The *Bōnᵃsar* (*Bhavanasaras ?) lake to the west of Trigām is visited as a Tīrtha in connection with the Kapālamocana pilgrimage. The ruined temple south of Trigām which I believe may be identified with the VAINYASVĀMIN temple, has already been mentioned in our remarks on the site of the old confluence.

Phalapura.

A ruined site which lies opposite to Vainyasvāmin on the western side of the Trigām swamp may, for reasons set forth elsewhere, be taken for the old *Viṣṇusvāmin* temple.[23] This is named by Kalhaṇa as having been situated opposite to the Vainyasvāmin shrine on the other side of the old confluence. The passage of the Chronicle describes the temple of Viṣṇusvāmin as belonging already to Phalapura, while Vainyasvāmin was counted with Parihāsapura. From this and some other indications I conclude that PHALAPURA was the designation of a small territorial subdivision which probably extended along the present left bank of the Vitastā near Shādᵘpūr.[24] The site at which I locate the Viṣṇusvāmin temple was included in recent times in the riverain Pargaṇa of Sāiru-l-mawāzi' Pāyīn (map 'Salimozapaieen'). This, we know from Abū-l-Fazl, was created already before Akbar's time and probably absorbed Phalapura as well as other minor tracts.[25] Phalapura had received its designation from a locality of that name which Lalitāditya had founded apparently before Parihāsapura,[26] just as the latter gave its name to the Parᵃspōr Pargaṇa.

Jayapura.

Descending by the left bank of the Vitastā for about five miles below Shādᵘpūr we approach the site of King Jayāpīḍa's capital, the ancient JAYAPURA.[27] It is marked by the present village of *Andᵃrkōṭh*. This consists of two distinct parts. One lies on an island in the marshes opposite Sambal, and the other facing the former on the strip of land separating these marshes from the Vitastā. On the island there are conspicuous remains of ancient temples which have been first examined and described by Prof. Bühler.[28] They are attributed by the local tradition to King 'Jayāpiḍ.' The identity of Andᵃrkōṭh with King Jayāpīḍa's town is well known also to the S'rīnagar Paṇḍits. As S'rīvara still uses the term Jayapura or Jayāpīḍapura for the designation of the present Andᵃrkoṭh, we can easily understand the survival of the tradition.

Kalhaṇa's description of the town indicates clearly the situation of the latter and also accounts for its modern name. Jayāpīḍa, according to this notice, had the castle (*koṭṭa*) of Jayapura built in the middle of a lake, after having the ground required for it filled up, as the legend asserts, by the help of Rākṣasas. There

[21] Compare WILSON, *Essay*, p. 50; also footnote 16 to Note *F*.

[22] See iv. 323 sqq.

[23] Compare Note *I*, v. 97-100, § 12.

[24] See Note *I*, § 13.

[25] See *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 367.

[26] Compare iv. 184, 673.

[27] For details as to the position of the twin towns Jayapura-Dvāravatī, see note iv. 506-511. The map of Parihāsapura shows the site on a larger scale.

[28] See *Report*, pp. 13 sqq. where the topography and ruins of Andᵃrkōṭh are described in detail. General Cunningham had already heard of the identity of Andᵃrkōṭh with Jayāpīḍa's town, but he does not seem to have visited the place; *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 101.

he constructed a large Vihāra with Buddha images, a temple of Keśava (Viṣṇu) and several other shrines. Other sacred structures were erected by his ministers. Besides Jayapura the king built on ground recovered from the lake, another place called DVĀRAVATĪ in imitation of Kṛṣṇa's famous town by the sea-shore. Kalhaṇa notes that in his own time Jayapura was popularly designated as the 'Inner Castle' (*abhyantara koṭṭa*) while Dvāravatī was known as the 'Outer Castle' (*bāhya koṭṭa*).

Dvāravati.

The present name Andᵊrkōṭh (from Skr. **Antarakoṭṭa*) is the direct derivative of this popular designation of Jayapura. It has in the course of time been extended also to the site on which originally Dvāravatī stood. In my note on the passage I have shown that Jayapura must be identified with the island portion of Andᵊrkōṭh, while the remains in that part of the village which lies on the lake shore opposite, belong to Dvāravatī. These remains are far less extensive than those on the island. This is in full agreement with the fact that Kalhaṇa mentions great religious buildings only in Jayapura and not in Dvāravatī. The latter is, indeed, referred to only in connection with the foundation of Jayapura and does not appear to have ever been a place of importance. We can thus understand why its original name Dvāravatī and its subsequent designation 'Outer Castle' have both completely disappeared. The distance between the island and the opposite lake shore being only about four hundred yards at the narrowest point, the name of the far more important 'Inner Castle' was naturally extended also to this outlying suburb.

Position of *Jayapura.*

The term *koṭṭa* which Kalhaṇa repeatedly applies to Jayapura, and which is contained also in its popular designation, is justified by its position surrounded on all sides by water.[29] The limited extent of the island precludes the belief of Jayapura ever having been a populous place. But it retained a certain importance far longer than Parihāsapura and served occasionally as a royal residence even in late times. To it retired Queen Koṭā, the last of the Hindu rulers of Kaśmīr, and there she was murdered by her husband, the adventurer Shāhmīr (A.D. 1339).[30] Zainu-l-'ābidīn restored the town which had fallen into decay, and built there a new palace on the lake-shore.[31]

We have no distinct information as to the old course which the Vitastā followed in the neighbourhood of Jayapura previous to Avantivarman's regulation. If our explanations on the subject as above indicated are right, the main channel of the river must have then passed through the marshes west of Jayapura. Notwithstanding the change subsequently effected, Jayāpīḍa's town did not lose its convenient access to river communication. The great canal known as *Nōr* which as we saw, is in reality nothing but an old river-bed, lies only a short distance to the south-west of Andᵊrkōṭh. A branch of it which is much used by boats even at the present day though not shown on the map, still passes actually along the old Ghāṭs on the south side of the Andᵊrkōṭh island. It seems probable that Jayapura owed its preservation from the fate of Parihāsapura in part at least to the retention of a convenient waterway. In Abū-l-Fazl's time Andᵊrkōṭh gave its name to a separate small Pargana.

District of *Bhāṅgila.*

123. From the marshy tracts south of the Volur which we have approached at Andᵊrkōṭh we may return once more to Parᵊspōr. Crossing the swamps formed

[29] iv. 506, 512; vii. 1625. S'rīvara, iv. 540, 545, uses the expression *durga*, 'fort.'

[30] See *Jonar.* 300.

[31] See *S'rīv.* i. 250 sqq.

west of the Parᵉspōr plateau by the Sukhnāg and other hill streams, we come to the considerable district of *Bāngil.* It is often referred in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the other Chronicles by its ancient name of BHĀṄGILA.[33] No old localities belonging to it are mentioned in our texts unless we may count with Bāngil the closely adjacent *Paṭan* situated on the shore of the Pambasar marsh, circ. 74° 37′ long. 34° 10′ lat.

S'aṁkarapura-Pattana.

This large village occupies the site chosen by King S'aṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) for the town which was to bear his name.[33] Kalhaṇa, however, informs us that *S'aṁkarapura* "subsequently lost its proper appellation and became known only by the name PATTANA, 'the town.'"[34] This somewhat general designation still survives in the present *Paṭan.* Kalhaṇa sees in this disappearance of the original appellation the just retribution of fate for the king's cruelty and other bad qualities. Yet the old name must have long lingered on by the side of the popular 'Pattana.' For Kṣemendra mentions S'aṁkarapura, and Kalhaṇa himself speaks of the 'town of S'aṁkaravarman' when subsequently referring to events of his own time.[35] Paṇdit tradition, too, has retained a recollection of the founder of Pattana and its original name.

S'aṁkaravarman is said to have carried off "whatever was of value at Parihāsapura" in order to raise the fame of his own town. At the same time Kalhaṇa plainly tells us that "what gave fame to that town was only what is still to be found at Pattana—manufacture of woollen cloths, trade in cattle and the like."[36]

The only ancient remains of any pretension which can now be found at Paṭan, are, in fact, the ruins of the two temples which were erected there by S'aṁkaravarman and his queen Sugandhā.[37] These shrines which bore the names of S'aṁkaragaurīśa and Sugandheśa, are structures of no great dimensions and are without the fine quadrangular courts which enclose all more important Kaśmīrian temples. They have been fully described by General Cunningham and others. Kalhaṇa, when mentioning these buildings, ironically alludes to kings who, like bad poets, take the materials for their works from others' property. This combined with the immediately following mention of S'aṁkaravarman's exploitation of Parihāsapura makes it probable that the building materials for these very temples were taken from the ruins of Parihāsapura. This could have easily been done owing to the convenient water-route offered by the marshes which stretch between Parᵉspōr and Paṭan—a distance of only seven miles.

Though S'aṁkarapura owed thus to its founder but little that could secure distinction, yet the site he had chosen for it was one likely to retain some importance. Paṭan still lies on the direct road between S'rīnagar and Bārāmūla, reckoned at two daily marches, and has probably always just as now been the half-way station between the two places. Considering that Bārāmūla is the starting-point of the route to the west, traffic and trade were thus sure to be attracted to S'aṁkaravarman's town. We find it referred to as a local centre still in Kalhaṇa's time, and it has remained to the present day a large and thriving place.

Paṭan figures as a separate Pargaṇa in Abū-l-Faẓl's list. A popular tradition has it that when Tōdar Mal, Akbar's minister, was arranging for the redistribution

[32] See note vii. 498.
[33] See note v. 156.
[34] Compare v. 213.
[35] Compare *Samay.* ii. 13; *Rājat.* viii. 2488 3130.
[36] v. 161 sq.
[37] Compare note v. 158.

of Parganas, he inadvertently omitted the Paṭan village at which he was just then encamped. To remedy the mistake Paṭan with its immediate vicinity was made into an additional Pargaṇa.[38] However this may be, we find Paṭan subsequently named as the chief place of the Tilᵃgām Pargaṇa.[39] At the last settlement it became the headquarters of one of the new Tahsīls.

The Pambasar lake which stretches to the east of Paṭan as far as the 'Gond Ibrahim' and 'Ādin River' of the map, is referred to by Kalhaṇa under the name of Pampāsaras. King Harṣa seems to have extended or regulated it.[40] The Karēwa ground to the west of Paṭan with the valleys which intersect it, forms the Pargaṇa of Tilᵃgām. It is mentioned in the Fourth Chronicle, 780, by the name of Tailagrāma.

Pratāpapura.

About four miles to the north-west of Paṭan and on the high road to Bārāmūla lies *Tāpar*, a considerable village. On the evidence of an old gloss and several passages of the Chronicles it can be safely identified with the ancient Pratāpapura.[41] The latter was founded by King Pratāpāditya-Durlabhaka, the father of Lalitāditya, probably in the second half of the seventh century. Remains of old temples were extant at Tāpar till a few years ago.

District of Kruhin.

124. The district through which the Vitastā flows immediately before leaving the Valley, bears now the name of *Kruhin*. The ancient form of this name is unknown unless the Lokaprakāśa's 'Krodhanaviṣaya' may be connected with the tract. Kruhin extends along both sides of the river, but its greatest portion lies on the left bank.

Kaniṣkapura.

Proceeding on the road towards Bārāmūla and at a distance of about six miles from the latter place, we pass on our right the village of *Kānispōr*. It is identified by an old glossator of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and by the Persian Chroniclers with the ancient Kaniṣkapura. The latter is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a town founded by the Turuṣka king Kaniṣka,[42] whom we know as the great Indo-Scythian or Kuṣana ruler from the coins, inscriptions, and the Buddhist tradition. There are no conspicuous remains above ground at Kānispōr, but ancient coins and carved stones are occasionally extracted from an old mound near the village.

We have already had occasion to speak of the important position occupied by the ancient twin towns Huṣkapura and Varāhamūla. Built on the banks of the Vitastā, immediately above the gorge through which the river leaves the Valley, they form the starting-point on the great route of communication to the west. It is unnecessary to refer here again to the commercial and other advantages which have made this site one of great importance from ancient times to the present day.

Varāhamūla.

Varāhamūla, situated on the right river-bank, has left its name to the present town of *Varahmul*, usually called *Bārāmūla* by Panjābīs and other foreigners.[43] The name Varāhamūla or Vārāhamūla—both forms occur in our texts—is itself derived from the ancient Tīrtha of Viṣṇu Ādi-Varāha, who was worshipped here evidently since early times. From it the site of the town and its old neighbourhood received also the designation of *Varāhakṣetra*. Various legends related at

[38] See Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 2.

[39] See Moorcroft, ii. p. 113; Vigne, ii. p. 108.

[40] See note vii. 940.

[41] Compare note iv. 10.

[42] Compare note i. 168. General Cunningham's suggested identification of Kaniṣkapura with 'Kāmpōr,' on the road from S'rīnagar to S'upiyan, is untenable. The place is really called *Khāmpōr* and has no ancient remains whatever.

[43] For detailed references regarding *Varāhamūla* and *Varāhakṣetra*, see note vi. 186.

length in the Varāhakṣetramāhātmya and often alluded to in the Nīlamata and the other Māhātmyas, connect this sacred site and the Tīrthas of the immediate neighbourhood with the Varāha or Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. An abstract of these legends as well as an accurate description of the scanty remains of ancient date to be found at the several Tīrthas has been given by Prof. Bühler.[44]

The ancient temple of Varāha which seems to have been one of the most famous shrines of Kaśmīr, is repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa. According to the tradition of the local Purohitas it stood near the site of the present *Koṭitīrtha*, at the western extremity of the town and close to the river-bank. Some ancient Liṅgas and sculptures found at the Koṭitīrtha may have originally belonged to the temple. The destruction of its sacred image is noted by Jonarāja in the reign of Sikandar Būtshikast.[45] A short distance below this site where a steep spur runs down to the river-bed, stood the ancient watch-station, still known as *Drang*, which has already been described. A bridge over the Vitastā existed at Varāhamūla already in old times.[46] It cannot be doubted that Varāhamūla is a very ancient place. It enjoys the advantage of being on the right river-bank, which is followed by the old route down the Vitastā Valley. But on the other hand, the contracted nature of the ground which it occupies between the hillside and the river, did not favour the development of a large town. On this account we find that the twin town of Huṣkapura built on the open plain of the opposite bank was in ancient times the larger of the two places.

Huṣkapura.

HUṢKAPURA is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the town built by King Huṣka, the Turuṣka, and is often referred to in this subsequent narrative.[47] Its name survives in that of the small village of *Uṣkür*, situated about two miles to the south-east of the present Bārāmūla. The identity of Uṣkür and Huṣkapura, correctly noted already by General Cunningham,[48] is well known to S'rīnagar Paṇḍits and is indicated also by an old glossator of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Kalhaṇa in one passage distinctly includes Huṣkapura within Varāhakṣetra, i.e. the sacred environs of the Varāha Tīrtha,[49] and the same location is implied by numerous other references in the Chronicle. The King Huṣka of the Rājataraṅgiṇī has long ago been identified with the Indo-Scythian ruler who succeeded Kaniṣka, the Huviṣka of the inscriptions and the OOHÞKI of the coins. The foundation of Huṣkapura falls thus within the first or second century of our era. Hiuen Tsiang, as we saw, spent his first night after passing through 'the western entrance of the kingdom,' in a convent of *Hu-se-kia-lo* or Huṣkapura. Albērūnī, too, knows 'Ushkārā' opposite to Bārāmūla.

Kalhaṇa mentions Huṣkapura far more frequently than Varāhamūla. The conclusion to be drawn herefrom as to the relative importance of the two places in Hindu times is confirmed by the frequent references which the Chronicle makes to religious buildings erected in Huṣkapura. Of King Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa it is recorded that he built there the great temple of Viṣṇu Muktasvāmin and a large Vihāra with a Stūpa.[50] Kṣemagupta who sought the sacred soil of Vārāhakṣetra in his fatal illness, had founded two Maṭhas at Huṣkapura.[51] At present foundations of ancient buildings can be traced at numerous points of the plain which stretches from the left river-bank towards the low hills behind Uṣkür. These

[44] See *Report*, pp. 11 sqq.
[45] Compare *Jonar.* 600.
[46] See viii. 413.
[47] For detailed references as to Huṣkapura: Uṣkür, see note i. 168.
[48] See *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 99 sqq.
[49] See vi. 186.
[50] See iv. 188.
[51] vi. 186.

remains as well as two colossal Liṅgas still *in situ* have already been noted by Bishop Cowie.[52]

Stūpa at Uṣkür.

About four hundred yards to the west of the village are the much damaged remains of a Stūpa, which had been found still intact by Bishop Cowie and photographed in that condition by Major Cole (1870). Subsequently it was dug into and partly levelled down 'by some Ṣāhib's order,' as the villagers told me. Of this excavation I have not been able to trace a report. But General Cunningham refers to an ancient coin of the Taxila type which was found in this Stūpa and had come into his possession.[53] It is possible that this Stūpa was identical with the one which King Lalitāditya erected at Huṣkapura. Of the Vihāra which Kalhaṇa mentions in connection with the king's Stūpa, I have shown elsewhere that it was in all probability the same convent which Ou-k'ong refers to under the name of *Moung-ti* Vihāra.[54] The *Moung-ti* of the Chinese transcription seems to represent a prakritized form of the shortened name *Mukta* or *Muktū*. The latter forms, which are abbreviations (bhīmavat) for Muktāpīḍa, occur also in the designations of other religious buildings erected by that king (Muktākeśava, Muktasvāmin).

As we do not meet with the name of Huṣkapura in any of the later Chronicles it may be assumed that its importance did not survive the time of Hindu rule.

SECTION IX.—NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF KRAMARĀJYA.

125. The ancient localities in the Vitastā Valley below Varāhamūla have been noted by us already in connection with the route which leads through it. We may therefore proceed now to those Parganas of the old Kramarājya which lie to the north of the river and the Volur lake.

District of *S'amālā*.

The district which adjoins Kruhin in this direction, is known as *Hamal* (map 'Hummel'). Its ancient name was S'AMĀLĀ from which the former designation is the direct phonetic derivative.[1] S'amālā is very frequently mentioned in the last two Books of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, particularly on account of its feudal chiefs or Dāmaras who played a prominent part in all the civil wars of the later reigns. The pretender Bhikṣācara in particular, had his most powerful adherents in S'amālā and often took refuge with them. The village of VANAGRĀMA which is mentioned on one of these occasions, is probably identical with the present Vangām, situated circ. 74° 25′ long. 34° 19′ lat.[2] *Kākaruha*, another place in S'amālā, referred to in connection with Bhikṣācara's campaigns, can no longer be traced.

Tīrtha of *Svayambhū*.

To the north of Hamal we reach the Pargaṇa of Mach'pūr (map 'Mochipoora'). Its ancient name is nowhere mentioned. In it lies the sacred site of SVAYAMBHŪ which owing to the apparently volcanic phenomenon there observed, has from early times been renowned as a Tīrtha. Kalhaṇa in his introduction duly notes the 'Self-created Fire' (*Svayambhū*), which "rising from the womb of the earth, receives with numerous arms of flame the offerings of the sacrificers."[3]

[52] See *J.A.S.B.*, 1866, p. 123.
[53] See *Coins of Anc. India*, p. 62.
[54] Compare note iv. 188, also *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 5 sqq.

[1] See note vii. 159.
[2] See viii. 1438.
[3] See i. 34, and for further references the note thereon.

The spot meant is still known as *Svayaṁbhū* or to the villagers as *Suyam.* It lies on a low ridge about half a mile south-west of the village of Nichᵃhōm (not shown on map) and about one and a half miles north of Tsakᵃvaḍar (map 'Sheikwadda'). Visiting it in 1892 I found there in a shallow hollow the soil bright red like burned clay and furrowed by narrow fissures. In certain years steam has been known to issue from these fissures. The ground then becomes sufficiently hot to boil the S'rāddha offerings of the pilgrims who at such times flock to the site in great numbers. The phenomenon which may be either truly volcanic or, according to a modern authority, be caused by hidden seams of coal taking fire, was last observed in the year 1876. Occurrences at the beginning of the present century are referred to by Mr. Vigne and Dr. Falconer.[4] Abū-l-Faẓl, too, mentions the phenomenon at 'Soyam.'[5] Considering the rarity of the occasions when this manifestation of the 'Self-created Fire' is observed and the pilgrimage performed, the total absence of ancient remains around cannot surprise us. There is, however, a Māhātmya of the Tīrtha, and the latter is also referred to in the Nīlamata.

Varhaṭacakra.

A pilgrimage which King Uccala (A.D. 1101-11) made to Svayaṁbhū, gives Kalhaṇa occasion to acquaint us with some localities of the neighbourhood.[6] The king who was stopping in Kramarājya, is said to have started for the village of VARHAṬACAKRA with a small retinue to see there the miracle. On his way which took him past the village of KAMBALEŚVARA, he was set upon in a deep mountain gorge by robbers from whom he escaped only with difficulty. I believe the places mentioned in connection with this adventure can still be identified without difficulty. Varhaṭacakra is probably the present Tsakᵃvaḍar, *Tsakᵃ* being the ordinary Kś. form for Skr. *cakra* and *vaḍar*, the phonetic derivative of *Varhaṭa.*[7] Cases of village names in which the two component parts being originally distinct names can alternate in their position, are by no means unfrequent in Kaśmīr. Thus we have now Dārā-Sādᵃpōr and Sādᵃpōr-Dārā, etc.

Kambaleśvara.

In Kambaleśvara we may safely recognize the present village of *Krambhar,* situated about six miles north-east of Svayaṁbhū; for the ending *-har* as the derivative of Skr. *-eśvara* compare Triphar > Tripureśvara, etc.[8] The way from Krambhar to Svayaṁbhū leads through the valley of the Panjtar stream. The latter, as I convinced myself by personal inspection on a tour in 1892, passes above Rājpōr through a narrow and thickly-wooded gorge. The path following the tortuous course of the stream at the bottom of the gorge offers excellent opportunities for an ambuscade such as described by Kalhaṇa.

Badᵃrkāl, a small village about four miles south-east of Krambhar, has a small local Tīrtha marked by a spring and some old Liṅgas. It is visited on the pilgrimage to Svayaṁbhū and mentioned by the name of BHADRAKĀLĪ in the Māhātmya of the latter.

District of Uttara.

126. The Pargaṇa of Uttar stretching along the foot of the range towards the Kiṣangaṅgā, forms the extreme north-west of the Kaśmīr Valley. A passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī records its ancient name UTTARA and refers also to GHOṢA as a locality situated in it.[9] The place meant is undoubtedly the present *Guṣ* situated in the centre of Uttar, near the confluence of the Kāmil River and the

[4] See VIGNE, *Travels,* ii. p. 280; LAWRENCE, *Valley,* p. 42.

[5] *Āin-i Akb.,* ii. p. 365.

[6] Compare note viii. 250 sq.

[7] For medial Skr. *r* > Kś. *ḍ* compare e.g. *Bhaṭṭāraka*[maṭha > *Braḍᵃ*[mar; for *ṭ* > *r* e.g. *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* > *Kaṣṭᵃvār.*

[8] For detailed evidence on the phonetic points alluded to, see note viii. 250.

[9] See vi. 281.

stream coming from Lōlau. It is the starting-point for the S'āradā pilgrimage and is mentioned correctly as *Ghoṣa* in the S'āradāmāhātmya.

About ten miles higher up the Kāmil River lies the village of Pānz'gām, circ. 74° 7' long. 34° 29' lat. I take its position from Major Bates' Gazetteer; the 'Atlas of India' map does not show the place. It is in all probability identical with PĀÑCIGRĀMĪ, mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the surrender of the pretender Bhoja.[10] I have not been able to visit this portion of the district, and Major Bates' reference to Pānz'gām attracted my attention only after the preparation of my map.[11]

Draṅga: Hāyāśrama.

In the extreme north-east of Uttar and within a mile of each other we have the old villages of Drang and Hāyᵃhōm, referred to by Kalhaṇa under their ancient designations of DRAṄGA and HĀYĀŚRAMA.[12] The former place, as its name shows, marks the position of an old frontier watch-station towards the Kiṣangaṅgā. We have already seen that there is a route leading past it to S'ardi, the ancient Tīrtha of S'āradā, situated on that river. Draṅga and Hāyāśrama are both mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the siege of the S'irahśilā castle which took place in his own time. A brief reference may therefore be made here to this stronghold and the neighbouring shrine of S'āradā, though they are both situated outside the limits of the Kaśmīr Valley.

Tīrtha of *S'āradā.*

127. The introduction of the Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions the temple of the goddess S'āradā amongst the foremost Tīrthas of Kaśmīr.[13] It was well known even far beyond the frontiers of Kaśmīr. Albērūnī had heard of it,[14] and a story recorded in a Jaina life of the great grammarian Hemacandra proves that its fame had spread even to far-off Gujrāt. Notwithstanding this former celebrity the S'āradā shrine is now almost completely forgotten by the Paṇḍits of S'rīnagar and the great mass of the Brahman population of the Valley. Fortunately, however, tradition has been more tenacious in the immediately adjoining tracts of Kamrāz. Guided by it I was able to ascertain the position of the ancient Tīrtha at the present *S'ardi*, situated circ. 74° 15' long. 34° 48' lat. on the right bank of the Kiṣangaṅgā.

In Note *B*, i. 37, I have given a detailed account of the tour which in 1892 led me to the Tīrtha, as well as a description of the ancient temple still extant at the site. The situation of this shrine corresponds exactly to Kalhaṇa's words in the above passage. Immediately in front of it the sacred stream of the MADHUMATĪ falls into the Kiṣangaṅgā, while another confluence, that with the SARASVATĪ river coming from the north, is also visible from the temple. In Jonarāja's time the shrine was still sufficiently popular to attract a visit even from Sulṭān Zainu-l-'ābidīn.[15] Soon afterwards, apparently, the miracle-working image of the goddess was destroyed. Abū-l-Fazl, however, still notes the sanctity of the site and correctly indicates its position on the bank of the Madhumatī.[16] The subsequent

[10] See viii. 3124.

[11] There seems to be good reason to suspect that TĀRAMŪLAKA, a place repeatedly referred to in connection with Bhoja's last campaign, lay somewhere in or near Uttar. Unfortunately this locality, which is of importance also for other portions of Kalhaṇa's narrative, has not yet been identified; see note vii. 1307.

[12] For *Draṅga*, see note viii. 2507, also Note *B*, i. 37, §2; for *Hāyāśrama* note viii. 2987.

[13] The position and history of the temple of S'āradā have been fully discussed in Note *B*, i. 37.

[14] See *India*, i. p. 117.

[15] *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1056-71. The visit apparently took place A.D. 1422.

[16] *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 365 sq. Abū-l-Fazl places S'āradā's stone temple "at two days' distance from *Hāehāmūn*," i.e. Hāyᵃhōm.

neglect of this Tīrtha must be ascribed chiefly to the obstacles to the pilgrimage which arose from the troubled political condition of the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley. It is only since the advent of the Sikhs that the pilgrimage to S'āradā's seat was once more revived. These difficulties have probably helped to create the several substitute Tīrthas of S'āradā which are now to be found in various parts of Kaśmīr proper.

Castle of *S'irahśilā*.

My visit to the old S'āradāsthāna also enabled me to identify with certainty the site of the S'IRAHŚILĀ Castle. The latter had been the scene of a memorable siege by King Jayasiṁha's troops which Kalhaṇa describes at length.[17] The accurate topographical data furnished in this account prove clearly that the castle occupied the top of the steep ridge which projects into the Kiṣangaṅgā valley about two and a half miles below the S'āradā temple. The several incidents of the siege, in particular those connected with the attempted escape of the pretender Bhoja, became at once easily intelligible on a close inspection of this site. The ridge bears now the name of *Gaṇeś Ghāṭī* from a curious rock formation on its side which resembles the head of an elephant, and is accordingly worshipped as a 'Svayaṁbhū' representation of the elephant-faced god. It is very probable that the older name S'irahśilā which means literally 'the rock of the head,' owed its origin also to this very rock.

District of Lōlau and Zain'gir.

128. Returning from our excursion to the Kiṣangaṅgā and the confines of the Dard country, we enter immediately to the east of Drang-Hāy'hōm, the Pargaṇa usually called *Lōlāb*. Its proper Kaśmīrī name is *Lōlau*, derived from Skr. LAULĀHA.[18] In the picturesque valley which forms this district, no old localities can be specified.

The Lōlau is adjoined on the south by the Pargaṇa of Zain'gīr which comprises the fertile Karēwa tract between the Volur and the left bank of the Pohur River. It received its present name from Zainu-l-'ābidīn, who is credited with having carried irrigation canals from the Pohur to the Uḍar ground of JAINAGIRI.[19] The earlier name of this tract can no longer be traced.

Suyyapura.

The chief place in it is the town of Sōpūr, the ancient SUYYAPURA, the foundation of which by Suyya, Avantivarman's engineer, has already been mentioned.[20] Sōpūr, which lies a short distance below the point where the Vitastā leaves the Volur, has retained its importance to this day, and is still a town of over 8000 inhabitants. It has during recent times been the official headquarters for the whole of Kamrāz. From a passage of S'rīvara it appears that this had been the case already at an earlier period.[21] Relating a great conflagration which destroyed Suyyapura in Zainu-l-'ābidīn's time, this Chronicler tells us that in it perished the whole of the official archives relating to Kramarājya. The royal residence, however, escaped, and the town itself was again built up by the king in great splendour. Of this, however, nothing has remained; nor does the town show now old remains of any interest.

The suggested identity of the village *Zōlar* (map 'Zohlar') in the north-west part of Zain'gīr with JĀLORA once mentioned from Helārāja's list as a foundation of King Janaka,[22] is doubtful, resting only on the resemblance of the names. The larger village of *Bumai* (map 'Bamhai'), situated 74° 30' long. 34° 22' lat., may

[17] viii. 2492-2709. The position of *S'irahśilā* and the evidence for its identity with the 'Gaṇeś Ghāṭī' hill have been fully discussed in Note *L*, viii. 2492.

[18] Compare note vii. 12[illegible].

[19] See *Jonar*. (Bo. ed.), 1449-56; also *S'rīv*. i. 562 sq.; iii. 59, 78.

[20] Compare for *Suyyapura*, note v. 118.

[21] Compare *S'rīv*. i. 560 sqq.

[22] See i. 98.

be Kalhaṇa's BHĪMATIKĀ. The name Bumai can be traced back without difficulty to the older form; but the context of the single passage in which Bhīmatikā is mentioned, does not supply any evidence as to its location.[23]

District of *Khūyāśrama.*

Round the north shore of the Volur lake there stretches in a semicircle the district of Khuyᵉhōm. Its ancient name is given by Kalhaṇa as KHŪYĀŚRAMA, while S'rīvara and the Lokaprakāśa call it with a slight variation Khoyāśrama.[24] The old route which led up the Madhumatī stream and over the Pass of DUGDHAGHĀTA or Dudᵉkhut into the Darad territory on the Kiṣangaṅgā, has been already fully described.[25] In connection with a Darad invasion which was directed into Kaśmīr by this route, we read of MĀTṚGRĀMA as the place where the invading force encamped.[26] This is certainly the present village of *Mātrᵉgōm,* situated close to the foot of the Trāgᵉbal Pass, circ. 74° 43′ long. 34° 28′ lat. It lies just at the point where the route along the Madhumatī debouches into an open valley, and is the first place where a larger camp could conveniently be formed.

The tract on the north-east shore of the Volur appears in old times to have formed a separate small subdivision called EVENAKA. It is once mentioned by Kalhaṇa, and also referred to in the Tīrthasaṁgraha.[27] But the evidence is not sufficient for a certain location. To it may possibly have belonged also the village of *Sudᵉrkōth,* circ. 74° 43′ long. 34° 18′ lat., which S'rīvara refers to by the name of SAMUDRAKOṬA.[28]

District of *Lahara.*

129. We have now reached the vicinity of the Sind Valley which forms the largest of the Parganas of Kaśmīr. The district now known as *Lār* comprises the whole of the valleys drained by the Sind and its tributaries as well as the alluvial tract on the right bank of that river after its entry into the great Kaśmīr plain. Its ancient name was LAHARA, and by this it is mentioned in very numerous passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the later Chronicles.[29] The lands of the district seem to have been from early times in the hands of great territorial nobles. One family of Ḍāmaras resident in Lahara was powerful enough for its members to play the part of true king-makers during reigns following after Harṣa.[30] It is probable that the great trade route to Ladākh and Central Asia which passes through the district, added already in old times to its wealth and importance.

Tīrtha of *Tūlamūlya.*

In the midst of the wide water-logged tract of the Sind Delta we find the ancient Tīrtha of TŪLAMŪLYA at the village now known as *Tulᵉmul,* situated 74° 48′ long. 34° 13′ lat. The Purohita corporation of Tūlamūlya is represented as a well-to-do and influential body already under King Jayāpīḍa.[31] The large spring of Tūlamūlya is sacred to Mahārājñī, a form of Durgā, and is still held in great veneration by the Brahman population of S'rīnagar. It is supposed to exhibit from time to time miraculous changes in the colour of its water, which are ascribed to the manifestation of the goddess. Owing to its convenient position the Tīrtha attracts large numbers of pilgrims from the capital. Abū-l-Faẓl notices the place

[23] Compare vii. 6; as to the phonetic relation of *Bumai* > *Bhimatikā,* comp. Bumᵃ[zu: Bhīma[keśava.

[24] See note viii. 2695-98.

[25] See above, § 56.

[26] See viii. 2775.

[27] Compare note viii. 2695-98.

[28] See *S'rīv.* i. 400.

[29] Compare for the identification of *Lār* and *Lahara,* note v. 51. The authors of the St. Petersburg Dictionary were already aware of it; see *P.W.*, s.v. *Lahara.*

[30] Compare regarding the political part played by Janakacandra, Gargacandra and their descendants, viii. 15 sqq.; 354 sqq.; 502 sqq.; 1364 sqq., etc. For an early instance of Ḍāmara power in Lahara, see v. 51 sqq.

[31] See note iv. 638.

and its marshy surroundings.[32] About two and a half miles to the east of Tulᵃmul lies the village of Dudᵉrhōm on the main branch of the Sind which here becomes first navigable. It is repeatedly referred to by S'rīvara under its old name of DUGDHĀŚRAMA.[33]

Mayagrāma.

Ascending the valley we come to the large village of *Mañ'gām*, situated a short distance from the right bank of the river, 74° 52′ long. 34° 17′ lat. It is the MAYAGRĀMA of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle mentioned in connection with a campaign of Bhikṣācara in Lahara.[34] In the time of King Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-28) Mayagrāma gave its name to a separate fund (*Mayagrāmīṇagañja*) which Queen S'rīlekhā had established evidently with the revenue assigned from this village.[35] Mañ'gām-Mayagrāma still owns a large area of excellent rice-fields. The village itself contains no ancient remains. But a short distance above it, at the foot of the spur which leads up to a high alp known as Mohand Marg, there is an ancient stone-lined tank filled by a fine spring known as Vutᵉsan Nāg. This is visited as a Tīrtha by the Brahmans of the neighbourhood and is also mentioned under the name of *Uccaiḥśirṇa Nāga* in the Haramukuṭa and several other Māhātmyas. About a mile above the village the high road leading up the valley passes a shapeless mound of large slabs which undoubtedly belonged to an ancient temple.

Tīrtha of Cīramocana.

130. About four miles above Mañ'gām we reach on the left bank of the Sind a site which has enjoyed sanctity since an early period. Close to the village of Prang (not shown on the map), situated circ. 74° 55′ 30″ long. 34° 16′ 45″ lat., a small branch of the Kānkᵉnai River (*Kanakavāhinī*) flows into the Sind. This confluence is now visited by the pilgrims proceeding to the Haramukuṭa lakes as one of the chief Tīrthas on the route. In the modern Haramukuṭamāhātmya it is designated as *Karaṅkatīrtha*. But I have shown that it is in reality identical with the ancient Tīrtha of CĪRAMOCANA mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the Nīlamata and the old Nandikṣetramāhātmya.[36]

The Kānkᵉnai or Kanakavāhinī which is always named together with Cīramocana, is a sacred river, as it carries down the waters of the holy Gaṅgā-lake below the Haramukuṭa.[37] This explains the importance attached to this 'Saṁgama.' The Haramukuṭamāhātmya which betrays its comparatively recent origin by many of its local names, metamorphoses the old Kanavāhinī into *Karaṅkanadī* and consequently also changes the name of its confluence into *Karaṅkatīrtha*.[38] King Jalauka, the son of Aśoka, whom the Chronicle represents as a fervent worshipper of S'iva Bhūteśa and of Nandīśa, is said to have ended his days at Cīramocana.

Tīrtha of Bhūteśvara.

Our survey has already taken us to the sacred sites of BHŪTEŚVARA and JYEṢṬHARUDRA marked by the ruined temples at the present *Buth'śēr* high up in the Kānkᵉnai Valley. They are closely connected with the Tīrthas of Nandikṣetra below the Haramukuṭa glaciers which have also been described.[39] The village of *Vāngath*, which is the highest permanently inhabited place in this valley, lies about two miles below Buth'śēr. It is named VASIṢṬHĀŚRAMA in the Māhātmyas and is believed to mark the residence of the Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha. Allusions in the

[32] *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 364.
[33] *S'rīv.* iv. 110, 136, 263.
[34] See viii. 729.
[35] Compare vii. 126.
[36] See note i. 149-150.
[37] See above, § 57.
[38] See regarding the popular etymology accounting for the change, above, § 31.
[39] See above, § 57; also notes i. 36, 107, 113; v. 55-59.

Rājataraṅgiṇī and Nīlamata show that this legendary location is of old date.[40] At the mouth of Kānk'nai valley and about two miles to the north-east of Cīramocana, is the hamlet of *Bāravul* which Kalhaṇa mentions as an Agrahāra of King Jalauka under the name of VĀRABĀLA.[41] A large sculptured Liṅga base which I found here in 1891, shows the antiquity of the place.

Upper Sind Valley.

131. Returning to the main Valley we find, about three miles above Cīramocana, the large village of *Kangan* situated on the right bank of the Sind. It is, perhaps, identical with KAṄKAṆAPURA which Queen Diddā is said to have founded in commemoration of her husband Kṣemagupta, known by the epithet of 'Kaṅkaṇavarṣa.'[42]

No old localities can be identified with certainty in the Sind Valley until we reach the village of *Gagangīr*, situated two marches above Kangan, circ. 75° 75' long. 34° 18' lat. This is undoubtedly the GAGANAGIRI of Jonarāja and the Fourth Chronicle.[43] The place is mentioned in both texts in connection with invasions which were made into Kaśmīr over the Zōji-Lā Pass. The first was that of the Bhauṭṭa Riñcana, the second the famous inroad of the Mughal leader, Mirza Ḥaidar (A.D. 1532).[44] The account which the latter himself has given us of his exploit, fully explains the special reference made to Gaganagiri by the Hindu Chronicler.

Defile of *Dhūḍāvana.*

About three miles above Gagangīr two rocky spurs descend from opposite sides into the valley and reduce it to a narrow gorge (see map). The path in this defile was, until recent improvements of the road, distinctly difficult, as large fallen rocks blocked the narrow space between the right bank of the river and the high cliffs rising above it. It is at this point of the valley which Mirza Ḥaidar calls the 'narrow defile of Lār,' that the Kaśmīr chiefs vainly attempted to stop the brave Turks of the invaders advance guard.

Kalhaṇa's Chronicle shows that the defile here indicated had witnessed fighting already at an earlier epoch. When King Sussala's forces had driven Gargacandra, the great feudal chief, from his seats in Lahara, we are told that the Ḍāmara with his followers retired to the mountain called DHŪḌĀVANA. There he was long besieged by the troops 'of the king who was encamped at the foot of the mountain.' In my note on the passage I have shown that the name *Dhūḍāvana* survives in *Dūrūn Nār* (map 'Darnar'), the appellation of the high spur which descends into the Sind Valley from the south between Gagangīr and Sun'marg.[45] It is exactly at the foot of this spur that the river passes through the gorge above described. The position taken up by the king's opponent is thus fully explained.

Gagangīr being already 7400 feet above the sea is the last permanently inhabited place in the valley. Some twenty-five miles higher up we arrive at the Zōjī-Lā Pass. Here we have reached the limits of Kaśmīr as well as the end of our survey.

[40] Compare note viii. 2430.

[41] See note i. 121.

[42] See vi. 301.

[43] Compare *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 197, and Fourth Chron. 316. The old name of the locality ought to have been entered in the map. The Bombay Ed. of the Fourth Chron. reads wrongly *gamanamiryanta* for *gaganagiryunta* of the MSS.

[44] See *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 423. Mr. Elias in his note on the passage has quite correctly identified the defile meant by his author. The Fourth Chronicle names the autumn of the Laukika year [460]8 as the date of the event. This agrees exactly with Mirza Ḥaidar's A.H. 939, Jamād II. (December, 1532 A.D.).

[45] See note vii. 595 sqq.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE *AA.*—§ 29.

MĀHĀTMYAS OF KAS'MĪR TĪRTHAS.

The following is a complete list of the Māhātmya texts acquired by me in Kaśmīr. The numbers in the fourth column refer to the Manuscripts representing these texts in my collection. Where the same text is found in several Manuscripts, the number of the best copy has been shown first. In the last column the Tīrtha to which the Māhātmya refers has been indicated as well as the paragraph of this Memoir in which it has been discussed.

Serial No.	Name of Text.	Alleged source.	Nos. of MSS. in my collection.	Remarks.
1	Amaranāthamāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	8, 7	Amareśvara, § 59.
2	Amareśvarakalpa	Vāthulatantra	214	Ditto. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 49.)
3	Ardhanārīśvaramāhātmya	Ādikalpa	251	Ardhanārīśvara, § 113.
4	Īśālayamāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Īśeśvara, § 108.
5	Kapaṭeśvaramāhātmya	Haracaritacintāmaṇi	43	Kapaṭeśvara (Pāpasūdana), § 112.
6	Kapālamocanamāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43, 19, 20, 21, 22	Kapālamocana, § 116.
7	Kedāratīrthamāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	49	Tīrtha in Varāhakṣetra.
8	Kedārapurāṇa		215	Tīrtha doubtful. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 54.)
9	Koṭitīrthamāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	50	Koṭitīrtha, § 124.
10	Gaṅgodbhedamāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa	216	Bheḍā Tīrtha, § 117. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 56.)
11	Gayāmāhātmya		55	Gayā Tīrtha near Shāḍipūr.
12	Gayāmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	54	Ditto.
13	Godāvarīmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Godāvarī, § 115.
14	Jaṭāgaṅgāmāhātmya		43	Tīrtha at Gaṅgᵃjaṭan, Biru Pargaṇa.
15	Jyeṣṭhādevīmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Jyeṣṭheśvara, § 102.
16	Tripurāprādurbhāva	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Small Tīrtha near Kanye Kadal, S'rīnagar.
17	Trisaṁdhyāmāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa, Nandīśvarāvatāra	43	Trisaṁdhyā, § 113.
18	Trisaṁdhyāmāhātmya	Nandīśvarāvatāra, by S'rīśivasvāmin	67	Ditto.
19	Dhyāneśvaramāhātmya		75	Tīrtha in hills of Khuyᵃhōm.
20	Nandikṣetramāhātmya	S'arvāvatāra	77	Tīrthas of Nandikṣetra, § 57.
21	Naubandhanamāhātmya		43, 85, 86	Naubandhana, § 41.
22	Piṅgaleśvaramāhātmya	Haracaritacintāmaṇi	43, 88	Small Tīrtha at Piṅgilyum (map 'Pinglin'), Chrāṭh Pargaṇa.
23	Puṣkaramāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Puṣkara Tīrtha, § 120.
24	Bahurūpakalpa	Kaśmīratīrthamāhātmyasaṅgraha	95, 96	Bahurūpa Nāga, § 120.
25	Bhadrakālīprādurbhāva	Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan	97	Bhadrakālī, § 125.

Serial No.	Name of Text.	Alleged source.	Nos. of MSS. in my collection.	Remarks.
26	Mahādevagirīmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	104	Mount Mahādeva, § 103.
27	Maheśvarakuṇḍamāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Said to be in Shāhābād Pargaṇa.
28	Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Mārtāṇḍa, § 111.
29	Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya	Brahmapurāṇa, Kaśmīrakhaṇḍa	217, 110	Ditto. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 78.)
30	Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya	Bhaviṣyatpurāṇa	100	Ditto.
31	Mitrapathamāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa	218	(Copied from Poona MS. No. 80.)
32	Yogyālaṅkaraṇamāhātmya		43	Tīrtha on Ḍal, in Rāṇ'vōr quarter.
33	Rājñīprādurbhāva	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43, 211	Tīrtha of Tūlamūlya, § 129.
34	Rājñīmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Ditto.
35	Varāhakṣetramāhātmya	Varāhapurāṇa	219, 143, 144	Varāha Tīrtha, § 124. Also in Poona MS. No. 85.
36	Vardhamāneśamāhātmya		142	Vardhamāneśa temple, § 31.
37	Vijayeśvaramāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa	220	Vijayeśvara Tīrtha, § 109. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 77.)
38	Vijayeśvaramāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	152	Ditto.
39	Vitastāmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	156, 153, 154	Tīrthas on Vitastā.
40	Vitastāmāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa, Kaśmīrakhaṇḍa	252, 155	Ditto. (Copied from Poona MS. No. 88.)
41	S'arvāvatāra		213	(Copied from Poona MS. No. 94.)
42	S'āradāpuramāhātmya	Vitastāmāhātmya	160	'Prayāga' at Shād'pūr, § 68.
43	S'āradāmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43, 161	S'āradā Tīrtha, § 127.
44	S'āradāmāhātmya	Ādipurāṇa	43	Ditto.
45	S'ārikāpariccheda	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	163, 162, 204	S'ārikā Hill, § 95.
46	S'vetagaṅgāmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Dugdhagaṅgā, § 67.
47	Sureśvarīmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43, 176, 177	Sureśvarī Tīrtha, § 103.
48	Svayaṁbhvagnimāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43, 183, 184	Svayaṁbhū, § 125.
49	Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	185, 186, 210, 211	Haramukuṭa lakes, etc., § 57.
50	Haridrāgaṇeśamāhātmya	Bhṛṅgīśasaṁhitā	43	Said to be in Dachünpōr Pargaṇa.
51	Harṣeśvaramāhātmya		194, 195, 196	Harṣeśvara, § 106.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE *BB.*—§ 86.

THE KAS'MĪR PARGAṆAS.

The following table shows the names of Kaśmīr Pargaṇas as contained in the lists of Abū-l-Faẓl, Moorcroft, Von Hügel, Vigne, and Major Bates. The list of the latter is the fullest and also indicates the division of the Pargaṇas between Marāz and Kamrāz as observed in the table.

The arrangement of the Pargaṇa names conforms to the topographical order of the descriptive survey in Chapter IV. of this Memoir. The second column gives the Pargaṇa names according to their present Kaśmīrī pronunciation, without regard to the often curiously distorted forms in which these names are presented by the earlier lists. The third column shows the authorities in whose lists each particular name is found. In the fourth column the Sanskrit name of the district has been indicated (whenever known), together with the text in which it first occurs. In the last column references have been given to the paragraphs of the Memoir, specially dealing with the historical topography of the several districts.

Besides the Pargaṇas shown in the table, Abū-l-Faẓl counts with Kaśmīr the Pargaṇas of '*Maru Adwin*' (Maḍivaḍvan), '*Banihāl*' (Bān*hāl), and '*Dachhin Khāwarah*' (i.e. Dachün-Khövur, the valley on both banks of the Vitastā below Bārāmūla). In the same way Moorcroft adds the Pargaṇa of '*Durbid*' (i.e. Dvārbidi in the Vitastā Valley, comp. § 53), '*Karnao*' and *Tahirabad*'; of the position of the last-named tract I am not certain.

[The list of Pargaṇas given by Tieffenthaler, *Description de l'Inde*, p. 77, is only a defective reproduction of Abū-l-Faẓl's list. Ritter, *Asien*, ii. pp. 1136 sq., has endeavoured to elucidate Tieffenthaler's queer names with whatever materials were available to him.]

List of Abbreviations.

AF.	Abū-l-Faẓl, *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 368-371.
Mo.	Moorcroft, *Travels*, ii. p. 113.
Hü.	Von Hügel, *Kaschmir*, ii. pp. 206 sq.
Vi.	Vigne, *Travels*, i. p. 272.
Ba.	Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 2.

No.	Modern Name.	Shown in Pargaṇa List of	Sanskrit name.	Remarks and References.
		PARGAṆAS OF MARĀZ (MAḌAVARĀJYA)		
1	Phākh	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	Phākhuvā (S'riv.)	§ 101.
2	Atṣhan	Mo. Hü Ba.	}	These small Districts formed during the Sikh administration, comprised groups of villages in the immediate vicinity of S'rinagar, to the west, south and north, respectively.
3	Balada	Mo. Hü. Ba.	}	
4	Arvai	Ba.	}	
5	Vihi	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	Kṣhāḍūvī (Raj.)	§ 105.
6	Vular	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	Holaḍā (Raj.)	§ 106.
7	Dachünpōr	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	Dakṣiṇapāra (S'riv.)	§ 107.
8	Khōvurpōr	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	Vāmapārśva (Jonar.)	§ 110.
9	Maṭan	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	Mārtāṇḍa (Jonar.)	§ 111.

No.	Modern Name.	Shown in Pargaṇa list of	Sanskrit name.	Remarks and References.
	PARGAṆAS OF MARĀZ (MAḌAVARĀJYA)—*Continued.*			
10	Anyech (Anatnāg)	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.		§ 112. Also called Islāmābād (Mo. Hü.). Anyech appears in AF. misspelt as 'Ītch.'
11	Kuṭ*hār	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	[KAPAṬEŚVARA, Rāj.]	§ 112. Skr. name found only as that of Tīrtha.
12	Bring	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	*BHṚṄGA (Lokapr.)	§ 113.
13	Shāhābād (Vēr)	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.		§ 114. Mo. calls the Pargaṇa 'Bannahal.'
14	Div*sar	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	DEVASARASA	§ 115.
15	Āḍ*vin	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	KARĀLA (Rāj.) ARDHAVANA (Jonar.)	§ 116.
16	Zain*pōr	AF. Hü. Vi. Ba.	JAINAPURA (Jonar.)	§ 116.
17	Bōṭ	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.		§ 116. Hü. Vi. call the district after "S'upiyan Shahr," its headquarters.
18	Sūparsāmün	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.		§ 117.
19	S'ukru	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.		§ 117.
20	S'āvur	Hü. Vi. Ba.		§ 118.
21	Chrāṭh	Vi. Ba.		§ 118.
22	Sāiru-l-Mawāẓi' Bālā	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.		§ 118.
23	Nāgām	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	NĀGRĀMA (Jonar.)	§ 119.
24	Yech	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	IKṢIKĀ (S'riv.)	do.
	PARGAṆAS OF KAMRĀZ (KRAMARĀJYA).			
25	Dünts	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	*DVĀVIṂŚATI (Lokapr.)	§ 120.
26	Biru	AF. Mo. Hü. Ba.	BAHURŪPA (Jonar.)	do.
27	Māñch*hōm	Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.		do.
28	Par*spōr	AF. Mo. Hü. Ba.	PARIHĀSAPURA (Rāj.)	§ 121.
29	Sāiru-l-Mawāẓi' Pāyin	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.		§ 122.
30	And*rkōṭh	AF. Mo.	[ABHYANTARAKOṬṬA, Rāj.]	do.
31	Bāngil	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	BHAṄGILA (Rāj.)	§ 123.
32	Paṭan	AF.	[PATTANA, Rāj.]	do.
33	Til*gām	AF. Mo. Vi. Ba.	TAILAGRĀMA (4th Chron.)	do.
34	Khuy	AF. Mo. Hü. Ba.		A small tract ('Quihi' on map) to the north of Paṭan and Til*gām.
35	Kruhm	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	*KRODHANA (Lokapr.)	§ 124.
36	Hamal	Mo. Vi. Ba.	S'AMĀLĀ (Rāj.)	§ 125.
37	Mach*pār	Mo. Vi. Ba.		do.
38	Uttara	Vi. Ba.	UTTARA (Rāj.)	§ 126.
39	Lōlau	Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	LAULĀHA (Rāj.)	§ 128.
40	Zain*gīr	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	JAINAGIRI (Jonar.)	do.
41	Khuy*hōm	AF. Mo. Hü. Vi. Ba.	KHŪYĀŚRAMA (Rāj.)	do.
42	Lār	Mo. Hü. Ba.	LAHARA (Rāj.)	§ 129.

INDEX.

NOTE.—By a small Roman numeral followed by an Arabic numeral is indicated the Book and Verse of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī in the present translation.

A small Roman numeral followed by an *italicized* Arabic numeral marks references, by Book and Verse, to those passages where the particular name or word occurring in the text has been dealt with in a footnote of the present translation.

Where a reference to the footnote alone is intended, the letter n. is shown after the numerals indicating the Book and Verse.

The large Roman numeral I. followed by an Arabic numeral refers to the pages of the INTRODUCTION in Vol. I.

The large Roman numeral II. followed by an Arabic numeral refers to the pages of the NOTES and the MEMOIR ON THE ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF KAŚMĪR at the end of Vol. II.

Names or words occurring in the Sanskrit text of the Rājataraṅgiṇī are printed in *Italic* type. Other names or words are printed in Roman type.

The abbreviations *Corr* and *Add.* mark references to the list of "Corrigenda and Addenda" shown at the end of Vol. II.

A.

B.

C.

D.

E.

I.

J.

K.

L.

M.

N.

O.

P.

Q.

R.

U.

V.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

VOL. I.

Page 11, note 6.	*Add:* For numerous quotations from the Harṣacarita, compare Zacharias, Epilegomena zur Ausgabe des Maṅkhakośa, pp. 51 sq.
„ 46, „ 6.	*For* Laghupaciñkā *read* Laghupañcikā.
„ 49, line 10.	*Add note:* The document has been reproduced in my paper "A Sanskrit deed of sale concerning a Kaśmīrian Mahābhārata MS.," J.R.A.S., 1900, pp. 187-194.
BOOK. VERSE.	
i. 28 n.	*For* Abu-l-Fazl *read* Abū-l-Faẓl, *and thus elsewhere.*
i. 33.	*For* Saṁhyā *read* Saṁdhyā.
i. 36 n.	*Add:* For a legend recorded by Abū-l-Faẓl regarding 'Bhutesar,' see Āin-i Akb., ii. p. 364.
i. 37 n.	*For* Note K *read* Note L.
i. 50 n.	*For* ii. and iii. Taraṅgas *read* iii. and iv. Taraṅgas.
i. 86 n.	*For* Lalavaka *read* Lulavaka.
i. 107 n. (p. 21).	*Correct:* Abū-l-Faẓl refers to it, Āin-i Akb., ii. p. 364.
i. 122 n.	*For* Toṣamaidān *read* Tōṣ^a maidān, *and thus elsewhere.*
i. 125-126 n.	*For* Dal *read* the Ḍal.
i. 131 n.	*For* Notes on Ou-k'ong, pp. 13-48, *read* Notes on Ou-k'ong, pp. 13-18.
i. 147 n.	*Add:* The Vihāra of Kṛtyāśrama is mentioned, Samayam., ii. 61.
i. 173 n.	*For* N.W. *read* N.E.
i. 180 n.	*Add:* Burnes, Travels into Bokhara, i. p. 64, refers to "the spot at which the Jelum issues from the mountains" by the name "Dam-gully," i.e. Dānagal.
i. 204 n.	*For* Mujmat-ul-Tawārīkh *read* Mujmalu-t-Tawārīkh.
i. 335 n.	*For* 70° *read* 74°.
i. 342 n.	*For* Buchyerāḍū *read* Buchyevāḍū.
i. 345 n.	*For* A_2 *read* A_3.
i. Colophon n. (Col. *b*, line 7).	*For* Gonanda III. *read* Gonanda I.
iii. 103 n.	*Add:* For S'rivara's reference to 'Toramāṇa's Dinnāras,' compare Note H (iv. 495), § 20.
iii. 125 n.	*For* A.D. 106 *read* A.D. 105.
iii. 339-349 n. (line 6).	*For* Anc. Geogr. p. 91 *read* Anc. Geogr. p. 97.
iii. 347 n.	*Add:* Regarding Skr. bāla > Kś. bal compare viii. 1417 n.; read accordingly Kṣurikābāla.
iii. 349.	*Omit square brackets.*

BOOK. VERSE.	
iii. 416 n.	*Add :* Compare Harṣacar., p. 79.
iii. 435 n.	*For* Kullu *read* Kulu.
iii. 453 n.	*For* Pradyumnagari *read* Pradyumnagiri.
iv. 10 n.	*For* Varahamula *read* Varāhamūla.
iv. 81.	*For* who removed the permanency of all offices (?) *read* who was [able] to uproot prime-ministers.
iv. 81 n.	*Correct :* Regarding sarvādhikaraṇa, see vi. 199 n.
iv. 126 n.	*For* Vular *read* Volur.
iv. 188 n.	*For* Barāmūla *read* Bārāmūla.
iv. 246.	*For* "he who rains gold" *read* "he who rains bracelets."
iv. 310 margin.	*For* Parihāsapura *read* Pravarapura.
iv. 323 n.	*For* Par'spōr *read* Sāiru-l-mawāẓi'.
iv. 712 n.	*Add :* Nara, of Dārvābhisāra, is probably identical with the ancestor of the Lohara dynasty; see vii. 1282.
v. 28 n.	*For* vii. 1640 *read* vii. 1650.
v. 108 n.	*For* Kan'bal *read* Khan'bal.
v. 150 n.	*Add :* For Ṭāfin compare Yule, Cathay, I. p. clxxxiv.
v. 175 n.	*Add :* Regarding 'kāyastha,' 'clerk,' comp. Bühler, Ind. Palaeogr., p. 95; a Brahman is designated a 'Kāyastha,' viii. 2383.
v. 232 n.	*Add :* For Sāmanta S'āhi, comp. Introd., § 96.
v. 306.	*For* the Ḍāmara *read* the prominent Ḍāmara.
vi. 186 n.	*After* Vārāhamūla, viii. 452 *add* (L reads Varāha°).
vi. 301 n.	*For* Abhimanyu's *read* Kṣemagupta's.
vi. 303 n.	*Correct ;* Diddā's Vihāra is mentioned viii. 580.
vii. 32.	*For* Mayyamanataka *read* Mayyamantaka.
vii. 185.	*For* milk-brother *read* foster-brother, *and thus elsewhere.*
vii. 494.	*For* Mayana *read* Nayana.
vii. 739 n.	*For* 703 *read* 706.
vii. 879.	*Add note :* For an identical Chinese anecdote, compare Yule, Cathay, p. cvi.
vii. 993 n.	*For* note vii. 571 *read* note vii. 210.
vii. 1097-98 n.	*Add :* Compare regarding Kanaka, note vii. 1117; also Introd., § 2.
vii. 1239 n.	*Correct :* Regarding Balerakaprapā, compare note viii. 2410.
vii. 1255 n.	*Add to references on abhisaṁdhāya :* viii. 1933, 2950.
vii. 1282 n.	*Add :* For Nara, compare iv. 712.
vii. 1367 n.	*For* Buḍ'brōr *read* Buḍ'brar.
vii. 1541 n.	*Correct :* Regarding the shrine of Narendreśvara, see iv. 88.

VOL. II.

BOOK. VERSE.	
viii. 111.	*Add note :* S'ivaratha is mentioned as the great-great-grandfather of Jayaratha in the latter's Tantrāloka; see *Report*, p. clii.
viii. 510.	*For* Tribhākara *read* Tribdākara; *also in Edition.*
viii 580.	*Add note :* For the Diddāvihāra, see vi. 303.